OP

THE PATRIARCH AND THE TSAR
Volume 5

William Palmer

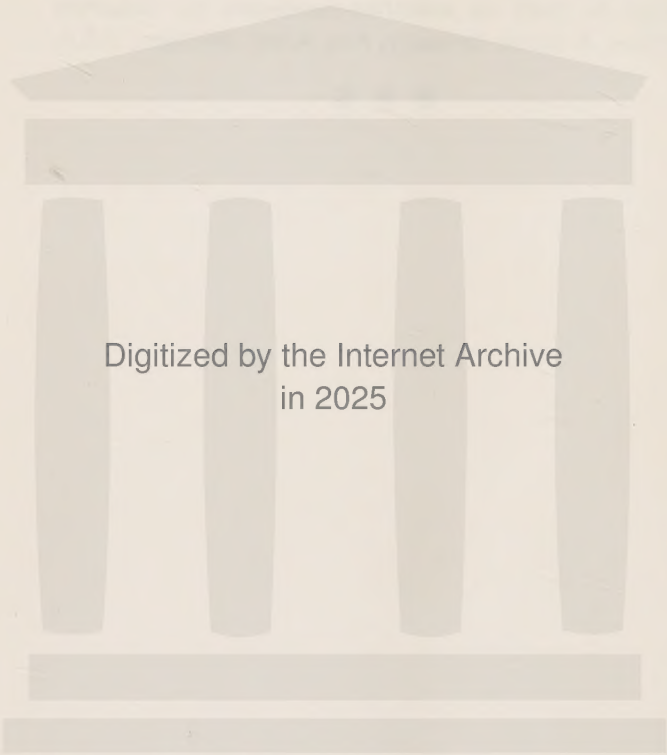
UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
A Xerox Company
Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

AUG 12 1968

* * *

This is an authorized facsimile of the original book, and was produced in 1968 by microfilm-xerography by University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

* * *


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/servicesofpatria0005will

THE PATRIARCH AND THE TSAR.

VOL. V.

SERVICES OF THE PATRIARCH NICON

TO THE

CHURCH AND STATE OF HIS COUNTRY,

AND THEIR REQUITAL

BY THE

CREATION OF A MERELY NATIONAL OR STATE CHURCH IN RUSSIA:

With some Account

OF

THOSE PUNISHMENTS, PERSONAL AND PUBLIC, WHICH WERE FORETOLD BY NICON, AND WHICH HAVE ACTUALLY ENSUED.

By WILLIAM PALMER, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

LIBRARY OF
UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
281.947
N695 P17 72,984

LONDON:

TRÜBNER AND CO., 57 LUDGATE HILL;

OXFORD, PARKER & CO.; CAMBRIDGE, MACMILLAN; ST. PETERSBURG, A. MÜNX; BERLIN, SCHNEIDER & CO. UNTER DEN LINDEN.

1876.

AUG 12 1968
UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

LONDON:
ROBSON AND SONS, PRINTERS, PANCRAS ROAD, N.W.

APOSTASY, AND PUNISHMENTS.

BX597
.N5P3

'I believe,'
not a number of human Churches formed by private rebellion or
State tyranny,
but
'One, holy, Catholic' (or œcumenical), 'and
Apostolic Church:
I look,' not for the favour of secular rulers, but
'for
the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come;'
that is, for
the New Jerusalem.
Therefore, as the Lord says:
'They shall deliver you up to tribulation, and some of you they shall put to
death, and ye shall be hated of all nations
for my name's sake.
But he that endureth to the end
the same shall be saved' (Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xxi.).

Replies of Nicon, p. 83, and p. 69, 193.

THE PATRIARCH AGAINST THE TSAR,

THE CHURCH AGAINST THE WORLD;

SMYRNA AND PHILADELPHIA AGAINST PERGAMUS AND LAODICEA,

PATIENCE AND CHARITY AGAINST VIOLENCE AND INIQUITY;

THE RESURRECTION (VOSKRESENSK)

AND THE NEW JERUSALEM (NOVI IERUSALIM)

AGAINST BABYLON AND ANTICHRIST.

CONTENTS.

PART II. *Requital of the patriarch Nicon's services by the State and Church of his country.*

Ch. ix. Of the degradation and imprisonment of Nicon by sentence of the mixed synod of Dec. A.D. 1666; and of the third and final manifestation of the spiritual leprosy.

Herein: § i. Introductory: Ligarides is kept still at Moscow, p. 661. § ii. Arrival of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch: Ligarides is given to them as their instructor, &c., p. 663. § iii. Nicon is summoned, and comes to Moscow, p. 667. § iv. First appearance of Nicon, 2d Dec., before the synod; that is, before the tsar, the boyars, the two patriarchs, the Greek and Russian bishops, and Paisius Ligarides, p. 675. § v. Second appearance of Nicon, 3d Dec., when his intercepted letter to the patriarch of Constantinople was read out, Ligarides also being present, p. 688. § vi. Object with which this was done, and its connection with the person of Paisius Ligarides, p. 694. § vii. Farther proceedings (based on what Nicon had written about P. Ligarides) in a session of 4th Dec., at which Nicon was not present, p. 704. § viii. Third appearance of Nicon on the 5th Dec., when the patriarchal *Tomes* or *Answers* of A.D. 1663-1664 were read out, and Nicon was condemned to be degraded, and to be imprisoned for life, P. Ligarides also being present, p. 709. § ix. Act of the degradation of Nicon, 12th Dec., P. Ligarides also taking part in it, p. 722. § x. Nicon is sent away from Moscow to be imprisoned in the Therapontoff monastery, p. 730. § xi. Letters of the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and of the tsar, to the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, mentioning among their grounds for the condemnation of Nicon what he had written respecting P. Ligarides; and letter of institution given to the new patriarch of Moscow Joasaph II., p. 734. § xii. From Subbotino: Of the fear shown by some of the Russian bishops, when it was too late, lest the Russian Church should be entirely enslaved by the civil power, p. 738. § xiii. The Pope, Clement IX., is informed that the patriarch of Moscow has been deposed because he did not think ill of the Latin Church, p. 739. § xiv. Relations of P. Ligarides with the Roman or Latin '*Kostel*,' p. 741. § xv. Immorality of Paisius Ligarides, p. 742. § xvi. Petition of P. Ligarides to the tsar, p. 744. § xvii. Third and final manifestation of the spiritual leprosy on the brow of the Russian Uzziah, p. 744-752.

PART III. *Notices of punishments, personal and public.*

Ch. i. Of the Babylonian Furnace, and the flame of the fire which slew

those men who took up and cast into it the Three Hebrews, p. 753. Application of this allegory to Nicon; the persecution suffered by him as patriarch foreshadowed by an incident of his childhood, p. 754. Ecclesiastical ceremony of the Three Hebrews and the Babylonian Furnace practised at Moscow and Novgorod, p. 755. Nicon had applied the same allegory to himself, p. 760. Farther application of the same allegory: '*Comedy*' of Nebuchadnezzar, written by Simeon of Polotsk, and acted before the tsar Alexis, p. 761. Russian names given to the characters of the play, and especially to those six captains of Nebuchadnezzar who are scorched and killed by the flame of the furnace, p. 771. Remarks on punishments, public and personal: the consideration of public punishments deferred, p. 772. Of Nicon's chief enemies many were not visibly punished at all, as the boyar Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, &c., p. 773. Nicon writes of punishments being delayed that they may fall the heavier, p. 779. Even in A.D. 1663 he says that some have been visibly punished, p. 781. Extract from Michaelofsky respecting the bad ends of many of Nicon's enemies, p. 782. To the six names given by us to the six captains of Nebuchadnezzar those of Gregory Soun. Cherkassky and Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy may be added, p. 783. Murder of the boyar Ivan Sim. Prozorofsky and his two sons in the insurrection of Stenka Razin at Astrachan, in A.D. 1670, p. 784-792. Murder of Joseph, metropolitan of Astrachan, A.D. 1671, p. 785-798. Murder of the boyar prince Youry Al. Dolgorouky and his son Michael, in the insurrection of the streltsi in A.D. 1682, p. 798. Murder, by *mistake*, of the son of the boyar Peter Mich. Soltikoff in A.D. 1682, p. 802. Murder of the Jew doctor Daniel Von Haden and his son in A.D. 1682, p. 806. Murder of the boyar Artemon Serg. Matveyeff in A.D. 1682, with notices of his previous life and fortunes, p. 810-850. Parallel and contrast of Nicon and Matveyeff, p. 851-856.

Ch. ii. Of public punishments; and first of those which fell upon *the Boyars, and other people of the council, of the court, and of the prikazes.*

Herein: Introductory observations, p. 857. Massacre of boyars and others of the nobility, and of the people of the prikazes, by the streltsi in May A.D. 1682, p. 859. List of the slain, p. 862. Farther demands of the streltsi, p. 863. They cause the tsarevich John to be associated with Peter, and make the tsarevna Sophia regent, p. 864. A pillar is set up with an inscription, as if they had done some good service, p. 865. The boyar Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, after becoming commander of the streltsi, seeks to bring about a fresh insurrection in favour of the raskol, p. 866. He and his son Ivan are beheaded at Vosdvijensko, 17th Sept. A.D. 1682, p. 877. The pillar is demolished, p. 878. Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, p. 879. The punishment of the nobility, begun by a bloody massacre in A.D. 1682, was to be completed later by the tsar Peter, p. 879-881.

Ch. iii. Public punishments: punishment which fell upon *the Streltsi.*

Herein (From Solovieff's *History of Russia*): The tsar Peter abroad in A.D. 1698, p. 883. Antagonism between the *potieshnie* (Peter's new regiments of guards) and the streltsi, p. 884. Mutiny of four regiments of the streltsi, p. 885. They are routed by Sheyn and Gordon at Voskresensk, 17th June A.D. 1698, p. 892. Return of the tsar from Vienna, 26th Aug.: he shaves off the beards of his courtiers, p. 896. Inquests on

the rebel streltsi 17th-22d Sept., and executions 30th Sept., p. 897. Fresh inquests 3d-18th Oct., and executions 11-19th Oct., p. 898. Again inquests 23d-27th Jan. A.D. 1799, and executions 3d Feb., p. 900. Other inquests and executions at Azoff and Zmieff, p. 901. Suppression of the whole force of the streltsi, and substitution of a regularly-disciplined standing army, ib.

Ch. iv. Public punishments which fell upon *the Crown*: and first, of those which came chiefly from without, by the will of God, upon the person and family and dynasty of the tsar Alexis.

Herein: Introductory remarks; the punishments which fell upon the tsar Alexis have a double character, personal and public, and are partly chastisements for correction, partly penal retributions, p. 903. Enumeration of twenty-one punishments which fell upon him, p. 904. Admonitions of Nicon unheeded, p. 911. Will, and lamentation of the tsar Alexis, p. 912. His prayer, and the exclamation of Nicon, 'May God forgive him!' p. 916. Short reign, and virtues of the tsar Theodore, p. 918. His epitaph, p. 919; and that of his grand-nephew Peter III., p. 921. Transition to the other class of punishments, p. 922.

Ch. v. Public punishments which came upon *the Crown* from itself: *The ambitious and unnatural Daughter.*

Herein: Ambition of the tsarevna Sophia; murders, and fratricide, p. 923. Her conduct on the day of the funeral of the tsar Theodore, p. 925. She cannot prevent nor annul the election of Peter to the throne, but she causes John to be associated, and makes herself regent, p. 926. Peter lives with his mother at Preobrajensk, p. 928. Sophia marries the tsar John to Prascovia Theod. Soltikoff, ib. Government of Sophia, p. 929. Death of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, ib. Sophia and her instrument Shaklovitoy at first suspect no danger; and Peter is intent only on his amusements, p. 930. At length they are alarmed, and seek, but in vain, to stir up the streltsi, p. 931. She pretends to be afraid of an attack from Preobrajensk; and Peter, really alarmed by her feint, rides off in the night from Preobrajensk to Troitsa, 7th Aug. A.D. 1697, and calls to him thither his friends, &c., p. 938. General Gordon and other foreign officers go to Troitsa 4th Sept., p. 944. The streltsi force Sophia to give up Shaklovitoy, who is brought to Troitsa 7th Sept., tortured, and beheaded, p. 948. The prince Basil B. Golitsin and his son are only banished, ib. The monk Sylvester Medveydeff, formerly with Shaklovitoy a diak of the prikaz of secret service, is, like his friend, tortured and beheaded, p. 949. Letter of Peter to his brother John, p. 952. He compels Sophia to leave the palace, and to live in the Novodivichy monastery, ib. Peter's ministers, p. 953.

Ch. vi. Public punishments which came upon *the Crown* from itself: *The uneducated materialist Son.*

Herein: Peter more a Narishkin than a Romanoff, p. 955. His natural character, p. 956. Need of education to form a good man, and a good ruler, ib. Peter's childhood; his first teacher the diak Nikita Zotoff, p. 958. Early painful impressions, p. 960. He becomes a street boy, p. 961. Influence of his kravchi the prince Boris Al. Golitsin, p. 962. How he obtained an astrolabe, and made acquaintance with Timmermann, p. 963. His playfellow-soldiers, ib. He finds at Izmailoff an old English boat,

which had belonged to his great-uncle the boyar Nikita Iv. Romanoff, and makes Karsten Brandt repair it, p. 964. He frequents the German sloboda, p. 965. Four things to be noticed as contributing to the formation of his character: 1. natural growth; 2. his marriage; 3. the influence of the Genevese Lefort; and 4. his first stay abroad, p. 965. Notices of Lefort, p. 970. Peter's sham-fights; boating and shipbuilding, on the Yaouza, and on the lake at Pereyaslaff, p. 975. His first visit to the sea, at Archangel, in A.D. 1693, p. 977. Death of his mother the tsaritsa Natalia, p. 979. Peter again, in A.D. 1694, at Archangel; he visits the Solovetsky monastery, p. 980. The Kojoukhovski campaign of sham-fighting; Peter's 'compania,' banquets, and buffooneries, p. 981. He thinks of going to Kazan and Astrachan, and of having ships and galleys on the Caspian and the Baltic, p. 983. At the suggestion of Lefort he, in A.D. 1695, besieges Azoff, but without success, p. 984. He builds ships at Voronego; and in A.D. 1696 he takes Azoff, p. 985. Triumphal entry into Moscow on his return, p. 988. New form of council, including his foreign officers, p. 989. He sends fifty young Russian nobles to study shipbuilding, &c., abroad, ib. Design of the Great Embassy, in which he is to go abroad himself as a ship-carpenter, p. 990. Murmurs: disgrace of Peter Lopouchin; the monk Abramius and others punished for remonstrating, p. 991. Conspiracy of Tsikler and others, p. 994. The dead body of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky dug up, and the conspirators beheaded over it, p. 1001. The Great Embassy leaves Moscow; its stay at Riga, ib. The electresses of Hanover and Brandenburg meet the tsar at Koppenbruck, 27th July A.D. 1697, p. 1002. Peter's stay at Amsterdam, p. 1004. His stay in England, whence he writes orders to Moscow to tonsure his wife Eudocia, p. 1005. On the 18th June, A.D. 1698, he is at Vienna; the imperial government is now seeking to make peace with the Turks, p. 1008. Having received news of the mutiny of four regiments of the streltsi, Peter, instead of going on to Venice, returns through Poland to Moscow, p. 1009. Interview with the king of Poland at Rava; first suggestion of the Swedish war, ib. On the 25th Aug. he arrives at Moscow, and visits Anna Mons; and the next day he shaves off the beards of his courtiers, p. 1010. He sends away his wife to a convent at Souzdal, where she is tonsured by force, p. 1011. He gets into a violent passion with the boyar Shoyn, and is scarce restrained from killing him, p. 1012. He would have drawn his sword upon his sister Sophia, 11th Oct., but Lefort prevented him, p. 1013. He makes inquest in fourteen chambers of torture at Preobrajensk upon all the 1714 streltsi mutineers who had been taken prisoners; and after the inquests they are executed or butchered by hundreds, and their dead bodies left five months unburied, p. 1012-1015. He causes the tsarevnas Sophia and Martha to be tonsured, p. 1014. Shipbuilding at Voronege; the tsar's Christmas carols, ib. The new Lefort palace is dedicated with solemn buffoonery by a mock patriarch as a temple to Bacchus, p. 1015. Impression made by the tsar's cruelties; stories circulated about him and his chief inquisitor, Theodore Your. Romodanofsky, ib. Institution of the burgomeisters, p. 1017. Peter leaves for Voronege, 19th Feb. A.D. 1699; illness and death of Lefort, ib. Funeral sermon, p. 1018. Peter shows himself with a fleet in the Sea of Azoff, and sends an envoy thence in a ship of forty-six guns

to Constantinople, to convert the truce into a peace, p. 1021. The Livonian Patkul, having been outlawed by the Swedish government, instigates the king of Poland, Augustus, to make war with Sweden, in concert with the tsar, and with the king of Denmark, p. 1021. Perfidy of Peter, p. 1022. Peter institutes a regularly-disciplined standing army, p. 1023. The old long costume is changed by oukaz, p. 1024. The Poles and the Danes begin the war against Sweden, but the tsar dissembles, waiting till he learns that peace has been concluded at Constantinople, p. 1025. Then he also declares war against Sweden, and lays siege to Narva; but Charles XII., after having forced the Danes to sue for peace, raises the siege of Narva, taking nearly the whole army of the Russians prisoners of war, with their camp and all their artillery; interview of Peter with the king of Poland at Birgi, Feb. A.D. 1701, p. 1026. Foundation of Petersburg, 16th May A.D. 1703, p. 1027. Peter's confession of himself that he could not control his own passions, and that he had not been properly educated, ib.

APPENDICES TO VOLS. IV. AND V.

App. i. With reference to vol. iv. p. 127, respecting the words spoken by Nicon in the cathedral at Moscow on the 10th July A.D. 1658, when he left the chair, p. 1.

App. ii. With reference to vol. iv. p. 163 and p. 180. Of the exercise of spiritual supremacy by the tsar, in A.D. 1659 and 1660, by oukazes to the bishop Callistus and to the hegoumen Ignatius of Polotsk; and of their acceptance of the same supremacy, p. 4.

App. iii. With reference to vol. iv. p. 164, respecting the patriarchal procession on the ass on Palm Sunday, p. 8.

App. iv. With reference to vol. iv. p. 184. Precedents for abdication, such as it may have been desired in Feb. A.D. 1660 to obtain from the patriarch Nicon, p. 9.

App. v. With reference to vol. iv. p. 184, and to the convocation of the tsar's pseudo-synod in Feb. A.D. 1660. Address made at Moscow to the tsar by Callistus, bishop of Polotsk, p. 10.

App. vi. With reference to vol. iv. p. 281: and to vol. ii. p. 13, 384; and vol. iii. p. 181. Greek form of deposing a bishop, ib.

App. vii. With reference to vol. iv., to the footnote at p. 289. The affair of the deacon Theodosius, who had gone from the metropolitan Pitirim to Nicon, and had attempted to poison Nicon, p. 11.

App. viii. With reference to vol. iv. p. 380. Notices of Nicon, of the tsar Alexis, and of the boyar Boris Morozoff; and a list of the boyars and okolniks, &c., living in May A.D. 1662; from baron Meyerberg and his chaplain Glavinich, p. 14.

App. ix. With reference to vol. iv. p. 439. Detailed statement given by Roman Theod. Babarikin, 5th May A.D. 1663, to Nicon (appended by Nicon to his petition or memorial written to the tsar on or after the 16th June in A.D. 1663), p. 18.

App. x. With reference to vol. iv. p. 448. An account of the life and writings of the Austrian Croat Youry Krijanich (called in Russia the *Serbian*), from articles by Mr. Bezsonoff published in the *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie* of A.D. 1870, p. 24.

Herein: Birth of Krijanich near Ribnik, A.D. 1617, p. 24; he studies, first at Agram, then at Vienna (A.D. 1637), p. 25; then at Bologna, A.D. 1639-1640: thence goes to Rome, and lives as a boarder in the Greek Uniat College of St. Athanasius, p. 26; ordained priest, 18th May A.D. 1641, p. 27. Obtains a canonry at Zagreb, ib. Petitions to be allowed to celebrate according to the Eastern rite, but without success, ib. He goes to other places, Florence, Venice, and Constantinople, p. 28. After ten years, in A.D. 1652, he returns to Rome, and is elected a member of the Illyrian congregation of St. Jerome there, p. 29. Translates into Latin the modern Greek controversial writers, p. 30. Finally leaves Rome, ib. In Dec. 1658 presents himself to the Muscovite envoy Lichareff, then staying at Vienna, p. 31; thence goes to Lemberg, and to the Oukraine, to Niejin, and has friendly relations with the hetman Vigovskoy and the metropolitan Dionysius Balaban, ib. After the end of August A.D. 1659, at Niejin, he writes a *Description of a journey from Lemberg towards Moscow*, with recommendations addressed to the Muscovites, *i.e.* to the tsar, under present circumstances, p. 32; also an *Address to the Kozaks, as if from a Kozak*, p. 35. He arrives at Moscow in A.D. 1660, p. 37; and is banished to Siberia, to Tobolsk, 20th Jan. A.D. 1661, p. 38. At Tobolsk, besides ecclesiastics banished on account of the affair of Nicon (one of whom, the patriarchal diak Theodore, had been sent from Moscow at the same time with himself), he met the raskolnik protopope Abbakoum, who was then returning to Moscow, p. 39. Krijanich is said by Bezsonoff to have lived 200 years too soon, but this is not so, ib; his panslavism is based on principles entirely opposed to the materialism of Peter the Great and of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, p. 40. Works of Krijanich written in Siberia: 1. his *Extracts from Russian history*, both from *native* and from *foreign writers*, with dates to 16th Feb. A.D. 1662, p. 41; 2. his *Politica*, finished after 22d Oct. A.D. 1664, ib.; 3. his Slavonian *Grayematica*, written out fair, and preface prefixed, 7th Oct. A.D. 1665, p. 42; 4. *De Causis Victoriarum et Cladium*, or *De Providentia*, A.D. 1667, ib.; 5. *De S. Baptismo*, against the custom of rebaptising Poles and other Latins, A.D. 1668, p. 43; 6 and 7. *Refutation of the Solovetsky petition*, A.D. 1668, or *Of Schism, and of the Unity of the Church* (two distinct works, of A.D. 1668, and March A.D. 1675), p. 45; 8. *Littera pro Liberatione*, 30th May A.D. 1675, p. 49. On the death of the tsar Alexis, Krijanich was allowed (3d March A.D. 1676) to return to Moscow: there he wrote a *Letter to the tsar Theodore, being an Address to him on his happy Coronation*, with a petition for complete liberty (so after 18th June), p. 50. After this he left Moscow, and lived as a Catholic priest in Poland, where he wrote a book on Siberia, containing allusions to events (*e.g.* to the raising of the siege of Vienna) as late as A.D. 1683, p. 51.

App. xi. Extracts from that portion of Krijanich's *Politics* which has been published by Mr. Bezsonoff; exhibiting an idea and plan of improvement, based upon the same principles as those of the patriarch Nicon, and diametrically opposed to the materialist apostasy inaugurated by Peter the Great, p. 52.

App. xii. Extracts from Strocff's *Historico-juridical essay on the Code of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich* (of A.D. 1649): in connection with p. 480

and 488 of vol. iv.; and with vol. i. p. 351, &c., 391, 468-548; and vol. iii. p. 388-390, ib. p. 119.

App. xiii. Extracts from Gorchakoff's *History of the Monastirski Prikaz:* in connection with p. 431, 431-438, 461-463 of vol. iv., and with vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 477-500, and p. 547; vol. iii. p. 388, ib. p. 128.

App. xiv. Correspondence of Nicon with Sebastus, who had brought to the tsar (in A.D. 1664) a separate letter from the patriarch Nectarius of Jerusalem: in connection with p. 502 of vol. iv.; and with vol. iii. p. 349-356, and p. 457, ib. p. 143.

App. xv. Depositions respecting the return of Nicon to his chair at Moscow on the 18th Dec. A.D. 1664, taken on the 23d Dec. following: in connection with p. 543 of vol. iv.; and with vol. iii. p. 85-89, p. 104, and p. 393-397, ib. p. 152.

App. xvi. Depositions respecting the affair of the boyar Nikita Al. Ziuzin, Dec. A.D. 1664 and Jan. 1665, &c.: in connection with p. 555 of vol. iv.; and with vol. iii. p. 89, p. 374-377, and p. 393-397, ib. p. 166.

App. xvii. A letter written by order of the tsar Alexis to the monks of Mount Athos, A.D. 1666: in connection with p. 585 of vol. iv.; and with vol. iii. p. 359-360, ib. p. 178.

App. xviii. Of the synod held by Nicon in A.D. 1654 for the correction of the church books, and adhered to by the tsar's synod of the spring of A.D. 1666: in connection with p. 605 of vol. iv.; and with vol. ii. p. 407, 419; and vol. iii. p. 102-110, ib. 179.

In connection with this vol. v.

App. xix. In connection with p. 695, and p. 704-708. From Sabbotine: On the incompleteness of Solovieff's account of the *sessions* of the tsar's synod of Dec. A.D. 1666, ib. p. 191.

App. xx. In connection with p. 778 (and with the bad ends of some of those who served the tsar against Nicon). Notices respecting the Servian metropolitan Theodosius, ib. p. 194.

App. xxi. In connection with p. 779. From Solovieff: Of the later history and end of Paisius Ligarides, A.D. 1667 to 1676, ib. p. 195.

App. xxii. In connection with p. 778. Of the degradation, in A.D. 1675, of Joseph bishop of Kolomna, ib. p. 197.

App. xxiii. In connection with p. 807 (and with p. 777, and vol. iii. p. 536). Notices of Bogdan Matv. Khitroff, ib. p. 200.

App. xxiv. In connection with p. 783, 814, 856, and 903-918. From Solovieff: Remarks on the calamities of the reign of the tsar Alexis; and notices of the characters of his courtiers, ib. p. 206.

App. xxv. In connection with p. 919 (and with p. 832-834, and 854). Schebolsky's estimate of the character of the patriarch Nicon, ib. p. 220.

App. xxvi. In connection with p. 923-954. From Schebolsky's *Regency of the tsarevna Sophia*, ib. p. 221.

App. xxvii. In connection with p. 946-949. Notices respecting the regent Sophia and her friend and minister the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin, ib. p. 224.

App. xxviii. In connection with p. 949-951. Verses addressed to the regent Sophia in A.D. 1685 by Sylvester Medveydeff, at the same time that

he presented to her the Charter of the new Moscow Academy; and notice of the miserable ends of Medveydeff and his friend Shaklovitoy, ib. p. 228.

App. xxix. In connection with p. 965 (and with vol. ii. *Travels of Macarius*, &c. p. 130, and vol. iii. p. 165). Of the German Sloboda, called *Koukou*, ib. p. 233.

App. xxx. In connection with p. 970-975, and 1001. From Coxe's *Travels in Poland and Russia*, &c. Respecting the hard drinking of Lefort and the tsar Peter when they were in Livonia in A.D. 1697, ib. p. 233.

App. xxxi. In connection with p. 1001-1027 (with the year 1697, just before the end of the patriarchate on the death of Adrian). 1. List of papers lying loose in the patriarchal archives in A.D. 1697, and *then* gummed together into twenty-two rolls, the first *five* of which consisted of papers relating to the *affair of the patriarch Nicon*, ib. p. 233: also 2. Enumeration of *the same papers relating to the affair of Nicon*, as *still* preserved in the synodal library at Moscow, in *twelve* rolls, arranged in an order somewhat different from that of A.D. 1697, and *with the loss of two important documents* of A.D. 1663, ib. p. 239.

App. xxxii. In connection with p. 1027 (with the years 1697 and 1721). Papers relating to the affair of the patriarch Nicon which at the end of the seventeenth century were in the *prikaz of secret service* at Moscow, and which were catalogued, together with others, when transported to St. Petersburg towards the end of the reign of Peter the Great. Extracted from the original *List*, &c., as published in vol. ii. p. 18 of the *Memoirs* (*Zapiski*) *of the Russian Archæological Society*, S.P.B., A.D. 1861, ib. p. 247.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE DEGRADATION AND IMPRISONMENT OF NICON BY SENTENCE OF THE MIXED SYNOD OF DECEMBER A.D. 1666; AND OF THE THIRD AND FINAL MANIFESTATION OF THE SPIRITUAL LEPROSY.

§ i. THE invasion of the sanctuary by the civil power in Russia, begun in fact from July 10, A.D. 1658, and legalised by the pseudo-synod of A.D. 1660, having been anathematised by Nicon in A.D. 1662, there followed, as has been said above, in punishment of this sin, a certain spiritual *leprosy*, which came out—

First, when Paisius Ligarides was sent to Nicon in July A.D. 1663 as the commissioner of the tsar, the clergy, and the nobility. Of this an account has been given above in chapter vi.

Secondly, when translations and appointments of bishops were made in A.D. 1664, under the blessing and by the imposition of the hands of the same Paisius Ligarides, the very life-blood of the Church being so permanently poisoned and polluted; and when after this Ligarides was again sent as commissioner to reject the blessing of Nicon, and to order him to depart finally from Moscow. This too has been treated of above in chap. vii.

It remains now to describe that third manifestation of the same leprosy, which is connected with the final condemnation of Nicon by a plenary synod of the orthodox Eastern Church in Dec. A.D. 1666.

In the spring of A.D. 1665, when the tsar and the council knew that it was reported of Paisius Ligarides that he had been deposed and excommunicated by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and that at Moscow he was guilty of unmentionable immorality, not only did they still honour him publicly and employ him, and take his blessing as before, but the tsar even commissioned him to compose two letters for himself to the Eastern patriarchs, and even to that patriarch Nectarius by whom Ligarides was said to

have been excommunicated. And so he gave Paisius an opportunity of revenging himself upon Nectarius by taunts and sneers —unhappily too well deserved—on his double-mindedness, and on those scruples of conscience which had made him write his separate letter to the tsar '*quite too late*;' sneers of which Nectarius must have recognised the author, but which he could not notice or resent, as they seemed to be addressed to him by the tsar himself.

Again, when the tsar, in A.D. 1666, through the secret mission of Sabbas, had not only obtained from Dionysius the ex-patriarch of Constantinople, and probably also from Nectarius, a confirmation of the reports that Paisius Ligarides was a Latin heretic and a bad man, but had detected him and his friends Meletius and Stephen (employed at his recommendation as the tsar's agents in the Levant) in an impudent forgery, this also made no difference; he was still honoured publicly and employed, and his blessing was still taken as before.

However, when the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and some other Eastern bishops engaged by the tsar through Meletius, were known to be on their way to Moscow, Paisius Ligarides, so Solovieff writes, thought it best for himself to withdraw from the final *dénouement* of the affair in which he had previously taken so influential a part; and he gave in to the tsar a petition containing the following words:

'I came hither not to dispute with Nicon, or to judge him, but to relieve *my see* of the *debt* which burdens *it*. I have received thy liberal alms, *one half of which* has been stolen from me by that thief Agathangelus. I deliver him over to an everlasting curse, as a new Judas. I beg you to dismiss me before all the synod be assembled in Moscow. If I have had so much to suffer (from *calumnious imputations*, &c.) already, *before* the meeting of the synod, what shall I not have to suffer *after* it? It is enough, most gracious tsar, it is enough! I cannot farther serve thy holy court (*palata*); let thy servant go, let him go. As one free and uncalled [elsewhere, 'of my own will,' ἰδιοθέλως], I came hither; so let it be free for me to depart hence *to my own see*.' Vol. iii. p. 427.

So he implied that if the tsar insisted on keeping him to meet personally two of the patriarchs and a number of other bishops and ecclesiastics from the Levant, some of whom must

have heard more or less about his antecedents, there would be greater need now than before—and there was need enough before—that the tsar should protect him against all accusers, and cause all to receive him. Also, by asking to be dismissed just at the moment when his services would be most wanted, and mentioning that money was his only object in coming to Moscow, and that apart from this object he had no reason to dispute against Nicon; also that he had been robbed of one half of all that he had hitherto received,—he gave a broad hint that if he were to stay on, the least the tsar could do was to make up to him that loss.

The tsar did make him stay on; and he caused all those Eastern clerks and bishops, and the two patriarchs themselves, to receive him and to communicate with him, thus touching them all with his own leprosy.

Arrival of the patriarchs: Ligarides is given to them as their instructor.

§ ii. When the patriarchs were approaching, and when they arrived at Moscow (Friday Nov. 2), they were met outside and inside the city with letters and addresses read or spoken by different dignitaries, all in that style of rhetoric which was characteristic of the age, and some of them with such peculiarities as make one suspect that the tsar, the bishops, and all Moscow and the Muscovite empire, welcomed those whom they had hired to judge unjustly through the lips or the pen of Paisius Ligarides.

The patriarchs were lodged on their arrival in the podvorie of the Cyrilloff monastery. On Sunday the 4th of Nov. the tsar received them in the zolotaia hall of the palace; and they brought with them their presents. Ligarides gives their address to the tsar, and the tsar's reply; in which he compares 'the Russian Church, deserted for some secret and *unknown* sins, to that Berenice (the woman with the bloody flux) who was healed by touching the robe of Christ.' The next day the tsar sent to the patriarchs his own presents in return. And Solovieff writes that on that same day, viz. Monday the 5th, the two patriarchs sat closeted with the tsar alone three hours.

Two minutes from the archives of the Foreign Office.

No. ii. 'On the 5th Oct. A.M. 7175 (A.D. 1666), by oukaz of

the tsar &c., there was delivered to the synod in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate—

'1. The *Synodal Act* (of A.D. 1660; see above, p. 269-283).

'2. The *Letter of the patriarch Nicon*, which he sent by the stolnik Matthew Poushkin (in Feb. A.D. 1660 from the Krestnoy; see above, p. 237), under the seal of the boyar Peter Mich. Soltikoff; and a strip of a roll (*stolpik*), at the top of which was written in pencil "*Synodal Act.*"

'3. *Two Depositions*, in the handwriting of Epiphanius Slavenetsky (see above, p. 258, 259, nos. xvii. and xviii.; and p. 284).

'Received by Joachim archimandrite of the Choudoff monastery.'

The second minute.

No. ii. 'On the 6th Nov. A.D. 1666, by oukaz of the tsar &c., the *box* and the acts (or papers) *according to this list* (the list of Oct. 6, A.D. 1660, printed above at p. 283, no. xxii.) were delivered to the ecclesiastical authorities (the *vlasti*). Joachim the archimandrite of the Choudoff received them.'

The original minutes, written by a contemporary quick writer on one leaf, are preserved, together with that printed above at p. 283, in the archives at Moscow.

On the day after that long private conference of the patriarchs with the tsar which has been mentioned above, that is, on Tuesday 6th Nov., the bishops visited the patriarchs, bringing each of them his present; and after them the archimandrites and hegoumens. On that day the metropolitan of Gaza also visited them and delivered an address; and he represents them as saying to him in their reply: 'We thank thee, and we respond to thy good wishes with *fraternal* prayers and benedictions. May the angel of the Lord go before thee, carrying thee on *from virtue to virtue*,' &c. Vol. iii. p. 127.

After dilating upon three questions—whether synods are useful, whether the emperor can call them, and whether this present synod is œcumenical—and two others, respecting the title of Œcumenical Judge and the title of Patriarch, which he pretends were discussed as preliminary—the first three in the krestovaia hall, the other two in their lodgings—Paisius Ligarides relates that there was a meeting of all the synod, in presence of the synclete, in the palace: and that the tsar opened the proceedings by thanking God for the sight of that assembly, and hoping that

the work aimed after might be brought to a good end, that is, that he might procure peace to the Church, *or rather to the empire*, which has been torn asunder, *like Pentheus and Osiris*, by factions and schisms. Vol. iii. p. 155.

Solovieff also, after mentioning that on Monday Nov. 5 the patriarchs sat closeted alone with the tsar three hours, writes that on Wednesday the 7th Nov. there was *another* consultation, to which were admitted the bishops, boyars, okolniks, and people of the council. The tsar spoke to them *of the departure of the patriarch Nicon* from Moscow; and the bishops gave in *the depositions* (taken in Feb. A.D. 1660) and the *extracts* made from the canons (in A.D. 1660 and 1666).

Ligarides, after giving his own abridgment of the tsar's address, continues thus: 'Then there were brought into the midst the *two patriarchal tomes* (of A.D. 1663-1664), which had been *translated about this time from the Greek* [into Latin] *by Paisius the metropolitan of Gaza* [and from his Latin by others] *into Russ*. And there were read aloud from them the most important portions of their contents.

'And after this reading the bishops present were asked by the patriarchs, whether Nicon were to be condemned according to the accusations there made? All cried out, Yes! And the *first* of them *in rank*, Pitirim,[1] added that there were *many other offences also* for which Nicon had been found worthy of condemnation, though those contained in the passages read out from the patriarchal tomes were the more flagrant and important, in which he seems altogether guilty and liable to punishment.

'There were read some of the *letters* sent at different times' (*i.e.* four letters to the tsar, in which Nicon wrote himself '*late* patriarch,' or declared that he had no *wish* to return to his chair, and a letter of proposals, in which he offered, though only on certain conditions, to concur in the appointment of another patriarch. See vol. iii. p. 428, 458, 459, 469).

'And then, after much discussion and careful examination [made previously in preparing them], there were handed to the patriarchs divers libels, containing the chief charges against Nicon in a succinct form' (prepared by the metropolitan of Gaza,

[1] Who had first been vicar-bishop under Nicon, then vicar of the tsar, and who, after being anathematised as such in A.D. 1662 by Nicon, was by the tsar *and Paisius Ligarides* in A.D. 1664 promoted to the first metropolitan see of Russia, that of Novgorod.

or not without his assistance); from which he Paisius Ligarides gives in his *History* a not very *succinct* spicilegium or compendium: in truth, it is a verbose philippic addressed to the two patriarchs, which may be compressed as follows:

'This *kaki*arch, born a pauper—poorer than any Irus—having been, by a marvellous fortune, raised to the patriarchate, attempted, with the mad ambition of Lucifer, to set his own chair *above those of the other patriarchs:* at last, as a mule, he kicked his own benefactor the tsar, and, as a viper, he bit and wounded the great church of Christ, his own mother and nurse. Being outside [the Turkish empire], and enjoying a prosperous establishment, he thought to make himself a Pope, so attacking the pope of Alexandria. He elbowed aside the patriarch of Jerusalem by making himself patriarch of a New Jerusalem; and the patriarch of Antioch by claiming, through a forged document, the *third*[2] place; and the patriarch of Constantinople by taking the title of Patriarch of *Little*[3] *Russia*. He insulted the patriarchs as if not in possession of their sees. He adorned himself with vain ostentation: used a looking-glass and a comb: imprisoned men, and, entering the prisons, set men free: struck and kicked: obelized the Triadic hymns: blessed the water only once at the Theophany: was reordained, and reordained others: would not call the bishops brethren: called the local synod (of A.D. 1660), which declared him put out, *a synagogue:* nicknamed two bishops Annas and Caiaphas: placed portraits of himself in churches: took the secular title of great hossoudar: was covetous, and cruel: wasted the revenues of the Church: seized lands of surrounding proprietors: appointed venal judges, and those laymen: at last, in a passion, publicly deposed and degraded himself, hanging himself, like Haman, on his own gallows.' (The whole document is printed in vol. iii. p. 157-166.)

'These things having been thus done and spoken, and the libels having been delivered to the patriarchs to be studied by them in their lodgings, the emperor named two of the Russian bishops, viz. Paul metropolitan of Kroutitz[4] and Hilarion archbishop of Riazan, to explain to the patriarchs and to put into form definitively the charges against Nicon.

[2] See vol. i. p. 51; and Mouravieff's *Hist. of the Russ. Church*, p. 132, 339.

[3] See vol. ii. p. 281, 408, 518.

[4] Appointed by the tsar, and consecrated with the blessing and by the imposition of the hands of Paisius Ligarides in A.D. 1661.

'Both the patriarchs accepted this choice and proposal of the emperor. They added, however, *as a request of their own:* "Do us the favour, O most serene monarch, to give us also a bishop *of our own tongue*, that is, *Paisius of Gaza, who is not ignorant of the affair of Nicon.*"

"He is yours from this moment," the emperor replied: "*from him ye can learn all, with as much detail as ye please.*" After this the assembly broke up.' Vol. iii. p. 156.

Nicon is summoned Nov. 29; *and comes to Moscow.*

§ iii. 'After this,' Paisius writes, 'all the bishops assembled,' that is, three weeks later, on Wednesday the 28th November; 'and after much besides this also was made a question, whether Nicon must be summoned? &c. And some indeed [the tsar, apparently, and Ligarides himself, were of this mind] were well pleased with the decision of the patriarchal tomes, which *distinctly* signified[5] that it was *by no means* necessary, as the charges against him were already clearly established by trustworthy[6] witnesses, against whom nobody could object. Nevertheless it was the voice of the majority, and it prevailed, that it was *by all means necessary* that Nicon should be summoned,' &c. Vol. iii. p. 167.

But Solovieff's account is as follows: 'On the 28th there was a *third* session. The tsar *read through the charges* against Nicon, and *asked* the patriarchs to *decide the matter* according to the canons and according to their own discretion and judgment' (that is, to apply the indirect condemnation pronounced in the *patriarchal tomes* against some one not named, to Nicon). 'The patriarchs replied, that it was necessary to summon Nicon, and call upon him to answer to the charges.'

'So, in presence of our most serene autocrat &c. (Paisius continues) in the *zolotaia* palata, the patriarchs Paisius and Macarius presiding, and all the most sacred bishops (of whom Ligarides himself was one) being present, and all the most splendid synclete, a decree was passed that Nicon, late patriarch of Moscow, should be cited to make answer to the question: For what cause had he left his chair?' Vol. iii. p. 167.

And the next day, Thursday the 29th, there were sent to Voskresensk one *bishop* certainly, but a bishop who had been con-

[5] They had been meant by P. Ligarides so to signify; but they did not, at least not *distinctly*.

[6] In the margin of the contemporary MS. '*un*trustworthy.'

secrated in A.D. 1664 under the blessing or initiative and by the imposition of the hands of Paisius Ligarides, viz. Arsenius archbishop of Pskoff, with Sergius archimandrite of the Spassky at Yaroslaff, and Paul of the Euthymieff at Souzdal, and a polkovnik with streltsi, bidding Nicon, in the name of the patriarchs and all the sacred synod, to go quickly to Moscow, to the synod, *in humble guise*, without disobedience, for information about divers spiritual matters, and to make answer why he had left his chair, and made his abode at Voskresensk. And they came to him at the sixth hour of the day (between one and two o'clock P.M.), and they recited the full title of the tsar &c. But Nicon said to them: 'Whence have the patriarchs and your *assembly* (*soborisheche*) learned to act thus, sending to me, who have been the chief of the bishops, archimandrites and hegoumens, contrary to the canons?' The archimandrite Sergius stepped forward and said: 'Answer, wilt thou go, or wilt thou not go? we are not speaking to thee by canons, but by oukaz of the hossoudar.' Nicon replied: 'I do not say that I will not go, but I will hear no words from thee; there is with you a bishop, and it is for me to speak with them; but with you monks I will have nothing to do, for ye have come to me contrary to the canons.' The archbishop read to him the written summons, and said: 'Tell us what we are to report to the great hossoudar; wilt thou come to the synod, or dost thou refuse?' And Nicon, having heard the writing of the patriarchs read, said: 'I have my institution to the pontificate and to the patriarchal chair not from the patriarch of Alexandria, nor from the patriarch of Antioch, but from the patriarch of Constantinople. The patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch themselves live not in Alexandria and Antioch [any more than I live at Moscow]; but *if* they are now come *with the knowledge and consent*[1] *of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem* to Moscow for divers spiritual matters "for information," in that case I also, so soon as I shall have got ready, will come to Moscow for divers spiritual matters, and to give information.' The archbishop informed him that they had no orders to return to Moscow without him the patriarch Nicon. And he said: 'As soon as I have got ready, I will go.' Vol. iii. p. 413.

[1] See vol. iii. p. 182, 419, 433, 445 (but comp. p. 192), where the two patriarchs together with the tsar assert falsely to or against Nicon that they *have* so come, and p. 456-463 and p. 477, where in writing to the other two patriarchs they pretend nothing of the kind.

And having sung the vespers with the compline, Nicon ordered the archimandrite and all the clergy to prepare to celebrate together with him the liturgy. And he had his own chamber office, consisting of compline with three kanons, to Jesus, to the Blessed Virgin, and to the Angel, said, according to his custom for every night, in his cells. After that he gave orders to put up some books to be taken with him to Moscow, viz. the *Kormchay*, containing the canons of the Apostles and the holy fathers, the *Readers' Psalter*, and a MS. book (his own *Vozrajenia*) against the *Thirty Questions* of the boyar Simeon Lucian. Streshneff, and against the *Answers* of Païsius the metropolitan of Gaza; and nothing else, except one cross to be borne before him. And after a short interval (on the morning of Friday the 30th), he bade them sound the bells for the matins; and after the matins he called for his confessor, and made his confession. And then he began himself with all the clergy the office for the blessing of the holy oil (the εὐλάιον); and having anointed himself and all the clergy and the brethren with holy oil, he returned to his cells, and began to say the hours, and the prayers of preparation for communion.

And the archbishop and the archimandrites, who the evening before had sent a courier to Moscow reporting what had passed, now[8] sent word to Nicon that they were coming to him on business of the hossoudar. But he would not that they should come then, saying: 'At present I am preparing myself for the heavenly Tsar;' and he gave orders at the same time to sound the bells for the liturgy. And when he had gone forth to the church with the priests and with the usual singing, and, having been vested in the church in the customary way, began the liturgy, just then the archbishop Arsenius, with the rest who were sent with him, came into the church of the holy Calvary.

And the patriarch calling to him a subdeacon, the monk Germanus (afterwards archimandrite of the monastery), bade him tell the archimandrite Sergius to go out of the church, because he was then making a disturbance by disputing with a number of people about the newly-corrected books and the Greek

[8] Having received at the seventh hour of the night preceding (at half-past ten o'clock P.M. Nov. 30) a letter, which had crossed their first report, from Paul the metr. of Krouttz. Note here that the letters both of the tsar and of the sacred synod, and the reports and answers to them, are transmitted through Paul as vicar and guardian of the *patriarchate*. So Nicon is now made in a manner to summon himself.

singing. The subdeacon spoke to him the word of the patriarch; and they, after consulting together, went out all of them from the church, and stood on the stair of the holy Calvary. The patriarch bade his singers sing all the words of the liturgy in Greek, but with the chant of Kieff; and so he communicated in the holy mysteries. And after the liturgy, *before the dismissal*, he taught the brethren from the divine Scriptures about *patience*, that they should take and suffer cheerfully distresses and persecutions for Christ's sake; and he read [an instruction] from the Discourses [of St. John Chrysostom] on the Epistles. After he had finished reading, and had made the dismissal of the liturgy, he went to his cells, having given peace and blessing to the brethren. But they who had been sent from Moscow, and who were standing on the stair of the Calvary, cried out in an unseemly way, saying: 'Why dost thou keep us here, and neither refuse nor say that thou art going?' especially the archimandrite Sergius.

But Nicon said to him: 'I neither listen to any words of thine, nor regard them:' and so they went into his cells. Presently after this the patriarch said to the archbishop in his cells: 'Wherefore didst thou this morning send again to me, and didst desire to announce to me an oukaz of the hossoudar?' And he replied: 'There is an oukaz of the hossoudar that thou shouldest go to Moscow to the synod, and make answer for thyself, why thou didst leave thy chair. If thou dost not go, then we shall go and make our report about thee to the great hossoudar.' The patriarch said to him: 'Glory be to God, I am now quite ready, and will go;' and he gave orders to put to, and went forth from his cells, the day now already inclining towards evening. And it was then the fast before the Nativity, the afternoon before the first day of December. And so all the brethren accompanied him with tears from the monastery as far as the spot called the Mount Olivet. At the cross here the patriarch said a prayer, and bade the deacon say the ectenia; and having so made petitions for the religious tsar and for all his house, and for all the brethren, and for all Christians, and having given to the brethren peace and blessing and pardon, he went on his way. And the brethren and all the orthodox inhabitants of the place, and the work-people of the monastery, as they received his blessing and farewell wept much, having a presentiment that they were never to see him again. The patri-

arch as he went was preceded by a certain polkovnik named Ostavieff, with streltsi; and after him there followed the archbishop and the other spiritual *authorities* (*vlasti*), who had been sent from Moscow. (Shusherin, *Life of Nicon*, p. 98.)

Meanwhile, on the morning of the same day, Nov. 30, the synod having met again in presence of the tsar in the stolovaia izba (or banqueting-hall) of the palace, declaration was made of the answer of Nicon, and it was regarded as insulting. And they sent Philaret archimandrite of the Rojdestvenni at Vladimir and the hieromonach Barlaam kellar of the Novospass with a second summons, in which was written: Thou didst not obey the oukaz of the great hossoudar, and the command of the most holy patriarchs; nor didst thou come to Moscow. Thou didst answer disrespectfully &c. (vol. iii. p. 414 and 417); and he was ordered now to come to Moscow on the *second* of *December*, during the second or third hour of the night, and to go to the podvorie of the church of the Archangel in the Kremlin, at the Nikolsky gates; and to go in humble guise, with only ten persons, or fewer. There was also yet a third written summons of like contents, sent by Joseph archimandrite of the Novospass, who was to read it to Nicon either at Voskresensk or wherever he might meet him.

Having sent off these messengers, so Solovieff continues, the synod employed itself (on the 30th Nov.[9]) in reading out the canonical Answers of the *tomes* sent before (in A.D. 1663-1664) from the four patriarchs. The patriarchs Paisius and Macarius testified that these canonical Answers had really been subscribed and sent by them, and asked: 'Is Nicon guilty according to this tome?' 'He is guilty,' replied the bishops and the boyars (vol. iii. p. 417).

And when Nicon had come near to the selo Chernevo, there met him the archimandrite of the Rojdestvenni of Vladimir, Philaret, bidding them to halt; and they halted. And he, having first recited the titles of the great hossoudar and of the most holy œcumenical patriarchs, and mentioning all the sacred synod, said that they 'sent to thee the above-named bishop Arsenius, and archimandrites and hegoumens; and thou didst dishonour them, and dost not come to Moscow.' But he said to him: 'Thou liest in saying that I dishonoured them who were sent, and that I am

[9] But Paisius Ligarides in his *History*, vol. iii. p. 156, makes this to have been done earlier, *i.e.* in session of Nov. 7: but it may have been done more than once.

not coming to Moscow: I did not dishonour them, but ye dishonour me when ye, who are only archimandrites, come to me, who am the primate of the bishops, contrary to the canons.' And the archimandrite Philaret replied: 'We obey the command of the tsar and of the œcumenical patriarchs and of all the synod: and what art thou to oppose thyself?' And the patriarch said: 'There is no one to whom I can complain against you: I can only complain to God, and call heaven and earth to witness.' And he said: 'Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth!' And again they went on their way, and came to the selo Chernevo, called by the patriarch Nazareth. And behold here there met him again the archimandrite of the Novospass Joseph;[10] and again they commanded them to stand; and they stood. And he asked for a light, because he had the summons written with the titles of the most holy patriarchs as well as those of the tsar, which he was to recite, but did not know by heart. Then they brought lights. And he began to read from the paper the same words as had been read a little before by the archimandrite Philaret, with this addition: 'And after those who were first sent, they again sent to thee the archimandrite of the monastery of the Nativity at Vladimir, Philaret, and thou hast dishonoured him, and comest not to Moscow. And now thou art to be at Moscow on the 3d of December: and thou art to come with only a few persons, three or four hours before dawn, or in the evening three or four hours after nightfall.' And the patriarch answered and said to him: 'O full of falsehood and injustice! how long is it since the archimandrite of Vladimir was speaking with us, and he is even now with us? and how has he been dishonoured, and how am I *not going?* Woe unto your lying and injustice! And why do ye bid me enter the city *by night*, and with only a few people? Is it that ye want to *smother* me, as they smothered the metropolitan Philip when he was alone in his cell?' The archimandrite said: 'I am *not a free man:* they wrote and gave me what I was to say; and that I say.'

After this they went on to the selo Toushino. There the polkovnik stopped them, and said: 'How can we go on, when there is an oukaz of the great hossoudar to come on the 3d Decem-

[10] The archimandrite Joseph in his report (see vol. iii. p. 415) says that this was 'at the *fifth* hour of the night,' which in November at Moscow *began* at half-past eight o'clock P.M. The archimandrite Philaret in his report (ib. p. 414) says that *he* met Nicon with the second summons at the *fourth* hour of the night.

ber? We will send a courier to Moscow, but we ourselves and our horses will *rest* here.' The patriarch said to him: 'Do as ye please;' and thereupon he gave orders to prepare a certain house (*dom*), so that there should be nobody in it: and they prepared it. And he went in to the chamber (*izba*), and began to sing the vespers and compline and his cell-office; and when we had rested for a short space, there came again an oukaz of the great hossoudar, that we should come on at once, and enter Moscow three or four hours before daybreak. So they set forth again, and came to Moscow four hours before dawn, going first to the Vagankovo, thence to the Smolensk gates, and then to the old stone bridge. At the gates of this bridge there were set many lanterns, and they looked at us, to see who we were, and how many there were of us. And they came to the podvorie of the Archangel, which is in the Kremlin at the Nikolsky gates; and the instant that we had passed through they shut the gates upon us. And just as I had said, 'Why have they shut the gates?' the polkovnik said to me: 'There is a matter of the great hossoudar.' And there ran up two streltsi, who said to the polkovnik: 'That is the man.' And he said to me: 'Get down from thy horse, and give up the cross; and go with them: there is a matter of the great hossoudar touching thee.' Now the patriarch had said to me while we were still on the road: 'If any one takes thee away anywhither,[11] give up the cross to *me*, into my own hand.' So I dismounted, and gave up the cross to the patriarch himself. And the two streltsi laid hold of me, taking me under the armpits, and carried me as it were in the air, so that I could not even put my feet to the ground, straight to the guard-station at the stone bridge; and thence they took me up into the palace, and brought me before the great hossoudar alone in the palace, above. And the great hossoudar began to question me about matters of which I knew nothing: and when I denied, and said that I knew nothing, he said to me: 'Thou now wilt not tell me [what thou knowest]; if thou dost not, thou wilt have to lie in prison till it please God [to take thee out, *i.e.* all thy life]; but if thou wilt tell me [what thou knowest], thou shalt be set at liberty at once.' But I, without being intimidated, said that I really knew nothing, God strengthening me. And thereupon I was imprisoned in the

[11] One MS. copy found and collated by the translator on Mount Athos has: 'When any one takes thee and begins to use violence, then do thou,' &c.

prikaz of secret service, and I lay there eleven days (till Dec. 12); and then I was given in charge to the polkovniks [to be kept in the Streletski prikaz] under strict guard, and I was there three years and more. After that I was sent to Great Novgorod, to be there in banishment; and there I remained ten years (*i.e.* till the beginning of A.D. 1680).

Meantime the patriarch and the rest who had come with him had been put into the podvorie of the Archangel,[12] which had been prepared for him in that same night: and it was now getting on towards dawn. That dvor was in the castle of the Kremlin, at the Nikolsky gates. And in the chambers there had been got ready, and were set lighted and burning, many candles. And as soon as all who were with Nicon had come in and were together in the dvor, they posted before the outer door, and all round that dvor, a strong force to keep strict guard; so that not only could no one go into that dvor or out from it, but no one could even pass by it. And the patriarch with the rest of his company sang their matins.

And when it was day they barred up the Nikolsky gates very strongly, so that nobody should be able to go that way past the dvor: and not only so, but they entirely broke down and cut off the great bridge (which is over the fosse) leading to those gates.

And after some time they sang the hours, and the rest that goes with them: and when they had finished singing the hours, Nicon bade the econome Theodosius prepare the table for himself and for the rest who were with him. But he replied that all the provisions which had been put up for them at Voskresensk and brought to Moscow had been carried to the lodge (the *podvorie*) of the Voskresensky monastery, because they would not let them pass in hither to this dvor of the Archangel in the night; and now, he said, by the tsar's command, they let no one come into this dvor, nor go out from it. And so saying, he showed him one quartern (*chetvertina*) of bread (and that, he said, was all they had), which he the econome had taken with himself in the sledge. The patriarch bade him cut that up for himself and the rest, saying: 'That we be not like the Jews, fasting on the Sabbath, contrary to the canons.' Now all the souls who were with him,

[12] Ligarides calls it 'the house of the Servian metr. Theodosius,' because that metropolitan had been lodged there previously.

of monks and lay people, were about thirty, or more. And so they passed that day (Saturday December 1).

First appearance of Nicon before the synod; that is, before the tsar, the boyars, the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and other Greek and Russian ecclesiastics, and before Paisius Ligarides.

§ iv. And on the morrow of the next day, which was Sunday[13] Dec. 2, there came from the tsar and from the œcumenical patriarchs and from all the sacred synod Arsenius archbishop of Pskoff, Alexander bishop of Viatka, and the archimandrites Paul of Souzdal and Sergius of Yaroslaff, and many others of the ecclesiastical order.[14] And when they had entered, and after praying had sat down, and had said a few words as in conversation, they rose and said: 'The tsar's majesty and the most holy œcumenical patriarchs and all the sacred synod call thee to the synod.' And Nicon said, 'I am ready;' and he at once rose up to go; and he bade a monk, an anagnost named Mark, to carry the cross before him. But when they who had been sent saw that he meant to go with the cross, they sought to prevent him, and said: 'It is not proper for thee to go thus: for this is not a synod of misbelievers, but orthodox.' The patriarch in reply said much out of the divine Scriptures about the holy cross, of its power and victory. But they would not give in, and said: 'Thou must go without the cross.'

Nicon was equally determined, and refused to go without the cross. So, after a while, the commissioners sent certain persons to the synod, to the tsar and the rest, to inform them of this. And there were sent back to the commissioners others to tell

[13] P. Ligarides (vol. iii. p. 168) writes, 'On the 1st Dec.;' and Solovieff (ib. p. 417), 'The next day, 1st Dec.;' and in the synodal manifesto (ib. p. 439) it is written that Nicon 'came to Moscow on the 1st Dec.; and forthwith (*abie*) the synod, having assembled &c., sent to summon him' &c. But the circumstances mentioned by Shusherin, and even by Solovieff (ib. p. 427), show that Shusherin is accurate. Perhaps the word '*abie*' (*i.e.* forthwith) in the synodal manifesto misled those who wrote afterwards.

[14] But the synodal manifesto—here to be followed rather than Shusherin, who wrote not from personal recollection of these particulars, but from the relation of others, and years after—names, *without Arsenius*, 'Alexander bishop of Viatka (who in A.D. 1663 had written a petition against Nicon), Methodius bishop of Mstislaff (for consecrating whom the metr. Pitirim had been anathematised by Nicon), and Joseph archimandrite of the Pechersky monastery at Nijny Novgorod.'

them to insist upon his going without the cross. Meanwhile, during that altercation, they had moved on a little way out of the inner room into the antechamber, and there the commissioners importuned him again unremittingly to leave the cross behind; and so they did in the corridor; and on the upper landing-place of the stair: and lastly at the foot of the stair they stopped him again, and pressed him most vehemently. But Nicon on this point yielded not a jot; but answered to all they said out of the divine Scriptures, as the Holy Ghost inspired him. Meanwhile runners from the synod to them, and from them to the synod, were continually hastening backwards and forwards, and carrying word of everything: and much time was spent. But when at length they perceived that he was not thus to be subdued, there came fresh messengers from the synod, yielding to him that he might come with the cross borne before him.

So the patriarch got into his sledge, in which he had come from his monastery, and went to the synod, preceded by the cross. But from that dvor in which he was lodged, all the way to the church of the Annunciation, which is connected with the tsar's palace, and over all the place of the Kremlin, there was assembled such a crowd of people, that it was with great difficulty that they made room for him to pass between them.

When he was come opposite to the cathedral, where the liturgy was then celebrating, and the south doors were standing open, he would have gone in; but they hastily shut those doors in his face. He, seeing this, crossed himself, and made a reverence towards the holy church, and got again into his sledge: and so they came near to the church of the Annunciation, before which were standing the sledges of the œcumenical patriarchs, bedizened with all manner of gilding and ornaments, with two magnificent horses harnessed to them, and carpeted with sables; while Nicon's sledge was one of the meanest and smallest, with poor horses or mules; and they set it beside those others.

And so he went past the church of the Annunciation, by the porch; and there also inside the church they were singing the liturgy. But when he was come up to the doors of the church they again shut those doors in his face, just as they had done at the cathedral. And so he went past, and up to the palace above, to the doors of the banqueting-hall (the *stolovaia*), where that synod was assembled. And as he was approaching to that hall,

its doors were standing open [and the synod was visible, seated within]; but just as he had come close, those doors also were shut in his face, and he was kept standing there some time, while they were consulting in the synod and determining that at the entrance of the patriarch nobody should rise up before him, but all should remain seated. And when at length they opened the doors, the patriarch entered with the holy cross borne before him.

At this moment the tsar was sitting in his imperial place, with the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch seated near him on the left, in arm-chairs, the bishops on the right, on benches, the boyars, okolniks, and people of the council on the left, on benches. The bishops present, as enumerated in the procès-verbal of the patriarchal archives (vol. iii. p. 439), were in all twenty-eight, of whom two were patriarchs, who *pretended*, but falsely, to have come with the knowledge and consent of the sitting patriarch of Constantinople and of the patriarch of Jerusalem. Eleven others, with Paisius Ligarides at their head, were foreigners, and like to Paisius Ligarides thus far, that they had come to Moscow for their own ends, that is, for the tsar's alms, and to do his will, not in consequence of any canonical convocation of a great council, communicated to them through the patriarchs and local patriarchal synods of their respective regions: most of them had been attracted by the 'honeyed discourses and gold-beaming strings of words' of certain Greeks of bad character, friends of Paisius Ligarides, and employed at his recommendation as agents for this purpose by the tsar and by his prikaz of secret service. Then there were six Russian bishops[15] who had received their appointments and sees, since the withdrawal of Nicon from Moscow, from the tsar alone, under the blessing of Paisius Ligarides; and all of these but one (*i.e.* all except Pitirim) had also been consecrated bishops by the blessing and imposition of hands of the same Paisius Ligarides. One other Russian bishop, Lazarus of Chernigoff, had transferred himself by his own will and act alone from his canonical dependence on the metropolitan see of Kieff and the patriarchate of Constantinople to the national Church of Muscovy, as now organ-

[15] Viz. Pitirim metr. of Novgorod, and Paul of Kroutitz, the archbishops Simon of Vologda and Arsenius of Pskoff, and the bishops Michael of Kolomna and Methodius of Mstislaff and Orsha.

ised under the tsar's supremacy. Lastly, there were present eight Russian bishops who had been consecrated and appointed to their sees by Nicon,[16] and had sworn to him canonical obedience; and of these four, Joseph of Astrachan, Joasaph of Tver, Hilarion of Riazan, and Alexander of Viatka, have come before us on various occasions as not only submitting themselves to do the bidding of the tsar, but showing personal hostility against Nicon; while two others, who might have been expected to be hostile to him, viz. Simon archbishop of Vologda, consecrated under the initiative of Ligarides in A.D. 1664, and Lazarus of Chernigoff, who had uncanonically transferred himself from the patriarchate of Constantinople to the tsar's church, showed themselves, so far as they dared, favourable to Nicon. Two bishops, Cornelius of Tobolsk and Callistus of Polotsk, were absent. There were also present twenty-nine archimandrites or hegoumens (of whom twenty-five were Russians), and ten monks and protopopes (of whom eight were Russians). Such was the actual composition of this assembly, called by some an œcumenical, or *all but* œcumenical council. And Nicon himself, when he was first informed that the tsar had written to the Eastern patriarchs, assuming that they were to be asked to intervene freely and canonically, gave to that future synod the name 'œcumenical;' but when it had actually met, and began from the outset with lying and unjust violence, he called it at once by its proper name, '*your sobórishche*,' *i.e.* 'your pseudo-synod or *synagogue*.' In the synodal procès-verbal the five foreign metropolitans of Nicæa, Amasia, Iconium, Trebizond, and Varna are associated with the four Russian metropolitans, the see of Nice following next after that of Novgorod, those of Amasia and Iconium after Kazan, that of Trebizond after Rostoff, and that of Varna after Kroutitz; and after all these Paisius Ligarides of Gaza, Theodosius of Bielgorod and Boiansk, and Theophanes of Chios, who were foreigners serving the tsar, not *in possession* of any foreign sees; and then the archbishops, Russian and others. But in the *History* of Paisius Ligarides (vol. iii. p. 169), the four Russian metropolitans are named first of all, and then all the foreign metropolitans together, *headed by Paisius Ligarides* himself, who so puts himself *after*

[16] viz. the metropolitans Laurentius of Kazan and Jonah of Rostoff, the archbishops Joseph of Astrachan, Philaret of Smolensk, Stephen of Souzdal, Hilarion of Riazan, and Joasaph of Tver, and the bishop Alexander of Viatka.

the metropolitan Pitirim, who had been raised by him to the chair of Novgorod, but before the metropolitans of Nicæa, Amasia, Iconium, and Trebizond, perhaps because he, through his advice and through agents recommended by him, had engaged them for the tsar, or perhaps because the directing intelligence has a natural right to take precedence of its accomplices and instruments. But to return.[17]

When Nicon entered, the religious tsar, seeing the holy cross borne in first before him, rose up, and all the rest rose up with him, in spite of themselves. The tsar, however, though he did rise, remained standing on the topmost step of his lofty throne; and near him, on his left, there were set two places richly adorned, at which stood the œcumenical patriarchs, and before them there was a table covered with cloth of gold, on which there stood a small chest of silver gilt; and there were some books laid upon the table.

And when Nicon had come in, and had gone up near to the tsar's throne, and to the patriarchs, and to that carpeted table which stood before them, he began to say the Ἄξιόν ἐστιν &c. and the Κύριε πολυέλεος &c.; and all remained standing while he was praying. And when he had finished he gave the staff which he held in his hands to his anagnost the monk Seraphim, and went himself near to the tsar's throne, and did obeisance to him thrice, as is the custom. And the tsar, standing on his lofty throne over against him, only inclined his head a little. Then the patriarch did obeisance, as is usual, to the œcumenical patriarchs by bowing twice; and then he turned himself to the side where the bishops were standing, and bowed to them in the usual way. In like manner he bowed also towards the other side, where stood the tsar's synclete and the tsar's confessor. And when he had thus done, he took again his staff into his hand: and the cross which had gone before him was set down by the monk who carried it in the corner on the right side of the tsar's throne. Then the tsar, standing on the topmost platform above the steps of his throne, pointed with his hand to the right side of him to the bench, and moved his lips a little, as if

[17] Paisius Ligarides names also the most distinguished of the boyars and people of the tsar's council who were present, viz. the princes 'Nik. Iv. Odoefsky, Greg. Cherkassky, Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, Ivan Prozorofsky, the boyar Peter Soltikoff, the okolnik Rodion Streshneff (Simeon Lucian. Streshneff was now dead), besides very many others.' Vol. iii. p. 169.

bidding him to sit down on it. But the patriarch answered and said: 'Where dost thou bid us, O tsar, to sit?' And the tsar again pointed to the same place, and bade him sit there. It was a vacant place towards the corner, not prepared in such a way as is usual for the seat of *a bishop*, being without either cushion or footstool. And the patriarch seeing this, and having looked round behind him, said to the tsar aloud: 'O religious tsar, I knew not of this thine intention: I have not brought a seat with me to sit upon, and that place here which belongs to us is occupied.[18] But say,' he continued, 'why *thou* hast called us to the *assembly* (*soborisheche*), which thou hast here brought together.'[19]

But the cross-bearer, when he saw that the patriarch Nicon did not sit down, took up again the cross from the corner where he had set it, and stood with it right in the face of the tsar, and before the table which was in front of the œcumenical patriarchs.

The tsar being thus addressed by Nicon, and seeing that he would not sit down, then came down from the steps of his throne, and standing at the end of the table which was before the œcumenical patriarchs, spoke thus: 'Most holy œcumenical orthodox patriarchs, judge between me and this man, who in time past was to us a true pastor, for he fed us and the people of God righteously and faithfully, even as Moses led the people of Israel.' (After this manner, and with other laudatory expressions, the tsar spake:) 'But afterwards *we know not* what happened to him, that he deserted his flock and this city, and went away to his monastery of Voskresensk which he has founded; and there he abides. And while living there he delivers over, *we know not* for *what cause, some of the bishops and many of our synclete to ana-*

[18] Paisius Ligarides here, fabling absurdly, writes: 'Then *both the patriarchs*'—as if *neither* of them had ever seen him before—'said: "Is this then Nicon, on account of whom for eight years and more all Muscovy has been in commotion, and the *Eastern Church* has suffered *intolerable evils*, and the *four patriarchates have been in danger*, and on account of his single person have all but been overthrown and desolated? And dost thou demand a chair? Rememberest thou not that to sit is reserved to a judge, and belongs not to a man who is *being condemned?*"' Vol. iii. p. 169.

[19] Solovieff makes Nicon say: 'I am come to learn why the œcumenical patriarchs have called for me' (vol. iii. p. 418). But it appears from what follows, as well as from what had preceded, that Nicon was not inclined to recognise the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch as having any right to judge him, unless they first showed that they came with the knowledge and consent of the sitting patriarch of Constantinople *Parthenius*.

thema. And about all this I wish to have your pastoral judgment; for for this cause I have called you hither, as just judges' (Shush. *Life of Nicon*, p. 108).

Solovieff gives the same speech of the tsar thus: 'From the beginning of the Muscovite empire there has never been such a dishonour done to the catholic and apostolic church (*i.e.* to the cathedral of the primacy) as has been done by the *late* patriarch Nicon. For his own caprices, of his own wilfulness, without our order, and without any synodal consultation, he deserted the church, and renounced the patriarchate, without being persecuted by anybody: and in consequence of this his [disorderly] departure there have been occasioned many troubles and schisms: and it is now the ninth year that the church is left in widowhood without a pastor. Ask the late patriarch Nicon *why* he left the chair and went away to the monastery of Voskresensk' (see vol. iii. p. 418; and Michaelofsky refers to *Sobr. Zakon.* i. p. 652; see too the synodal procès-verbal, vol. iii. p. 440). 'Tears flowed abundantly'—so the patriarchs wrote afterwards—'from the eyes of the tsar, so as even to wet the floor;' and 'the most holy patriarchs were astonished at the flowing tears of the tsar: and they themselves could scarcely refrain from tears.' Vol. iii. p. 440 and p. 456.

The patriarchs then asked Nicon [through an interpreter, the question suggested by the tsar]: 'Why didst thou leave the chair?' And he answered: 'Have you the counsel and consent of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, that you are to *judge* me? unless you have, I will not reply to you; for my appointment is from the patriarch of Constantinople.' Paisius and Macarius referred him to the tomes (the tomes of A.D. 1663-1664, which Nicon had never seen till then), as containing full powers from the other two patriarchs.[20]

[20] This would have been a barefaced lie, even if the patriarch Dionysius, who subscribed that tome in Dec. A.D. 1663, had been still the sitting patriarch of Constantinople; whereas in Dec. A.D. 1666 the sitting patriarch was Parthenius, who had had nothing to do with the tome of Dec. A.D. 1663, and who was so little a party to what was now doing at Moscow that he actually joined in filling-up the chairs of Alexandria and Antioch, as if vacated by the departure of Paisius and Macarius without permission from the sultan. So this synod against Nicon begins with a lie publicly uttered by the tsar himself and by the two patriarchs engaged in his service; and all its subsequent proceedings are based upon this same lie. This of itself would be a sufficient stain and reproach, if there were not something far worse than this underneath it.

'Then Nicon,' Solovieff writes, 'requested the tsar and the patriarchs to send out from the council his personal enemies, Pitirim metropolitan of Novgorod and Paul metropolitan of Kroutitz, who had sought to poison him. They answered that this was a lie. The tsar submitted the documents of the affair of Theodosius to the patriarchs:' and no farther attention was paid to the challenge of Nicon.

The patriarchs again asked Nicon why he had quitted the patriarchal chair. He replied: 'I withdrew from the anger of the tsar;' and entered into explanations, as in his letter to the patriarch Dionysius of Constantinople. The tsar replied: 'The tsar of Georgia was then dining with me (when Nicon's letter was brought to him), and *at that moment* to make inquest and to do him justice was impossible. Nicon says that he had sent his man on service, for ecclesiastical business; but at that time on the palace stair (the *krasnoi kriltso*) there could be no doing of ecclesiastical business; and Khitroff struck his man for his want of manners, because he came there unseasonably, and was *making a disturbance:* and that affront *does not go back to the patriarch Nicon.*[21] To the festivals I *could not go, owing to the pressure of business of state.* I sent to him the boyar prince Troubetskoy and Rodion Streshneff, to desire him to return to his chair; but he renounced the patriarchate, and said that he had made a vow to remain in it only three years. I sent the prince Youry Romodanofsky to bid him for the future not style himself Great Hossoudar, because the former patriarchs had not this style; but I did *not send him a message* that I was angry with him.' [And in the synodal procès-verbal it is written that 'the religious hossoudar *called God to witness that he had no anger* against him: on the contrary, he *had ever honoured him as a father, and had wished to continue to do so without change.*'] Romodanofsky declared that he said nothing to Nicon about the tsar's being angry (but see above, p. 121 and p. 141).

The patriarchs asked Nicon: 'What *personal wrongs* had been done to thee by the tsar?' 'There were no *personal wrongs* at all,' he replied: 'but when he began to be angry and ceased to come to the church, then I also left the patriarchate.'

[21] Subbotine here observes rightly, that even if Khitroff had had ever so good a defence to make, this is no explanation or defence of the tsar's conduct in not granting an inquest, especially after promising that there should be one.

Paisius Ligarides writes: The emperor, taking up the words of Nicon, said: 'So then thou sayest, O father, that it was on my account only that thou madest that abdication. I should have expected you in that case *to testify to this effect* against me before all the clergy and the people; . . . but thou didst never in any way introduce any such reason, but when asked didst only say that thou didst leave thy chair and retire to the place of penitents simply for some expiation of thine own sins, as may be seen from thine own letters, in which thou didst write thyself "*late*-patriarch," and very great sinner (see above, p. 146, 149); wherefore thou saidst that thou hadst no thought ever again to return to the *chair* of ambition, as a dog to his vomit, but didst desire only that, as soon as possible, some one should be elected as thy successor.' And he makes the tsar wind up by throwing in Nicon's teeth those words which Ligarides himself was fond of quoting against him: 'A strong snare for a man are his own lips;' and by warning him that it is vain to repeat 'that verse of Euripides, 'Η γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.'

The patriarchs objected to him: 'Then didst thou *not* make abdication?' Nicon replied: 'I made it in my own sense, and like Martyrius of Antioch, who when the people were disobedient . . . . refused to remain their pastor: nevertheless, since he did this only verbally, it did not vacate his chair.' And he makes the patriarchs to answer against this, in words borrowed from his own Answers to the Questions of Streshneff, that Nicon's unwritten abdication, being made publicly, had even greater force than a written abdication presented to the synod (see above, p. 172; and comp. vol. i. p. 23).

The patriarchs, Solovieff writes, turned to the bishops and asked them: 'What personal wrongs had there been done to Nicon by the tsar?' 'None whatever,' was the answer. Nicon: 'I do not speak of any personal wrongs; I speak of the tsar's *anger*. Other patriarchs besides me in times past have fled from the anger of emperors, as Athanasius of Alexandria and Gregory the Divine.'

The patriarchs: 'Other patriarchs left their chairs perhaps, but not as thou didst; for thou didst renounce, saying: I will be no more patriarch; if I be again patriarch, let me be anathema.' Nicon: 'I did not say that; I said: For my unworthiness I go away. If I had renounced the patriarchate with an oath,

I should not have taken away with me a set of pontifical vestments.'

The patriarchs: 'When they ordain a man, they say, "*Dostoin!*" (Ἄξιος, He is worthy!): but thou in putting off the pontifical robes didst exclaim, *Nedostoin!* (I am unworthy!).' Nicon: 'That is a story which they trumped-up against me.'

In the synodal procès-verbal it is written: Here Nicon was asked why, when he quitted the chair and put off the sacred episcopal robes, did he swear that he would never return to the chair, nor think of doing so? '*I never so swore*,' he said, '*at all*.' But being confuted by *a great cloud of witnesses*, he was covered with shame and confusion (vol. iii. p. 441).

Here, observes Subbotine, the natural and proper course would have been to examine according to the canons the act done by Nicon in withdrawing from Moscow, and to refer to the depositions and acts of A.D. 1660 and the extracts of 1660 and 1666, and the opinion and synodal act written by Epiphanius Slavenetsky, and the draft of synodal determinations on Nicon's proposals for the appointment of another patriarch. But nothing of this kind seems to have been done. He might have observed farther, that that which was most essential of all, and on which Nicon's justification or condemnation ought to have depended—viz. the *cause* of the tsar's wrath, that is, that difference between him and the tsar which led to his withdrawal from Moscow—is thus far, according to the accounts which have reached us, left uninvestigated, or rather all allusion to it seems to be purposely avoided, except when the tsar, or Ligarides for him, casts it in Nicon's teeth, that at the time of his withdrawal he said nothing about *the existence of any such cause*. But it is probable that Nicon said more on this subject than has been reported by his enemies. Shusherin seems to imply this, when he writes thus: 'Nicon was questioned by the œcumenical patriarchs through an interpreter, who was an archimandrite named Dionysius [from Mount Athos], according to all the words of the tsar. And he with all boldness spake out, and explained all very distinctly, after what manner and for what cause he had gone away from Moscow, and for what cause he had laid them that deserved it under anathema' (Shush. p. 109).

But even if nothing had been said on this subject before, either in the questions addressed to Nicon or by Nicon in his

answers, the whole of his case against the tsar was to be fully stated in this synod by himself, in a manner which no one could have anticipated.

Again the tsar spoke and said: 'He the patriarch Nicon wrote to Constantinople (in Dec. A.D. 1665), to the most holy œcumenical patriarch Dionysius, this letter (producing the letter *which he had intercepted*), making imputations against us, and reproaching us in all manner of ways, with many words of dishonour and reviling.' Thus the tsar added a new count of accusation to those two, of deserting the chair and anathematising Russian bishops and boyars, which he had mentioned in his opening address.

The patriarch said: 'For what I wrote, I wrote it because the most holy œcumenical patriarch is my eldest brother, *and he is Orthodox*.[22] And if we are not to have recourse to these our brethren for counsel and direction in all matters, then *to whom* are we to have recourse?' And thus much was said by the tsar and the œcumenical patriarchs and the patriarch Nicon up to this point.

In the synodal procès-verbal (vol. iii. p. 411) we read: 'Nicon was questioned also' (that is, on this same day of his first appearance before the synod, December 2) 'about many other charges *which were to be mentioned in the manifesto of his deposition*,' *e.g.* of his having anathematised causelessly or for personal reasons, without a synod, Russian bishops and boyars, especially on the first Sunday of Lent in A.D. 1662 (see ch. vi. of the patriarchal tome, in vol. iii. p. 325); his having disturbed the empire by meddling with civil matters, and disallowing the Code (ib. ch. v.); his having acted as a bishop, celebrating, ordaining, and excommunicating, after his abdication (ib. ch. xvii.); his having *innovated* in ecclesiastical matters (ib. ch. xxiv.); having insulted the tsar, and certain bishops and boyars, &c. And with this the account of Shusherin agrees: for he continues thus:

But after this the time-servers and sycophants, or rather, one should say, the calumniators of the patriarch Nicon, Paul the metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, Hilarion metropolitan[23] of

[22] As if he had said, 'Since the Pope of the elder Rome—who otherwise would have been the eldest brother of all, and the ultimate authority to consult or to appeal to—is not orthodox.'

[23] Really as yet only archbishop.

Riazan, and Methodius bishop of Mstislaff, began to utter all their lying calumnies with the utmost effrontery, and to bay at him open-mouthed, one saying one thing, and another another, and all crying out different things at once: and it was notorious that they were set on and suborned to do this. And after they had made a long scene of confusion, the œcumenical patriarchs said to the patriarch Nicon, that he was then to return to his lodgings, but to come again on the morrow: 'And *then*,' they said, '*we* will read *before all* that letter which thou didst write to the œcumenical patriarch Dionysius.'

So Nicon went away to the lodgings assigned him: and they sang the hours as they were wont: and all who were with him were now famished, for it was already the third day that they were going without a meal. And seeing this the patriarch was distressed for them; and saying, 'They must not be starved to death,' he sent one of the men on duty, who were set to keep guard about the dvor, to their chief sotnik, desiring him to go to the religious tsar and to let him know that the patriarch and all the rest who were with him were fainting with hunger, and to ask him to give permission for some to come in to them to the dvor, and to go out and bring them in provisions. But the sotnik, when he heard this, for the fear that was on him, would not venture to go and carry the information. And the patriarch, when he learned this, was greatly hurt and grieved, not so much for himself as for the rest; and he went to the highest chamber, and thence shouted to the soldiers and sotniks and the rest who were about his dvor below keeping guard (for there were keeping guard all around the dvor about a thousand soldiers), that they should make this known to the religious tsar, that the patriarch Nicon and all the rest who are with him are dying of hunger.

Then a certain sotnik, who, hearing this, was touched either with pity or with shame, went up to the palace, and gave information of this to their chief polkovnik; and he went and informed the boyars who were about the tsar (lit. 'the *near* boyars,' 'blijnie boyari'), and so it came to the ears of the tsar himself, who, on hearing it, immediately gave orders to send out from his own palace a large quantity of meat and drink in sledges.

When that man who had gone for Nicon returned, there came with him from the kornovi dvoretz and the sitni dvoretz (kitchen and buttery offices) two under-secretaries, whose com-

ing was announced to the patriarch, and he bade that they should be admitted. So they came in and bowed themselves, and then, without saying a word, merely handed to the patriarch two lists, the one of the eatables, the other of the liquors, sent under their charge.

Nicon, however, did not take the papers, but questioned them, asking: Whence, and with what had they come? But they told him nothing farther; only tendering to him again those written lists, they added verbally that they had been sent to him by their superiors, that is, by the *klioushniks* (the keepers of the keys).

The patriarch, seeing and hearing this, said to them: 'Return with what has been sent to him who sent you, and say that Nicon asks not for *this;* for it is written: Better is a dinner of herbs with charity than a stalled ox with hatred. I never asked for this from the tsar, nor do I ask for it now; but only I begged that he would order them to give us liberty, so that it should not be forbidden for anybody to come in to this dvor or to go out from it:' and many other words he spake to them out of the divine Scriptures: and so he sent them away to go back with all the things that had been sent. And they returned, and reported all this to them that had sent them; who told it to the tsar's dvoretskoy (master of the palace), and he told it to the tsar himself.

The tsar at hearing it was much hurt, or rather he was moved to more wrath; and forthwith[24] he went to the œcumenical patriarchs and informed them of all these occurrences, as it were complaining to them. After this, towards evening, there came out an order from the tsar, and liberty was given for the patriarch's own people to go in to him to the dvor where he was, and to go out from it, unhindered; but of the rest nobody whatever dared to enter it. And so they sent to the Voskresensky podvorie, and took thence all the eatables and drink which they needed, and made themselves a supper, and ate and were satisfied, and thanked God that he had not suffered them to be starved to death. And after due intervals they sang the vespers, and the matins, and the hours, according to their custom.

Second appearance of Nicon, when his intercepted letter to the

[24] *Abie*, but really he did this when the synod met again on the following morning. See vol. iii. p. 427.

patriarch Dionysius of Constantinople was read before the synod, P. Ligarides also being present, Dec. 3.

§ v. And on the morrow, Monday Dec. 3, the same ecclesiastics as had summoned him the first time . . . came again to call the patriarch Nicon to the synod: and he went as he had been used to go before, preceded by the cross.

On the 3d Dec., Solovieff writes, there was a second session. The tsar (before Nicon had come in) informed the patriarchs that on the evening before (on Sunday the 2d) he sent to Nicon meat and drink, but he refused to receive it, and said that he had plenty of his own, and that he had sent no message to him the great hossoudar for that. 'Nicon does everything as if he were gone out of his mind,' replied the patriarchs (vol. iii. p. 426).

Nicon entered into the tsar's palace, and did as he had done before in going up and in making the usual prayer, and in doing reverence.

And after some few words, [the tsar commanded, and] they began to read the letter which the patriarch Nicon had written to the patriarch of Constantinople Dionysius.[25] In reading that letter they did not read the whole of it straight through, but they had marked previously such passages as it pleased them to read, and those they read out. (See the letter itself as printed in our vol. iii. p. 381-400; and Solovieff's account of the reading of it in the synod, ib. p. 420-427.)

And there came a passage in that letter where it was written that many persons on account of the patriarch Nicon had been banished by the tsar to divers places, among whom was Athanasius metrop. of Iconium, who was sent to the tsar from the patriarch of Constantinople with a letter taking the part of Nicon:[26] and he on that account was banished to the Simonoff monastery. When the tsar heard this read, he seized (the opportunity), and said to Nicon: 'Knowest thou (that is, hast thou ever seen) this Athanasius?' Nicon replied: 'I do not know him.' Then the tsar called out Athanasius from the midst of the other bishops,

[25] Both the synodal procès-verbal and Paisius Ligarides in his *History* consolidate the two sessions of Dec. 2 and Dec. 3 into one. Solovieff too, though he, like Shusherin, makes Nicon to appear before the synod for the second time on the 3d Dec., makes his letter to the patriarch Dionysius to have been read out during the previous session. Vol. iii. p. 420-427.

[26] See vol. iii. p. 82-92, 356, and 363 369.

from the place where he was standing. And when he had come up near to the tsar, the tsar, pointing at him, said to Nicon: 'This is Athanasius.'[27] And the patriarch Nicon, seeing him, said: 'This man has God's blessing and ours.' And so Athanasius went back, and stood again in his own place.

And they resumed the reading of the letter. Meanwhile, those his accusers, Paul, Hilarion, and Methodius, were leaping to and fro like wild beasts about the blessed Nicon, roaring and snarling with unbecoming tones of voice, and crying in a disorderly way all kinds of things, like dogs barking at him, while of the rest of the bishops and clergy no single one said a word, but all stood in their places according to their rank: and in like manner the imperial synclete, the boyars, and all the grandees stood on the opposite side in order, uttering not a word.

And the tsar seeing this, that except those three men no one was doing anything for him, suddenly exclaimed aloud: 'Boyars, boyars! why are ye dumb, and say nothing, but give me up? Have ye no need of me?'

At these words they were all thunderstruck, and not a little frightened, and they made a movement as if in preparation for some wrestling-match or fight, stepping out a little simultaneously from their places where they were standing, in an attitude as if they had something to say: but still not one word came from any of them: only there stepped out from them one boyar, the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, who, to please the tsar, uttered a few words of no moment, defending the tsar, and altogether vilifying the most holy patriarch Nicon.

The tsar, seeing that from them all he was getting but little help, was much annoyed. And the patriarch said to him: 'O tsar, as for all these men who stand before thee, and whom thou hast brought together to this *assembly* (*soborishche*), thou hast been nine years training and teaching them, and hast been preparing

[27] The tsar seems now to have reduced him to become his servant like the rest, and to have found a pleasure in presenting him in this new character to Nicon: and his name appears among the rest as subscribed to the condemnation of Nicon. Still Paisius Ligarides in his *History* (vol. iii. p. 90), after writing, 'He was sent to the Simonoff to pass some time in retirement and disgrace,' continues thus: 'And there he remained till the arrival of the patriarchs, or rather till his untimely death.' So he must have died between Dec. 12, A.D. 1666, and Easter of A.D. 1667. We shall find below something to account for his being still in disgrace when he died.

them in all manner of ways for this day, that they might be ready to speak against us. And see what is the result. Not only have they said nothing of any force, but they cannot even open their lips. Is it not to no purpose that they have been taught vanity? But I, O tsar, will give thee a word of advice: If thou wilt bid these men cast *stones* at us, they will do *that* quickly enough; but as for accusing us with words, even if you were to spend another nine years in training them, even then you would hardly get anything from them.'

The tsar at hearing these words was moved to great wrath, and his countenance changed, and showed it, as he sat upon his imperial throne, for a long time after. And some time after this he rose up. Now there was in that synod an honourable man named Lazarus Baranovich, bishop of Chernigoff, a man good and meek, and very learned in philosophy. He was standing with the other bishops in his place, according to his rank. The tsar called out this man, and said: 'Lazarus, why art thou silent, and sayest nothing? and why dost thou abandon me in this matter? I counted very much upon thee.' And the bishop Lazarus stepped out a little from the bishops, and put his hands religiously to his breast, and bowing his head humbly before all said: 'O religious tsar, how am I to accuse righteousness, or oppose myself?' And having thus said, he stood back into his place.

The tsar was much enraged at thus failing to get help from any quarter. But as regards this bishop Lazarus, the tsar, before the patriarch Nicon had come to the synod, had called him to himself apart, and had said: 'Bishop, though thou knowest not nor hast seen the patriarch Nicon, thou must have heard of him that he is a man violent and unendurable; and I beg this of thee, that when he shall be called before this synod, thou wilt do thy best to help us.' And Lazarus in answer said: 'O tsar, if the patriarch Nicon be found to have committed any *crime* by word or deed, I will not be silent.' For this cause it was that he now called him forth, and spake to him as he did. But he got no help whatever from him.

And after some little time had passed, the tsar fell a-thinking, and rising up from his throne, and putting his hand to his lips, he stood so silent a long time: then, after that, he went near to the patriarch Nicon, and taking hold of his string of beads

(*liestnitsa*) which hung from him, and passing it between his fingers, he spoke to him in a low voice, so that nobody could hear except the monks who stood near him, thus: 'O most holy patriarch, what is this that thou hast done, casting on me a great reproach, and dishonouring me?' Nicon said: 'How?' The tsar said: 'When thou wast coming from thy monastery hither, thou didst first fast, and confess, and anoint thyself with holy oil, and celebrate the holy liturgy after it, as if preparing thyself for death: and this was casting a great reproach on me.'

The patriarch replied: 'It is true, O tsar, that I did all this, as expecting from thee not only tribulations and sufferings, but even death itself.' But the tsar, with imprecations to confirm his words, said: 'O holy man of God, not only is it impossible for me to do this which thou hast imagined and spoken of, but even to think of it, after thy many and inestimable services to my house, and to my tsaritsa, and to my children at the time of the plague, in the years 7162 and 7163, and when, during my absence in the war before Smolensk and before other cities of the enemy, thou didst take all that care and labour, even as a hen with her chickens, going about with them from place to place, seeking for them convenient resting-places and a pure air, out of the way of the infection: and the all-merciful God, through thy prayers and through those thy exertions, preserved to me all my house, as the apple of an eye. And for all these past services of thine am I to requite thee evil? No; let not even the thought of such a thing ever cross me!' And he uttered against himself certain most dreadful imprecations.

But the patriarch Nicon, checking him with his hand, said in the same gentle tone: 'O religious tsar, lay not on thyself such imprecations; but believe me that thou wilt have to bring upon me all manner of evils, and that I shall have to receive from thee sufferings and afflictions of great sharpness.' He added also to this many words out of the divine scriptures.

And afterwards he observed to him upon this also, how there had been sent to summon him, contrary to the canons, archimandrites, and how they had made dishonest charges against him in the monastery and on the road, and how their lyingly-composed speeches to him were plainly false, and self-convicted of falsehood.

And the tsar said again to the most holy Nicon: 'But this,

too, was a great reproach cast upon me by thee, that thou didst write to the œcumenical patriarch Dionysius, inveighing against us with all manner of blame.'

But Nicon said to him: 'It is not I, O tsar, who have brought upon thee such reproach, but it is thou thyself rather that hast brought on thyself the reproach of all these things. For I wrote to my brother, hospodin Dionysius, spiritually and privately; but thou hast exposed all thine own deeds, and hast convicted thyself, not only before all the subjects of thine own empire, but also thou hast disclosed all this to many others, whom thou hast brought together from the ends of the earth to hear it. Therefore thy rebuke and reproach is from thyself against thyself, rather than from me, who wrote of it only to one person, and that the proper person to be informed and consulted about these things.'

Again the tsar spoke to the patriarch some words of peace, about breaking down the middle wall of enmity that was between them. And he replied: 'A good and blessed work, O tsar, that would be, if only thou couldst accomplish it; but be assured that this is not for thee to accomplish: thy wrath begun against us must go on to its end.'

Having spoken these words one to another after this manner, they parted again, and the reading of that letter was then continued, as before.

Now in that conversation which they had to themselves one with the other, the patriarch said also to the tsar: 'Again, O tsar, what was thy justice in this, that when I was coming in to this city, and by our order there was going before us the subdeacon John Shusherin, carrying the holy cross—that John was bred up at our feet—when we had come near to the dvor which had been prepared for us by thee, that John, by thy order, was seized roughly by the soldiers, so that we could only just snatch from him the cross before their hands were upon him? and now whether that John be still alive or martyred by thy order, we know not.'

And the tsar replied that *he did not know;* but only he said that that young man was riding behind, and not before; and some other pretexts besides this he alleged, which being heard by the monk Mark, who was standing there with the cross, he muttered to himself: 'That account of the matter, O religious

tsar, is untrue.' But the tsar, having overheard this remark, darting a furious look on that monk, said to him angrily: 'Monk, who asked thee? or who bade thee speak?' The monk, at that terrible answer of the tsar, was beyond measure appalled, for he was but a youth, and he expected forthwith to be seized and to be carried off out of the midst of the synod.[28]

When they had finished reading that letter written by Nicon to the patriarch of Constantinople Dionysius, they said to Nicon that he was to go back to the lodgings provided for him; and so he went away from that hall; and by command of the tsar he was escorted by streltsi to his lodgings with lights; for it was now the third hour of the night (*i.e.* from 6.30 to 7.30 P.M.).

When he was come into the house, he said to them that were there with him: 'My children, did ye hear to-day in that council those words of the tsar which he spoke with imprecations, that he would do us no hurt? Behold, ye shall see what will come upon us, and be done to us by him; for there are preparing for us great afflictions and grievous to be borne.'

Here Shusherin adds: 'And so the patriarch abode in that dvor from that day to the 12th of December,' omitting all mention of the session of Dec. 5, just as the synodal procès-verbal and Paisius Ligarides omit to mention the session of Dec. 3, and consolidate its proceedings with those of the first session to which Nicon was summoned, Dec. 2.

That letter, written by the most holy Nicon to the patriarch Dionysius of Constantinople, which they read in the synod, had been written in Greek by a certain Greek from the Levant named Demetrius, who was living in the monastery at Voskresensk. This Demetrius had come with Nicon to Moscow, and was with him in the podvorie assigned for his lodgings; and he went in and out from it as he pleased, without any apprehension. But once, when he had gone out from that dvor, the tsar sent to the patriarch a certain secretary with a verbal message, that he was to surrender into his charge that Greek Demetrius, by the tsar's command. The patriarch replied: 'That man, it is true, came with us hither from the monastery, but now he is not here.' They replied: 'If we can find him anywhere, then, by the tsar's

[28] Here Shusherin relates how the cross was taken away from this monk Mark: but this really occurred in another session, as will appear below in the proper place.

command, we shall take him up.' The patriarch said: 'If ye had been under our hand, no doubt ye would have done our will; but now do what ye please.' And so they went away. And that Greek Demetrius, suspecting nothing of what was to happen to him, as he was going about the city somewhere was soon afterwards apprehended by the soldiers, and taken by them to a certain prison near the tsar called the Chambers on the river-bank: and being kept there under guard, through fear of the tsar he took a knife and stabbed himself, and so died.

During those days the tsar's majesty and the œcumenical patriarchs and all the bishops were consulting and arranging in all manner of ways how they should depose the patriarch, and send him into banishment (Shusherin, p. 112-122).

Of the purpose with which Nicon's intercepted letter was read out publicly; and of its connection with P. Ligarides.

§ vi. If there had been held under the patriarch of Constantinople, or some other patriarch or bishop empowered to represent him, a free and religious synod to judge between the tsar Alexis and the patriarch Nicon, it would have been natural for the patriarch of Constantinople to communicate to the synod Nicon's statement of his own case, with a view to a just and impartial judgment. But when the tsar Alexis intercepted and confiscated Nicon's letter to the patriarch Dionysius of Constantinople, this act, worthy only of an infidel persecutor, was a denial of all spiritual liberty, not only to Nicon and to the Russian Church, but equally to the patriarch of Constantinople and to the whole Church of their Orthodox or Eastern communion; and any synod to be held under a sovereign capable of doing such acts could be nothing better than a latrocinium. And though the tsar and his boyars who intercepted Nicon's letter would be likely enough also to charge against him the writing of it as a crime, it would not be natural for them to read out publicly before the patriarchs and the council the letter itself, or such large portions of it as seem to have been read, though Shusherin tells us distinctly that they did not read the whole. Their object was not to examine into Nicon's case, nor to consider what Ligarides calls his 'presumptions and demands,' but to justify those who had treated him as self-deposed and self-condemned from the day of his departure from the cathedral in A.D. 1658; who had

taken him, as it were, at his word, and had governed the Church without him; and, in addition, to condemn him over again on fresh counts, so as to degrade him altogether from the priesthood, which had not been done, though it had been attempted, by the tsar's synod of A.D. 1660. In order to do this, it was assumed, as a matter of course, that the tsar had done no wrong to the Church, and that to have likened him to Jeroboam and to Uzziah was a gratuitous calumny and insult, punishable by the canons. Other canonical offences too, from the long lists of such made out by Ligarides,[29] were put forward. But in those sessions of Dec. 2, 3, and 5, A.D. 1666, in which Nicon appeared before the tsar, the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and their mixed Russian and Greek synod, they neither questioned him about the *cause* of that anger from which he said he had withdrawn, nor recorded any words of his answers—though some such no doubt there were—alluding to the cause of it. Nor did they read out in the synod, even from the patriarchal tomes of A.D. 1663, those chapters which asserted or favoured the tsar's supremacy, and indirectly condemned Nicon for disputing it; but, passing over these, they began at once to read out those later chapters which related to his so-called abdication. What, then, could be their motive for reading out from Nicon's letter to the patriarch Dionysius of Constantinople long passages, in which the real difference between him and the court was not only touched upon but fully stated, from his own point of view, as that on which his whole case turned? Certainly it was in order, in some way or other, to make their accusations against Nicon more telling than they would have been without the reading of his letter.

Yet if we examine the records preserved by themselves and printed — whether in part only or in full, we cannot say — by Solovieff,[30] the greater part of those remarks and discussions which were occasioned by the reading of Nicon's letter are far

[29] First in A.D. 1662, in the xxx. Questions of the boyar Streshneff and the Answers to them; then in the xxv. Questions sent in A.D. 1663 to Constantinople; and lastly in the Spicilegium or 'libels' composed in Nov. A.D. 1666 for the instruction of the two patriarchs (vol. i. p. xxvii.-xxxix.; vol. iii. p. 318-348, and 157-166). Before the appearance of Paisius Ligarides on the scene, the only question that had been discussed was this, whether Nicon had vacated the chair, so that another could be elected to it.

[30] See vol. iii. p. 420-427; and the full text of Nicon's letter, ib. p. 381-400; and compare Ligarides' notice of the same, ib. p. 173.

from answering any such purpose. They sat and heard Nicon's account of his own elevation to the patriarchate, of the conditions exacted by him, and of the vow made by them all—the tsar, the boyars, and the clergy—to let him govern the Church according to the canons, and correct all contrary abuses; and they confirmed the truth of all that by their silence: the only words then uttered being one childishly-weak and spiteful interruption from the tsar, who, feeling tyranny to be a tender subject, asked why Nicon had dishonoured John the Terrible by calling him an unjust persecutor, but had not mentioned how he Nicon had himself uncanonically, without a synod, deposed a bishop?[31] Again, when they read out Nicon's charge against the tsar, that he meddled with matters belonging to the patriarch, the tsar said: 'Ask him with *what* matters?' And all the answer which they have recorded as given by Nicon is this, that he did not remember what he wrote; that is, perhaps, of what particular acts he had been thinking when he wrote; though no doubt he said much more than that, and his letter of itself rendered the question superfluous. Again, when he wrote, that there had been many wrongs done *to the order of the clergy*, this produced only a repetition of the question which had been asked more than once in the previous session, viz. What wrongs had been done *to Nicon himself personally?* So too when they read what was written in the letter against the Code and the monastirski prikaz, they record only Nicon's admission that he had himself, in A.D. 1649, subscribed the Code *under compulsion*,[32] having then only just been consecrated bishop. But of the *arguments* urged by him after he had become patriarch, and after the promise made to him, against the Code and the monastirski prikaz (which last moreover had since been made by the tsar much worse than the Code of itself had made it), there was no notice taken whatever. Again, they read of spiritual appointments being made by oukaz of the tsar, and of arbitrary exactions from the churches and monasteries; and the tsar's defence was this, that such had been the custom with regard to appointments in time past,[33] that is,

[31] Though this had been done not really by Nicon '*alone*,' but the tsar himself had been a party to it (banishing that bishop for life), and the patriarch Paisius of Constantinople with his synod, who had been consulted before it was done. See vol. ii. p. 410 and 510.

[32] *i.e.* yielding to the authority and command of the patriarch Joseph.

[33] See vol. i. p. 554; ii. p. 110, 169; and iii. p. 64, 232, and 323-325.

before Nicon had become patriarch, whenever *the patriarchate was vacant*, and that whatever was taken from the churches and monasteries was taken only *on loan*.[34] When they read Nicon's account of his protest against the tsar's breach of the promise made by him before God, and of his own withdrawal from the tsar's unjust anger, the questions and discussions provoked by this were only a repetition of those of the day before; and the same was all repeated a third time in the session of Dec. 5. And in all these three sessions, without any reference being made to the depositions taken by themselves in A.D. 1660, they persisted in imputing to Nicon, not only that he had voluntarily abdicated, but that he had abdicated *with an oath* or imprecation, and in a disorderly and passionate manner, throwing off his robes before he had finished the liturgy. And when he reiterated his denial of these imputations, they called up against him as witnesses the metropolitan Pitirim and the archbishop Joasaph, and declared them to be unexceptionable witnesses, and Nicon himself to be a liar. When they read about the irregular consecration of Methodius to invade a see and province belonging to the patriarchate of Constantinople, the tsar made the lame excuse that Methodius was sent, not as metropolitan, but as *guardian*[35] only, of the see of Kieff; and that having done this in A.D. 1661, he had *since* (in A.D. 1666) written about it to the patriarch of Constantinople. And when Nicon's reasons for anathematising (in A.D. 1662) Pitirim were read—and this was, in truth, the question on which the whole case ought to have turned, viz. whether the true spiritual authority and jurisdiction in A.D. 1662 lay with Nicon or with Pitirim—and Pitirim's uncanonical acts were enumerated,—as his omission of Nicon's name from the prayers, his unauthorised performance of the ceremony of Palm Sunday, and his consecration of Methodius, or summarily, his doing episcopal acts by order only of the tsar,—Pitirim answered only by denying that on the particular occasion of his consecrating Methodius he had sat in the patriarchal seat of the synthronus, as had been charged against him by Nicon. And if we go on from Nicon's condemnation of Pitirim as the first instrument and vicegerent, or vicar

[34] See vol. ii. p. 295; and iii. p. 537.

[35] '*Guardian*,' that is, for and under the tsar, just as Pitirim, through whom the tsar consecrated Methodius, was '*guardian*' of the see of Moscow for and under the tsar.

of the tsar's assumed supremacy (A.D. 1658-1664), to those two passages of Nicon's letter which mention Paisius Ligarides as having in this respect succeeded to Pitirim, we come first in Solovieff's account to the reading out of a passage in which Nicon related to the patriarch Dionysius how they had found a tool suited to their purposes in a certain Paisius Ligarides, and had received him and followed his counsels, though he had come without canonical testimonies, and though he was reported to be a man of bad life, and a Latin heretic, who had been ordained deacon and priest at Rome, and who before coming to Moscow had been saying mass in the Latin *kostels* in Poland: and they had even sent this man as commissioner to make inquest and sit in judgment upon himself. It is not known whether they read out in the synod *every word* that Nicon wrote about Paisius: whether they did or not, no serious question was raised about him, nor did any of those present scruple to continue to sit and act with him. Only the tsar observed that he went as commismissioner to Voskresensk by his the tsar's command, and that Nicon reproached him *without just cause*, adding: 'He has the testimony of his confessor in his favour, and he has with him *letters of orders*.' In reply, Nicon spoke before the synod of the impropriety of allowing Ligarides to officiate; and added that he was said to have been anathematised by the patriarch of Jerusalem. But nobody regarded what Nicon said. And the patriarch of Antioch also volunteered to bear witness in favour of Ligarides, saying: 'The metropolitan of Gaza was ordained deacon and priest at Jerusalem, and therefore[36] not at Rome: of that I have certain knowledge.'[37]

And so the tsar exhibited, as it were, to the council of A.D. 1666, and communicated to it, the first scab of his own leprosy.

Thus far, certainly, we have found no result sufficiently favourable to Nicon's enemies to account for the public reading of his letter. But farther on they came to another passage, in

[36] So it might be presumed; but this did not necessarily follow, nor was it true in fact.

[37] In fact the patriarch Macarius with his son and archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, the writer of his *Travels*, had been themselves present at Jerusalem when Panteleon Ligarides was there tonsured and ordained deacon, and it may be also when he was ordained priest; and they had become personally acquainted with him in A.D. 1657 in Moldavia, and then they called him 'the learned man from Rome.' They probably also knew something of his having been degraded and anathematised afterwards.

which Nicon related of the same Paisius Ligarides, how in A.D. 1664 he had assumed the initiative belonging to the patriarch or primate, and how under his blessing and by the imposition of his hands Russian bishops had been translated or ordained to vacant sees, and the hierarchy in a manner reorganised. Really in this it was the tsar who, through Ligarides, promoted Pitirim to the see of Novgorod, just as it had been the tsar who, through Pitirim, dispossessed Nicon of the chair of Moscow; and Ligarides at this point of time was substituted in a manner for Pitirim as the vicegerent or vicar of the tsar's supremacy. But Nicon, assuming as necessary a distinction between the civil and the ecclesiastical authority, argued, somewhat too rhetorically, that they who took the initiative and the blessing, not from himself nor from the Eastern patriarchs, but from a Latin heretic, a runaway from Rome, who just before had been saying mass in the Latin churches in Poland, were, in fact, taking the initiative from the Roman Kostel, not perhaps absolutely, but *so far as suited their own wills*. And, in truth, we find shortly after this time Ligarides written to from Poland, not only by a Dominican father at the suggestion of the nuncio, but also by the king of Poland John Casimir himself, as if he Ligarides were zealously labouring at Moscow to serve the Roman Church; and we find Ligarides, on the other hand, writing to the same Dominican father that he was falsely reported to have a pension of two hundred gold ducats annually from the Roman Propaganda, and engaging that father, and through him also the nuncio, to use his influence to obtain for him such a pension. Nicon, therefore, might well write as he did. But what he wrote of latinising in respect of mission and jurisdiction was purposely misrepresented when read out, as if he had accused the tsar, the bishops, and the boyars—in a word, the whole Russian Church and empire—of latinising in respect of *doctrine*; an imputation at once absurdly false, or, as Nicon's enemies would say, calumnious, and intensely offensive. And at the reading of this passage, thus misrepresented, such a storm of indignation was excited from all sections of the assembly, laymen and ecclesiastics, Russians and Greeks alike, as showed of itself for what purpose it had been proposed and determined to read out Nicon's letter. Probably the first thought and suggestion of reading it was not from the tsar himself, but rather from Paisius Ligarides, and certain men

of his patrons in the synclete, who perceived how it might be made to serve their ends: though certainly the tsar's mind was little enough to regard Nicon's remonstrances and rebukes, even when written only in letters addressed to himself, as injurious and insulting. And they who had moved the tsar to give publicity to Nicon's letter then brought forward against Nicon—as if he, and not they and the tsar himself, had published the tsar's shame to the world—canons condemning all who insult emperors unjustly, or who, finding any written libel, read it out, instead of destroying it, and canons condemning the bishop who reviles his own flock; and they argued that such persons incur the penalty of deposition, and even of death.

Without repeating, Subbotine writes, all those details which the reader may know already from the pages of Solovieff,[38] let us give our attention only to that which is of most importance in the disputes which were made in the synod over the passages read out from Nicon's letter.

The greatest importance was attached to what was written in that letter about Paisius Ligarides of Gaza. He was noticed in it in two places.

The first place was where Nicon [after mentioning how Paisius Ligarides had come to Moscow unaccredited, and had been received and employed] spoke of the accusation brought against himself by Babarikin as if he had publicly cursed the tsar, and of the commission on which Ligarides, in July A.D. 1663, was sent to Voskresensk &c. [At the reading of this passage they defended Ligarides, and blamed Nicon, and that was all.]

Very much greater was the importance which they attached to that other place, farther on in Nicon's letter, where he wrote that 'the tsar not being willing any longer to take *our* blessing, nor waiting for any answer or decision from *you* the œcumenical patriarchs, directed *by his own order alone* that there should be held a certain synod (in A.D. 1664); and over that synod he ordered that the metropolitan of Gaza Paisius Ligarides should be *president*.

'And at that synod, *with the blessing of Paisius Ligarides*, they agreed to translate Pitirim metropolitan of Kroutitz (who was only a vicar-bishop under the patriarchal chair) to Novgorod,

[38] See our vol. iii. p. 418-429; also the account of Paisius Ligarides, ib. p. 170-196; and the synodal procès-verbal, ib. p. 440, 441.

the first metropolitan see of Russia. . . . And they had scarcely so done when in his room they appointed and consecrated Paul archimandrite of the Choudoff monastery to be metropolitan of Kroutitz: and other bishops in like manner they appointed for many other sees.

'And from that their lawless synod there ceased to be in Russia union with the holy Eastern Church, and with your blessing [for they had rejected the blessing of me your brother, and had not had recourse to yours; for the blessing of Paisius Ligarides was not yours, nor that of the Eastern Church, by which he had been anathematised]; but they took their *initiative* (or lead) instead from the Roman Kostel, *so as to suit their own wills.*

'But from the year 886 from the Incarnation, . . . when the Russians received baptism from the holy Eastern Church, we Russians have had no sort of communion with the Western Kostel, but in all the most essential acts, as in the creation of the primates and in the determination of other spiritual matters, we have ever taken the counsel and blessing of the holy Eastern Church from the most holy œcumenical patriarchs. Only one metropolitan of Russia, Isidore, who was at the council of Florence, united himself with the Roman Kostel; but after his union, when he came back from the council to Russia, we did not receive him as orthodox, but rejected him as a heretic. But now here all is done *according to the tsar's pleasure.*' Vol. iii. p. 396; and Solovieff, ib. p. 424.

The tsar, when this was read out in the council, said: 'Nicon has reckoned us off (*i.e.* to have departed) from the Orthodox *faith* and from the *blessing* of the most holy patriarchs; and he has reckoned us on to (*i.e.* to have gone over to) the *Katolic faith*, and has called us all heretics: so, if only his letter had reached the most holy œcumenical patriarchs, we might have been for all orthodox Christians under a curse. And for that his lying and dark letter it is the necessary duty of us all to stand up, and to be ready even to die rather than not purge ourselves from that imputation.'

The patriarchs asked Nicon: 'Whereby has Russia separated herself from the Catholic (*i.e.* from the 'Orthodox Eastern-Catholic') Church?'

'*Hereby*,' he replied, 'that Paisius Ligarides of Gaza translated Pitirim from one metropolitan see to another, and insti-

tuted in his stead another metropolitan of Kroutitz; and other bishops in like manner (under his lead or initiative and blessing) were translated by them from one place to another. But he had no competency to do that, seeing that he had been excommunicated and anathematised by the patriarch of Jerusalem. And even though he were not a Latin heretic, he had no right by the canons to be living for any long time[39] here at Moscow: I do not know him as a metropolitan: he has not *even* [that is, so far as I know] any letters of consecration [still less canonical letters dimissory and commendatory. If people are so to be received] any mujik might put on a mandya, and so he too would be a metropolitan. I wrote all that I wrote with reference to him [*i.e.* to the initiative taken by and accorded to him], but not of the orthodox Russian Christians' [*i.e.* of the simple people and the nation, who know little or nothing of what is done in the prikaz of secret service, or in the council of state, or by the synods of autocrats].

The enemies of Nicon triumphed. On all sides there arose a cry: 'He has called *us* all heretics, and *not only* the metropolitan of Gaza: there must be a decree made *about this* according to *the canons*.'

[39] Here probably we have that grain of truth, out of which Paisius Ligarides has made a paragraph rightly treated by Subbotine (p. 160) as a fable. After saying that 'Nicon in his letter had charged all the synclete with having apostatised to the *doctrines* of the pope on account of Paisius metr. of Gaza, the papolater, whom he also called repeatedly a *great heretic*,' Ligarides continues thus: 'Nevertheless, being desired *by him* to specify and expose the heresy of the metr. of Gaza, Nicon *said* that he had in fact belched out this *calumnious imputation* at that time through human *passion*, *i.e.* because Paisius did not depart from Moscow quite so soon as Nicon wished, but stayed on there, *without returning to his own see*, only, as was clear, to work up the case against him Nicon,' &c. (vol. iii. p. 173; and comp. p. 100). To say nothing of the absurdity of putting such a confession into Nicon's mouth, it would follow, if this story were true, that Ligarides was not only *present*, as he seems really to have been, at all the meetings of the synod, and subscribed all the acts, but that he also *spoke*, and even challenged Nicon to a discussion about himself. But this is a slip of his pen. Except in this one place he does not represent himself as opening his mouth in any formal meeting of the synod till after the final condemnation and banishment of Nicon. Then he comes out again and *leads*, and is as loquacious as before (see vol. iii. p. 214), as if the two Greek patriarchs and the Greek bishops had got used to acting with him, and he had gradually acquired confidence. Indeed, when they had followed his private instructions, and had sat with him in synod, and concelebrated and communicated with him, it would have been mere prudery to be afraid of his voice, and he might say that they 'had pronounced his canonical and complete acquittal.' Ib. p. 101.

Nicon turned to the tsar, and said: 'If thou *hadst only feared God*, thou wouldst not have acted *thus* by me.' The tsar made no reply (vol. iii. p. 425). Nicon seems now to have understood fully *why* his letter to the patriarch Dionysius was thus read out, and to have been moved at the success of the clever but dishonest use made of it.

And Paisius Ligarides writes, that 'in those letters of his which were read out in the synod, Nicon was found to speak of the tsar as having departed from the *doctrines* and institutions of his ancestors: he compared him to Jeroboam [and to *Uzziah*], and called him a perpetrator of injustice, an invader of the rights of the Church, and a spoiler of her property; and farther he reproached him with having set up a court (the monastirski prikaz) such as had never before been opened by other autocrats. He introduced this too among other charges, that all the boyars of the synclete had fallen away to the *doctrines* of the pope, on account of Paisius metropolitan of Gaza, the papist, whom he repeatedly called a great heretic' (vol. iii. p. 175).

And in the synodal procès-verbal there is as follows: 'Above all, he was *put to shame* by his letter which he had sent *secretly* to the most holy Greek patriarchs, and which he had filled with *many lies and calumnies* against the most religious autocrat and *against all the orthodox empire*. The reading of this letter and the examination of the other charges lasted from the fourth hour of the day even to the second hour of the night.'

But really the tsar and his synod here exposed themselves rather to shame and ignominy, by reading out what Nicon had written of the initiative given to Paisius Ligarides in the synod of A.D. 1661, upholding the acts then done, and associating themselves more closely than ever with Ligarides—though they knew now more fully of *what* crimes he was accused, and either read out or purposely suppressed the mention made by Nicon of the worst of those crimes,—justifying Ligarides, who was amongst them as one of themselves, and condemning Nicon, who, on account of Ligarides, had imputed blame to them. Thus they renewed, as it were, and fixed upon themselves what we have called the second scab of their spiritual leprosy, and communicated to those Eastern patriarchs and bishops who were present its contagion.

The last words of Nicon's letter to the patriarch Dionysius

(vol. iii. p. 400) are these: 'But if there should be in this matter any unjust decree on your part, our Lord Jesus Christ will require that of you in the day of judgment, according to justice. Farewell.' And in Solovieff's account, taken from the contemporary minutes of the prikaz of secret service, we read (ib. p. 426) that when the reading of the letter was finished, Nicon said to the tsar: 'God will judge *thee!*' turning upon the tsar those concluding words of the intercepted letter which had been intended for a more legitimate judge, the patriarch of Constantinople, to whom the letter was addressed.

Farther proceedings based on what had been read from Nicon's letter about P. Ligarides, in a session to which Nicon was not summoned, Dec. 4.

§ vii. Both Paisius Ligarides and the synodal procès-verbal make Nicon's letter to have been read at the *first* synodal meeting to which he was summoned, which was really on Sunday Dec. 2. Shusherin, on the other hand, says expressly that it was on Monday Dec. 3, the next day after the first meeting: and so far there would be no great difficulty in reconciling the two statements, because neither Ligarides nor the synodal procès-verbal mention the meeting of Monday Dec. 3, and so they may be understood to fuse the two meetings of Sunday and Monday, which Shusherin distinguishes, into one. But then Solovieff, who had access to the minutes of the prikaz of secret service, and who therefore ought to be the most accurate of all, though he distinguishes, like Shusherin, a second session on Monday Dec. 3, yet agrees with Ligarides and the synodal procès-verbal in referring the reading of Nicon's letter and that long session which lasted 'till the third hour of the night' to the *first* meeting, that of Sunday Dec. 2. However, circumstances are mentioned even by Solovieff himself which go far to show that he is inaccurate on this point, and that Shusherin is accurate. For Solovieff relates how the tsar at the *second* meeting, that is, on the morning of Monday Dec. 3, before Nicon came in, complained to the two patriarchs how Nicon, on the evening of the day before, had dishonoured him by refusing the meat and drink sent to him. But Shusherin's account of that matter, thus virtually alluded to and confirmed, clearly shows that Nicon had gone back to his lodgings after the first meeting, that is on Sun-

day Dec. 2, *by daylight*, one hour at least, or it may be more, before nightfall. Again, at the third meeting, that of Wednesday Dec. 5, before Nicon came in, the tsar, according to Solovieff, spoke to the two patriarchs of certain matters which, according to Shusherin, had been mentioned by Nicon to the tsar in that conversation which they had together during the reading of Nicon's letter to the patriarch of Constantinople. This conversation, then, thus alluded to, and the reading of the letter to the patriarch Dionysius, must have taken place at the meeting last held of those at which Nicon was present, that is, at the meeting of Monday Dec. 3, and not at that of Sunday Dec. 2; though it certainly might be supposed, if any one pleased (so long as there are no contemporary documents before us to preclude the supposition), that they began to read the letter at the first meeting, and continued and finished it at the second; and that there is a slight inaccuracy in the narrative of Shusherin, which distinctly implies the contrary.

But neither thus are we clear of our difficulty. Solovieff, after alluding to Nicon's refusal of the tsar's provisions, sent to him in the afternoon of Sunday Dec. 2, begins his account of the proceedings of the second meeting, that of Monday Dec. 3, in terms which imply the reading of Nicon's letter to have preceded: 'When the accused came in,' he writes, 'the tsar, again stepping down from his place, made a speech to the patriarchs: and together with all present he made petition against Nicon thus:

"Inveighing against the metropolitan of Gaza, the late patriarch Nicon wrote in his letter to the patriarch of Constantinople as if all the orthodox Christendom [of Russia] had seceded from the Eastern Church to the Western Kostel; whereas the holy Catholic Eastern Church [of Russia] possesses within herself the health-distilling tunic of our Divine Saviour, and the wonder-working relics of many Muscovite saints, and there has not been *any sort of separation*; but we hold and believe according to the tradition of the holy apostles and the holy fathers in all truth.[40] We petition, therefore, that the patriarchs should clear all the

[40] So they thought perhaps: but they had really given up one article of the creed, viz. that respecting the Church. And so, when the tsar in the synod asked Nicon (vol. iii. p. 420), 'Was he standing up in defence of *any doctrine* of the Church?' Nicon replied: 'I *was* standing up in defence of *doctrines* of the Church.'

orthodox Christians from such an imputation." Here the tsar and all the council bowed to the patriarchs to the ground.

"This is a matter of the utmost moment," replied the patriarchs: "on this behalf we must stand up resolutely. When Nicon called all the orthodox Christians [of Russia] heretics, he at the same time called us also heretics, as if we were come to judge among heretics. But we in the Muscovite empire see and recognise orthodox Christians: we will *for this* judge the patriarch Nicon, and defend the orthodox Christians, *according to the canons*"' (vol. iii. p. 428). Here we may connect the account of Paisius Ligarides, who will help us to continue:

The patriarchs bade read that section [of the Nomocanon] which enacts that the emperor is not to be insulted. Hereupon there was brought in the book of Matthew Blastar, who writes in tit. ii. ch. vii. thus: 'Canon lxxxiv. of the Apostles says: Whoever shall insult the emperor or the governor without just cause, if he be a clerk is to be deposed, and if a layman is to be excommunicated. The civil laws also enact that he who *finds* any *abuse* of the emperor written on paper sealed or unsealed, and does not immediately burn it, but reads it aloud, is to be punished in the same way as if he had been the author of the abuse.'[41] The bishops cried out with a loud voice: 'Let Nicon be punished according to the laws.'

'What then, pray,' said the synclete, 'is he to suffer, O most holy patriarchs, who dishonours his own flock, and falsely calls it heretical, and in fact lost? But Nicon has not only left his flock untended for nine years, but now he also slanderously accuses all to the œcumenical patriarchs, an act unworthy of any bishop.'

There was read then from the Nomocanon, 'Of the duty and character of a patriarch,' these words: 'A patriarch is a living and animated image of Christ,' &c. [as in vol. i. p. 64, and vol. iii. p. 175, ending with the words, 'capable of rebuking and confuting the disobedient, and in the cause of truth and justice of speaking *even before kings* without being ashamed']. There was read besides from Matthew Blastar ch. v. 'About bishops,' &c.

'Therefore,' the patriarchs said, 'Nicon, who unjustly and

[41] In this case, however, it was the emperor himself who found sealed up and caused to be opened and read the 'calumny and insult' written by Nicon against the emperor. But perhaps they who had counselled the tsar to publish his own shame may be said to be here quoting the civil law against themselves.

absurdly calumniates his own flock, and writes falsely, that all, small and great, have turned aside to the *doctrines* of the pope of Rome,[42] is not a true shepherd, nor did *he* enter through the true spiritual door;[43] but he has shown himself to be altogether a hireling and a robber, who has crept in to slay and to destroy the flock. Wherefore he is to be deposed' (ib. p. 176).

It is difficult to place this scene otherwise than, as Solovieff expressly places it, at the opening of a session, after the letter of Nicon had been read, that is, after Monday Dec. 3; while the circumstances connected with the opening of the session of Wednesday Dec. 5 (the third and last in which Nicon appeared in the palace in presence of the tsar) are so clearly marked in Solovieff's narrative, and Nicon's appearance is so immediately connected with that session in which he had last appeared previously and in which his letter had been read, as to preclude the supposition that the scene we have been relating from Solovieff might have occurred on the morning of Wednesday Dec. 5. It remains then only for us—not having access to those contemporary documents which Solovieff has used—to suppose that there was in fact a session, *at which Nicon was not present*, on the morning of Tuesday Dec. 4, and that it was then that this scene occurred. And this supposition is favoured by the fact that, if we look on beyond it, we find in Solovieff's narrative no allusion to Nicon as present till we come to his account of the session of Wednesday Dec. 5.

'Having set forth prominently,' so Solovieff continues, 'with such solemnity of circumstance, the *capital point* of the accusation against Nicon; having shown that there could be no reconciliation with a pastor who had so fiercely wounded the feelings of his flock, who had charged it with heterodoxy,—to strengthen yet more the impression made, they now presented to the patriarchs documentary evidence against Nicon *of the most conclusive nature*, such as to prevent their giving credence to his words and pleas in justification of himself. Hitherto Nicon had con-

[42] Here Ligarides most absurdly makes the patriarchs retort upon Nicon the same accusation of latinising, in the same way as Ligarides, in other places also of his *History*, retorts it himself: for he makes them continue thus: 'Whom (*i.e.* the pope of Rome) notwithstanding Nicon himself *sought very busily to have for his judge*, and by no means *us* the Eastern patriarchs, from whom he had the patriarchal blessing and ordination,' &c.

[43] While Ligarides, and Pitirim, and Methodius, and Paul &c. *did*.

stantly affirmed that he had *not* renounced the *patriarchate:* now the tsar handed to the patriarchs three letters, in which Nicon called himself "*late*-patriarch" (*bieshi*-patriarch).

'The patriarchs hereupon declared: "It is written in the laws, that whoever is convicted of *lying* thrice is no longer to be believed in anything: the patriarch Nicon has been convicted of many lies,[a] and he ought not now any longer to be believed in anything.

"Whoever has slandered any one is by the laws subjected to the same punishment which he would have brought on him whom he slandered. He, then, who brings a charge of heresy against any man, and fails to prove it, incurs himself if a priest deposition, if a layman excommunication."

'The tsar also exhibited to the patriarchs Nicon's letter (*i.e.* his written proposals and conditions) for the appointment of a new patriarch in his own stead.

'The patriarchs continued: "When Teymouraz was at the tsar's banquet-table (July 6, A.D. 1658), Nicon *sent* his man *to make a disturbance.* But in the laws it is written: Whoever makes a disturbance between kings is worthy of death. And as for him who *struck* Nicon's servant, God forgive him! for *so it ought to be done.*" At these words the patriarch of Antioch rose, and *blessed* Khitroff with the sign of the cross.'

And after this the patriarchs are said to have mentioned, in farther condemnation of Nicon, that some peasants of his had struck Gabriel archbishop of Servia, and Nicon *had given no redress;* that Nicon himself in the cathedral, within the sanctuary, during the liturgy, had taken off from the head of a certain bishop his cap, and had heaped on him all manner of abuse, because he did not hold the censer in such and such a way; and that he had blessed the water at the festival of the Theophany only once, that is on the eve, and not also on the day itself. But in connection with all these matters nothing is added of any answer being made by Nicon, nor of his presence, though he could scarcely have failed to say something if he had been present. We suppose, then, that all this passed at a meeting held in Nicon's absence on Tuesday Dec. 4.

[a] In Ligarides' account (vol. iii. p. 187) the patriarch Macarius is made to say that 'Nicon has never so much as once spoken truth,' and so 'has shown himself worse than Satan'!

Third appearance of Nicon before the synod; when part of the patriarchal tome of A.D. 1663 *was read out; and Nicon was condemned to be degraded, and to be imprisoned for life, Ligarides also being present, Dec. 5.*

§ viii. As regards the session of Wednesday Dec. 5, we learn first from Solovieff, that *before Nicon came to the synod*, the tsar (with a plain allusion to that private conversation which he had had with Nicon in the last meeting at which Nicon had been present, and which has been recorded by Shusherin), 'turning to the patriarchs, said: "Nicon threatens me with the judgments of God because the council decreed and sent an order for him to come to Moscow *not with many people*. Also when he came to Moscow there was taken from him by my order an inferior clerk of his [John Shusherin], for this cause, that he during these nine years past *brought* to Nicon *all sorts of reports*, and caused much mischief. Nicon on account of that clerk *reviles and dishonours me*,[45] and says: 'The tsar persecutes me; he gave orders to take away my clerk, even when he was in the act of carrying the cross before me.' *If* Nicon begins to speak of this *in the council*, then ye, O patriarchs, know how it was. Also I would have you to know this, that Nicon, before coming to Moscow, confessed and communicated, and caused himself to be anointed, as for death, with holy oil." The patriarchs at this *were astonished not a little*' (see vol. iii. p. 430).

Then, since both Paisius Ligarides and the synodal procès-verbal relate that Nicon came to the meeting of Dec. 5, as he had come before on Dec. 2 and Dec. 3, in a sledge, with a gilt cross borne before him, and with a crozier, giving his blessing to the people, and both these contemporary accounts agree with that of Solovieff or his source in relating afterwards that the cross was taken away from Nicon in this same session of Dec. 5, we must in this point correct the relation of Shusherin, who relates the taking away of the cross as an appendix to his account of the tsar's private conversation with Nicon during the reading of the letter, and so seems to refer it to the earlier session of Dec. 3. At the same time it is to be observed that Shusherin does not mention the session of Dec. 5 at all; but only tells his readers that from the meeting of Dec. 3, in which the letter was

[45] Poor lamb! See above, p. 691, 692.

read, to Dec. 12, Nicon was kept still in the podvorie of the sobor of the Archangel.

From the accounts of Paisius Ligarides (given in our vol. iii. p. 178-190) and Solovieff (ib. p. 430), which agree in substance, it appears that in the session of Dec. 5 they began by returning to that main point of Nicon's withdrawal from his chair, and the sense to be put upon it, with which they had begun in the first session of Dec. 2, and which ought to have led to the consideration of Nicon's real difference, his 'presumptions and demands,' but which they had then dropped or intermitted. Instead of pursuing that question and deciding upon it, they interposed the sensational scene produced by the reading of Nicon's letter. Subbotine observes that in those sessions in which Nicon was present, no reference seems to have been made either to the depositions taken in A.D. 1660, respecting his abandonment of the chair, or to the acts of the synod then held, or to the extracts from the canons made both in A.D. 1660 and in A.D. 1666, or, lastly, to Nicon's proposals for his voluntary retirement, and the draft of synodal determinations on the same; nor was there any disposition shown, not merely to consider on the basis of the canons, but even to allude to the real motive assigned for his withdrawal by Nicon both in his letter, which they read out, and in his verbal answers. The mere utterance of his charges against the tsar was assumed to be insult and calumny, punishable of itself with deposition; his withdrawal was held to be a relinquishment and even abjuration of the duties of his office, incapacitating him by canon ii. of the Council of St. Sophia (of A.D. 879) from returning to it; his continued absence from Moscow—even though the guards at the city gates had orders not to let him return, and the tsar informed the four patriarchs of his attempt to return in Dec. A.D. 1664 as of a *crime* and an *invasion*—was stigmatised as the slothfulness of a hireling. It was only when he had been condemned and imprisoned, that his chief accusers of the Russian clergy, Paul and Hilarion, were to find out that there existed a question going beyond the broken head of Nicon's sin-boyar, or the slight of not asking the patriarch to dinner, or of not coming to church for this or that festival—beyond even 'Streshneff's dog'—and that *even they themselves*, Paul and Hilarion, though they had no objection to see the tsar Alexis personally acting as chief bishop, had reason to be a little afraid lest their

order should be entirely subjected *to the boyars*, and lest there might be hereafter some successor of Alexis, with a strong will, with no law but his own will — some son *better* than his father — who should *enslave the Russian Church*. But to return:

The patriarchs, Paisius of Alexandria speaking first, and possibly — since their intention now was to treat him as a *liar* — *adjuring* Nicon to *speak the truth*, and not to lie against the Holy Ghost, though certainly not making the long speech given by Ligarides, asked him again: For what cause didst thou *abdicate* thy chair? Nicon replied: On account of the great anger of the tsar. The tsar, according to Ligarides, after a sarcastic allusion to *astrology*, said: 'It was *not* so: it was *not* through any anger of mine &c.: it was only of thine own *self-will*, of thine own *vain counsels*, for thine own *tortuous desires*, changing backwards and forwards oftener than the *Euripus*, and going through more transformations than the *octopod*.'

But Solovieff's account commences thus: The patriarch Paisius began to say to Nicon that he had renounced the chair *with an oath*, and had gone away *without any legitimate reason*. 'I did *not*,' replied Nicon: 'I *testified* by heaven and earth, and went away from the tsar's wrath; *and now also my will is to go wherever it pleases the tsar*.'

The patriarchs: '*Many* heard thee renounce the patriarchate *with an oath*.' Nicon: 'That they invented against me; [and a *second* time he added:] But if I am not acceptable, let the tsar send me wherever he pleases: *I am quite ready to go*.' But according to Ligarides the patriarchs said: 'Why, then, *didst thou not say*, "I quit my chair on account of the tsar's wrath, and the asperity of his conduct;" but didst *only* declare that thou wert unworthy, and didst put off thy robes, saying publicly [to each vestment], "I am unworthy;" and "I am no longer patriarch."' Nicon absolutely denied having done this, &c.

Here Solovieff makes the patriarchs abruptly ask Nicon by what authority he wrote himself patriarch of the New Jerusalem [that is, had made himself again patriarch, so as to do episcopal acts, though it were only at Voskresensk, after having once abdicated, or rather after the tsar's vicegerents and vicars, first Pitirim, and then Ligarides, and lastly Paul, had excluded him from the patriarchal chair and from the diptychs at Moscow]. Nicon replied, that he did *not write himself* (*i.e.* style himself)

'*Patriarch of the New Jerusalem?*' and he added: 'I have heard from some Greeks that there are now *other* patriarchs than you in the chairs of Antioch and Alexandria.' The patriarchs replied: 'We have not *renounced* our chairs. It may be that the Turks have *done something in our absence*.[46] But if any one has dared to invade our chairs unlawfully by the power of the sultan,[47] such an intruder is an adulterer.' Nicon: 'From this time I call God to witness that I will not speak [*i.e.* to answer, as to judges] before the patriarchs, so long as the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem are not here.'

The patriarchs (going back to the point from which they had departed, though not, perhaps, quite so abruptly and unconnectedly as appears in Solovieff's narrative), turning to the council, [not referring to the depositions or acts of A.D. 1660] said: 'Declare the truth about this point, of Nicon's having renounced the patriarchate with an oath.' Pitirim of Novgorod and Joasaph of Tver came forward ['and,' Ligarides adds, 'some others, members of the synclete, especially the boyar Rodion Streshneff, who was sent to request Nicon to return, but he refused, and even with an imprecation']. Nicon called them all false witnesses and men-pleasers. This imputation threw them into a very great excitement. And (according to Ligarides) they brought in the book of Michael Attaliata, and read out his title xvi. *On Witnesses*, to prove that the testimony of two or three witnesses—and two of them in the present case bishops—was to be believed. Nicon again, as at first (on Sunday Dec. 2), objected to Pitirim as a personal enemy, who had even attempted to poison him. They read out also from Matthew Blastar *On Witnesses* &c. (vol. iii. p. 180).

Solovieff, without mentioning that Nicon denied the imputation, and impugned the witnesses, as no doubt he did, relates only that he said (and this was now for the *third* time that he repeated the same thing): 'I do not turn to look back (alluding to what he had said in A.D. 1658 to Rodion Streshneff at Voskresensk, and repeating the same), nor say what I say, that I should be again in the chair: but whoever shall be patriarch

[46] They *had* done something, even as the most orthodox and religious tsar had *done something* in Nicon's absence; and, what is more, the sitting patriarch of Constantinople Partheuius had been a party to that something.

[47] Even as Pitirim and Paul, by the power of the tsar. See *Replies* &c. p. 147, &c.

after me, *he shall be anathema*. So I also wrote in time past to the tsar, that *without my concurrence* they *cannot appoint another patriarch*. I now say nothing about the chair (*i.e.* as for myself); let it be as it may please the great hossoudar and the [four sitting] œcumenical patriarchs.'

On this Subbotine rightly observes, that when Nicon thus repeatedly told them that it was needless to dispute with him about what he had done, or in what sense, and whether he had really vacated the chair so as to be incapable of returning to it, since even if he had not vacated it, he had been all along ready to vacate it, and was ready to vacate it now, and had no wish to return to it, it would have been natural, if all they wanted was to get rid of him and to elect a successor, to remember his written proposals, and that draft of synodal determinations on them which had been already prepared. But this was *not* all that they wanted. They were fixed in their determination to treat Nicon as a *criminal*.

After this the heads[48] of the patriarchal tomes of A.D. 1663 were read out in Greek by Cosmas bishop of Amasia, and in Russ by Hilarion archbishop of Riazan.

And *first* there was read ch. xiv., in which it is laid down that the bishop who has once abdicated his own chair, and gone into retirement, cannot afterwards return to it;[49] '*nor* he who has put himself down to the place of penitents' (that is, who has *taken the great schima*). And in confirmation of *this* there was quoted (in ch. xiv. of the tomes) canon xiii.[50] of the First and Second Council held in the church of St. Sophia.

But Solovieff, or his source, identifying the text of the patriarchal tomes read out in the council, and embodying quotations from the canons, with the canons themselves of the Russian Kormchay and the Greek Πηδάλιον—both which books were lying on the table before the two patriarchs—writes that: The pa-

[48] Certain heads, that is; not those which bore upon 'Nicon's presumptions and demands,' but those which bore upon his so-called abdication, and some other charges, beginning from ch. xiv. See our vol. iii. p. 336-344.

[49] This, however, is only a gloss or inference from the canon quoted in ch. xiv. of the tomes; an inference which is not written in the text of ch. xiv., but comes at the beginning of ch. xv.

[50] Really canon ii. *not* of the First and Second Council, but of the council held in A.D. 879 in the church of St. Sophia.

triarchs ordered the metropolitan of Amasia to read *the canons* [meaning the patriarchal *tomes*, and the *canons*, in the first instance at least, only as *quoted in them*]; and in Russian they were read by Hilarion of Riazan. They read [as if contained in canon ii. of the council of A.D. 879, quoted just before in ch. xiv. of the patriarchal tome—but really this is the first sentence in the Answer in ch. xv.]:

'Whoever throws up his chair of his own will, without any persecution, shall be no more allowed to hold it.'

Nicon: 'These *canons* are not those of the Apostles, nor of the œcumenical councils, nor of the local councils: these canons I neither receive nor attend to.'

The patriarchs: 'Dost thou, then, decline to accept as canonical this *synod* of ours [this tome, rather], which has been confirmed and held *against thee* by the *four* patriarchs?' Nicon answered: 'All these writings are no better than old-wives' stories; for there are adduced here spurious canons, most vilely misunderstood and misinterpreted or miscommented upon. Therefore I by no means receive them. For who has said that penitence is a plough? and who has applied that text of the gospel, "No man having once put his hand to the plough," &c. to penance?' this text being so applied in ch. xv. of the patriarchal tomes (vol. iii. p. 183).

The discussion respecting that particular canon—canon ii. of the council of A.D. 879—being continued, Paul the metropolitan of Krontitz said: 'These canons [meaning the canons of the council in question] the Church has received.' Nicon: 'They are not [that is, the passage or gloss now quoted is not] in the Russian Kormchay; the Greek canons [if this text so stands in them] are incorrect, or the patriarchs have written here their own gloss; and they [*i.e.* this book of theirs said to contain them] have been printed by the heretics [as this title-page shows] at Venice. Moreover, I did not renounce my chair [that is, not unreservedly, in the sense of the alleged canon; still less take the great schima, which they are pleased to call the 'plough of penitence']: that is what they have invented against me.' The patriarchs said: 'Our Greek canons are correct.'

Joasaph the archbishop of Tver said: 'When he renounced with an oath the patriarchal chair, we besought him not to aban-

don it; but he said: "I have once for all renounced, and I will be no more patriarch; and if I return, then let me be anathema!"' Nicon again, as before, gave the lie to that testimony. Here there rose up Rodion Streshneff, testifying that Nicon had said of himself that he had made a vow to remain in the patriarchate only three years.[50] Nicon said now for the *fourth* time: '*I seek not to return to the chair;* as to this, the great hossoudar is free.'

Almiaz Ivanoff said: 'Nicon wrote to the hossoudar that it *was not fit* for him [really, that he had no personal desire] to return to the chair as a dog to his vomit.' Nicon persisted [in what he had said before; and so now for the *fifth* time disclaimed all desire of the chair], and added:

'I am not the only one who am driven out unjustly: the same they did to St. John Chrysostom.' Then, turning to the tsar, he said: 'When there were riots in Moscow [in A.D. 1648, and again in A.D. 1662], then thou thyself also [wast alarmed, and] didst confess that there was injustice among the boyars; and I, being *alarmed* [at the license allowed to that injustice], withdrew from thy wrath.' The tsar: 'Thou speakest unbecoming words, and *insultest me.*' From on all sides there arose cries [of indignation].

They read on in the tomes, ch. xvi., of one who, after leaving his chair, is entreated to return, and refuses; ch. xvii. of a bishop who, after resigning his see, presumes to do episcopal acts, ordaining, anathematising, &c.; ch. xviii. of one who unlawfully absents himself, or (ch. xix.)—which is much worse—of passion or slothfulness retires and neglects to feed his flock without even going out of his diocese; ch. xx. of the right of the local synod in such cases to elect a pastor; ch. xxi. of the power of suffragan bishops to judge their own metropolitan, primate, or patriarch [and ch. vii., which had preceded in the tome, had the same sense with this ch. xxi.]; and ch. xxii. of any appeal from the local synod to the chair of Constantinople (see vol. iii. p. 338 to 346).

If Paisius Ligarides is to be trusted for the *substance* of what he relates in vol. iii. p. 184, it was probably in connection with the reading of ch. xxii. of the patriarchal tome (see vol. iii. p. 345) that the patriarchs said words to this effect: 'We all, the four patriarchs [who have written and subscribed this tome], are

[50] Nicon, after three years, in A.D. 1655, feeling that the tsar was not likely to support him against the boyars, had sought to resign the chair.

the successors of the holy apostles; I' (added the patriarch of Antioch) 'am the successor of the prince of the apostles Peter; this my brother of Alexandria of Mark; the patriarch of Constantinople is the successor of Andrew; and the patriarch of Jerusalem of James the brother of God. So then, if we say anything, we say it out of the mouths of the apostles and evangelists.' And, according to Solovieff, the patriarch of Antioch [of Alexandria?] said: 'Knowest thou that the patriarch of Antioch [of Alexandria] is the œcumenical judge?' Nicon: 'Then judge thyself [by the same rule] by which ye judge us. In Alexandria and Antioch [as in Moscow] there are now no patriarchs. The patriarch of Alexandria lives at Cairo, and the patriarch of Antioch at Damascus.' [Equally, and much more, then, so far as any argument drawn from his absence goes, the patriarch of Moscow may be living at Voskresensk.]

The patriarchs [when ch. xxiii. of the patriarchal tomes was about to be read, respecting the number of bishops required to judge a bishop, the answer to which refers to Matthew Blastar]: 'Hear the holy canons.' Nicon: 'The Greek canons [as quoted in those tomes] are incorrect [and as contained in that book of yours]; they are printed by the heretics.' The patriarchs: 'Put thy hand to this, that our Nomocanon is heretical, and say distinctly what are the heresies in it.' Nicon declined to do this. Then the patriarchs asked him: 'Say, how many bishops are required by the canons to judge and depose a bishop? and how many are needed to judge a patriarch?' Nicon answered: 'A bishop may be judged by *twelve* bishops; but a patriarch only by the whole world.' The patriarchs said: 'Why, then, didst thou alone, of thyself, depose Paul bishop of Kolomna uncanonically, *and banish him?*' Nicon replied: 'I did not by my own authority *deprive* him *altogether*.' . . . And the bishops cried out at this: 'Thou didst deprive *our brother* without our cognisance' (see vol. ii. p. 75, 78, 175; and iii. p. 181, 447).

The patriarchs, seeing that the strife of words was being protracted without end, said: 'We have not come here to wrangle with thee, but to pronounce the decision of the most holy patriarchs.[51] And since thou in the former session didst ask if we had the authorisation of *the other two* patriarchs, see here, we

[51] That is, the decision already virtually given against Nicon in the tomes of A.D. 1663-1664, ch. xxiii. of which had just been read.

show thee *their* signatures, written in these two tomes, which had been already sent to Moscow before we came hither' (vol. iii. p. 182).

According to Solovieff, the tsar asked him: 'Dost thou believe the word of *all* the œcumenical patriarchs? *They* have subscribed with their hands that the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria have come[52] with their consent to Moscow.' Nicon looked at the subscriptions, and said: 'I do not know' (or recognise) 'their hands' [at any rate, not that of *Parthenius*, now patriarch of Constantinople, to say nothing of the assertion that the subscriptions are said to certify]. The patriarch of Antioch: 'These are the genuine subscriptions of the patriarchs.' Nicon: 'Here thou hast it all thine own way: but how wilt thou answer for thyself before the patriarch [Parthenius] of Constantinople?' Voices were heard from all sides: 'How dost thou not fear God, when thou insultest the great hossoudar and the œcumenical patriarchs, and callest the plain truth a lie?'

With the reading of ch. xxiv. of the tomes (see vol. iii. p. 346), of innovations in matters of ritual, we may connect what follows next in the account of Solovieff: The patriarchs gave orders to take away from Nicon the cross which was borne before him, on the ground that no single patriarch had any such custom, and that Nicon had taken it from the Latins.[53]

In the procès-verbal of the synodal archives another reason is assigned, and the taking away of the cross is mentioned first, in immediate connection with the mention of Nicon's entrance with it into the synod: 'But because, *after having abandoned the patriarchal chair*, he came thus a second time with the cross borne before him, as if he were still a patriarch, and not in humble guise, as befitted one *under trial*,[54] the most holy patri-

[52] So too we have had the two patriarchs writing and saying above, and so we shall have it asserted again in the synodal judgment and manifesto below. But 'this, O religious tsar, is a *lie*.' And we shall find a very different story from this in the letters of the two patriarchs written afterwards to their brethren to communicate to them what they had done, and in a letter of the tsar himself written to the patriarch of Constantinople Parthenius.

[53] Really it was the custom in the Kozak country, which in the years 1654, 1655, and 1656 had been followed there, and in Muscovy, by the patriarch Macarius of Antioch himself (see vol. ii. p. 40, 70). No doubt it *was* borrowed, like some other things, from the Uniats and the Poles by the Kozaks, and from them it had come into Great Russia.

[54] A strange idea they seem to have had of the way in which bishops *under trial* were to be treated!

archs ordered their archdeacon to take the holy cross away from his cross-bearer. And so it was done.' But the accounts of Paisius Ligarides and Solovieff, and that of Shusherin too (though he throws it back to Monday Dec. 3, and omits all mention of the session of Wednesday Dec. 5), all agree in placing this incident towards the end of a session, and while some reading was going on. The account of Ligarides is this: 'Kyr Macarius asked Nicon, saying: "Thou, O Nicon, wast not used in time past to have a silver cross carried before thee: whence, then, hast thou learned this?" Nicon replied that the cross is the standard of all Christians, and our weapon of victory. "Yes," said the patriarch; "but *if*, when thou wast patriarch, *this was not* customary, how hast thou dared now to lift up this standard, when thou comest only to trial, and after the abdication completed by thee with so much emphasis and solemnity?" Nicon, *as being justly confuted*, held his tongue.[55] Then, therefore, both the patriarchs gave order that the cross should be taken away from him. And thereupon Anastasius the archdeacon of the patriarch of Alexandria, having first made his reverence, went up and took away the cross out of the hands of Nicon's deacon, and *held it before the two patriarchs* to the end [of the session], preceding them also with it as far as to the door of the new patriarchal palace' (vol. iii. p. 185).

Shusherin's account (if we transfer it from the session of Monday Dec. 3 to that of Wednesday Dec. 5, and insert it before the end of the reading of the patriarchal tome, instead of letting it stand where he has inserted it, during the reading of Nicon's letter) is as follows:

Afterwards, as that monk Mark was standing with the cross in a drooping posture, whether from terror of the tsar or that he was meditating on all those things that were passing, all at once the archdeacon of the œcumenical patriarchs, one Anastasius by name, who was standing by the chairs of the said patriarchs, went and stood right in front of the tsar and the patriarchs, crossed himself thrice to the holy icons, then bowed to the tsar and to the œcumenical patriarchs, and went up to that monk Mark,

[55] Probably nothing of the kind was *said to Nicon*; and Ligarides here shows his own ignorance. Nicon would have replied, that the same *was* the custom when he was patriarch; and that the patriarch Macarius himself had followed in Muscovy that same custom.

who was holding the cross. He, raising himself up, and seeing the archdeacon about to take out of his hands the holy cross, cried out to the patriarch Nicon thus: 'O most holy patriarch, they are taking away our weapon from us!' for Nicon was at that moment turned towards the side on which the tsar's synclete were, and was speaking. So he turned about, and seeing that they were taking away the cross, he said: 'The Lord's will be done! if they give command to take away even our last garment, or to do anything else more grievous still than that, we shall not be blamed for that; but all these things we suffer with joy, suffering in the name of the Lord.' And many other like words he added out of the divine Scriptures. And the archdeacon, having taken the cross, stood with it between the two croziers of the œcumenical patriarchs, which were held on the left side of their chairs.

When all this had passed—Ligarides writes—the patriarch of Alexandria rose and asked: 'Is any one here ignorant that the patriarch of Alexandria is the œcumenical judge?'[56] All cried out: 'We know and confess that he is really so, even as he is styled.'

The patriarch then said: '*Though* I am the œcumenical judge, I wish nevertheless to judge this man here out of the Nomocanon. Reach me hither the *Νόμιον*, and let canon xii. of Antioch be read.' And it was read, running thus: 'Whosoever troubles the emperor and *disturbs his empire* is *altogether without defence*,' &c.

Nicon objected[57] that this book [from which the canon was thus quoted] was printed by the heretics. But the Greek bishops present all together answered: 'We get our church books from Venice, having no printing-presses of our own; and as these books contain nothing but the Greek order of service, we accept and honour them with all our souls.' There was brought forward also the Russian Kormchay (*Νόμιον*). But even this was objected to by Nicon [though canon xii. of Antioch

[56] And so, in default of any better right, is a competent judge on this occasion: even if he spoke untruly when he said that he had come with the knowledge and consent of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem.

[57] And well might he object, this canon (which may be seen in our vol. i., *Replies* &c. p. 139) having really an entirely different sense, being directed against such as should 'trouble the emperor' to interfere in their behalf by his secular power.

as printed in it, and no doubt also as printed in the Greek book from Venice, was quite remote both in wording and in sense from the fragmentary gloss upon it now put forward] as inaccurately printed in the time of the late patriarch Joseph. Nicon confessed that some things had been incorrectly printed even during his own patriarchate; wherefore also he had enjoined on the bishops to correct them all with exactness, whenever there should be a convenient season.

Afterwards the Roman [that is, the *Greek*] bishops were called, and asked: 'What punishment, then, ought to be inflicted on Nicon, who has trampled under foot the divine canons, and contemned the traditions of the fathers; who has so many heavy charges against him, who was implicated in so many murders,[58] and who committed innumerable acts of rapine and injustice, during *all* the time of his patriarchate?' They replied: 'He ought to be canonically deposed, and stripped of all power to do sacerdotal acts.'

'Ye have spoken well,' said the patriarchs. And the Russian bishops being then asked, they also all answered: 'Let him be deposed in the most complete manner: for he is not guilty on one charge only, but on many' (vol. iii. p. 187).

There began again—Solovieff writes—a dispute about his abdication [which they would have been glad to get him to acknowledge, but having failed to do so, they voted his deposition and degradation at last, as appears by the passage just given from the *History* of Ligarides, on separate grounds, without any distinct mention of it]. At last the patriarchs said: 'It is written: "When forced, *even the devil* confesses the truth:" but Nicon does not confess the truth.' Ligarides makes it to be the patriarch of Antioch Macarius who said this, only more rhetorically (vol. iii. p. 187).

They pronounced sentence, Solovieff writes: 'Henceforth thou shalt not be patriarch, nor shalt thou do acts of priesthood, but thou shalt be as a simple monk.' And Ligarides more at length: Then both the patriarchs stood up, and the patriarch of Alexandria, as the œcumenical judge, delivered the following

[58] The *wording* here is probably only that of Ligarides. The 'many murders' may allude to the accusations made by Ivan Sirin (see above, p. 414; and vol. i. p. 600; and iii. p. 447, 451); and to the case of the bishop Paul and others (ib. p. 435, 447). About rapine and injustice, see vol. iii. p. 165, 444.

sentence: 'Blessed be God, &c. . . . It has seemed good, then, to us, and to the Holy Ghost, and to the divinely-crowned emperor &c., and we decide, *according to the decision of the most holy patriarchs our brethren* in the Holy Ghost and fellow-ministers, that Nicon *is* not, nor is to be called, any more patriarch of Moscow, in consideration of the charges which have now been examined, and on account of all the offences lawlessly committed by him, offences forbidden by the canons, and subjected to penalties.

'Of these many charges the chief are as follows: 1. That he described the most excellent and orthodox emperor in his letters *sent* to the *four* patriarchs as an *apostate* and a tyrant; 2. That he declared that the whole of the most splendid synclete[59] had *latinised*, and run on the rocks of *heretical doctrines*, without *any proof whatever*, of mere passion, slandering his own flock; with minor counts, viz. 3. That he was contumacious, contemning the patriarchal tome of A.D. 1663, and the Greek books printed at Venice, even rejecting some of the local synods, and insulting the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch as not residing in those cities, and besides as not being in actual possession of their sees [which they really were not]; 4. That he had been guilty of murderous cruelty, especially towards Paul bishop of Kolomna; 5. That he had stripped himself in a disorderly manner, in the cathedral, of the patriarchal robes, proclaiming himself altogether unworthy; and lastly, to sum up all, 6. On account of his acts of *rapine* and *injustice* and *lawlessness*, and on account of his *fantastical ideas*, we strip him of all episcopal honour and power, so that for the future he is no longer to be called patriarch or bishop, but simply "monk." Thus let him be styled, and thus let him be for all time to come, and once for all.'

Order was made that this sentence and act of deposition should be written in the Roman (i.e. *Romaic*) and Russian languages, for a perpetual record. And it was determined that on a set day there should be performed, *in presence of the Church*, the act of deposition. And so all separated.

[59] Not only the synclete, but the clergy too, and the tsar himself, were accused by Nicon of latinising, *so far as it suited their own wills* to do so, in respect of the blessing and initiative, *i.e.* of *mission and jurisdiction*, but not in respect of *doctrine* or ritual.

But first Nicon said aloud, looking at the patriarchs: 'Ye have power *now* to speak and to act thus only because ye have received [Subbotine translates: 'Ye would not have dared unless ye had received'] authorisation from the tsar' (vol. iii. p. 189).

And Nicon went away to the podvorie of the Archangel, not blessing the people, nor having the cross borne before him.

On Saturday the 8th Dec. the patriarchs sat with the tsar alone three hours.

Act of the degradation of Nicon, in which P. Ligarides takes part, Dec. 12, A.D. 1666.

§ ix. After this, on Wednesday Dec. 12, the patriarchs and all the synod of the clergy assembled in *their* krestovaia hall of the patriarchate, and sent to ask the tsar to send to them some one of the synclete. The tsar sent the prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky [Gregory Cherkassky, Youry Dolgorouky], Ivan Alex. Vorotinsky, Peter Mich. Soltikoff, the doumni dvorianin Procopius Kouzm. Eleazaroff, and the secretary Almiaz Ivanoff: also the stolnik prince Peter Semen. Prozorofsky, and other stolniks. And they sent Methodius bishop of Mstislaff and Orsha, and Joseph archimandrite of the Pechersky at Nijny, to summon Nicon: and he came, not blessing the people; and he was kept waiting in the vestibule before the krestovaia.

Presently the patriarchs went forth to a small church (or chapel) of the Annunciation over the gates of the Choudoff monastery (it was in that same monastery that the patriarchs were then lodged); and they stood in their places vested with their epitrachelia and omophoria, having their mitres on their heads. They summoned Nicon: and he came, prayed before the icons, bowed to the patriarchs twice to the waist, and stood on the left side of the western doors.

Shusherin at this point writes as follows: Athanasius metropolitan of Iconium, who has been mentioned by us above, would not put on an omophorion, but stood as he was, and looked on at what they were doing. And the archbishop of Vologda Simon, to avoid being present, feigned sickness; but they ordered him to be brought all the same; and they sent and brought him in a sledge, and carried him into the church on his bed, and set him down in a corner. There he lay and looked on, lamenting and weeping. And afterwards when the tsar, and the patriarchs,

and the bishops, and all who had been present in the synod, subscribed the roll of Nicon's deposition, this Simon refused to do so: however, they forced him to subscribe: so he took that roll, which had already received many signatures, and wrote: 'If it be just, let it be so; but if it is not just, I am no party to it;' and in the middle of this sentence he made his cross ✠. The leaders of the assembly and all their partisans, when they saw this, were much enraged against him: however, at that time they did nothing; but later he for this suffered great trouble.

And the patriarchs having said the Εὐλογητὸς κ.τ.λ. and the rest, there was read aloud, first in Greek by the priest John econome of the church of Antioch, and then in Russian by Hilarion archbishop of Riazan (the patriarchs bidding Nicon listen to it), the written act of deposition.[60]

This document, headed '*Declaration or Manifesto of the complete Deposition and Degradation of Nicon*,' consists of two parts, the second of which is nearly identical with the 'sentence' pronounced in the session of Dec. 5; the first part, which is prefixed to this as a preamble, enlarges upon those points which were not distinctly named in the sentence of Dec. 5, among the grounds on which that sentence was based. The whole may be analysed and abridged thus:

Preamble: In the name &c. Whereas Nicon, *late*-patriarch &c., *disturbed* all the tsar's empire, *interfering* in matters not belonging to the patriarchal authority, the heads of which (viz. ch. i. to v. incl., x. and xiii. of the tome of A.D. 1663) the tsar sent to us the four patriarchs, asking us—

1. Whether it was fit that the patriarch should *interfere* in such matters; and farther,

2. Inquiring respecting Nicon's *disorderly act* (ch. xiv. to xxii. incl. of the tome of A.D. 1663), when he stripped himself of his robes, and cried out: 'I am no more patriarch of Moscow, as being sinful and unworthy;' and he abandoned his flock only of anger, because he had not obtained vengeance against a nobleman who had struck his servant (ch. xxv. of the tome); and on this account he pretended to go away for penitence and retirement to a monastery which he had founded. However,

[60] This is printed at full in vol. iii. p. 191-195, as given by Ligarides, and from the synodal procès-verbal (ib. p. 413-418), and as abridged by Soloviefi (ib. p. 434-435).

3. While living there he *still did episcopal acts* (ch. xvii. of the tome), ordaining, &c.;

4. Profaning the names of holy places, calling himself *Patriarch of the New Jerusalem* (ch. xii. xxvii. of the tome);

5. *Plundering* like a robber, so that, if he had been able and had had time, he would have seized the third part of the empire (ch. xii. of the tome);

6. Impeding by his *change of mind* and mischievous devices the creation of another patriarch.

And on that account the tsar sought to obtain the personal presence of the œcumenical patriarchs. However, the other two patriarchs were not able either to go themselves to Moscow or to send exarchs. But behold, we two patriarchs N.N. have come to Moscow, *with the counsel and consent of the other two patriarchs our brethren*,[61] in order to examine and judge of the acts of Nicon *according to the canons*, and of every other ecclesiastical matter concerning this country which may need it.

he Sentence: We then &c. having come, have found Nicon guilty, and liable to canonical punishment on many charges. Among these are the following:

1. He anathematised Russian bishops [in A.D. 1662, for acting as instruments and vicars of the tsar's assumed supremacy] on the Sunday of Orthodoxy, without any trial or judgment (ch. vi. and xxiii. of the tome).

2. By deserting the chair (ch. xiv. to xxii. incl. of the tome) he caused the Church to be in widowhood for eight years and six months; whence many were scandalised, and there arose many schismatics.

3. He insulted two bishops by nicknaming them Annas and Caiaphas, and two boyars of the synclete, sent to him as commissioners, by calling them Herod and Pilate.

4. When summoned by us to the council, and when he appeared before it, he was contumacious: he did not come '*in humble guise*;' he began immediately *even* to accuse *us*, as not being in possession of our chairs, and for residing in Cairo and Damascus;[62] he contemned our patriarchal judgment (that sent

[61] Really *without* any such counsel and consent. This is a *lie* uttered and published with all possible solemnity in an ecclesiastical act, in the name of the Russian Church and empire, and of the whole Orthodox Eastern Church. See vol. iii. p. 456, 460, 477.

[62] Also for not showing proof that they had really come with the knowledge

in the tomes of A.D. 1663), calling it *stuff*; and the canons quoted he called falsifications, especially canon ii. of the council held in the church of St. Sophia, which decrees thus: 'A bishop who descends from his chair to the place of penitents [that is, who *voluntarily takes the great schima*] cannot do episcopal acts.' This canon, and *all the canons of the councils held after the Seventh Œcumenical Council*, he altogether rejected. And what is more, our own interpretations and statements, which, as supreme bishops and teachers of Christ's church, we composed, he declared to be 'arrant trash.' And when we adduced the book of our Greek Nomocanon, he impudently called it heretical, because printed in the West.

5 and 6. Farther, in certain letters sent by him to *us* the *four*[63] patriarchs, but which *came into the hands* of the most clement tsar, he charged our most orthodox hossoudar with *latinising*, calling him also a persecutor and unjust, and comparing him to Jeroboam and to *Uzziah*. In like manner he slandered also the synclete and all the Russian Church, as having turned aside to the Latin *doctrines*.

But this he said with a special reference to the metropolitan of Gaza Paisius, being moved with *envy*, because he knew him to be *habitually in communication with the illustrious synclete* concerning certain affairs.

But for this, that he reviles [and slanders] the flock committed to him, he is rightly considered and declared to be not a shepherd, but a hireling, as one that layeth not down his life for the sheep.

7. Farther, he by himself alone deposed a bishop, without any local synod (ch. xxiii. of the tome), and

8. By his cruelty caused his death.

9. And on many others he inflicted cruel secular punishments: *many* owing to those severities were even deprived of *life*, as *credible report* testified.

But having ascertained that he did not show episcopal *meekness*, but practised tyranny and injustice, gave himself to plundering, and incurred the guilt of cruelties, we, in *obedience to*

and consent of the other two patriarchs, and especially of the sitting patriarch of Constantinople *Parthenius*.

[63] Really sent by him, and in the first instance *only*, to the patriarch of Constantinople Dionysius.

the canons &c., have decreed him to be incapable of doing any sacerdotal acts,[64] so that he may for the future no more act as a bishop.

For we the patriarchs &c., being vested in our omophoria and epitrachelia, have altogether deposed and degraded him, in conjunction with all the local synod of the Russian bishops, and with the Greek bishops who were present,[65] declaring that from henceforth he is to be accounted and named simply as a common monk. And his abode till his death has been appointed to be in a certain monastery, that he may *in quiet bewail his sins.* And there is to be with him some archimandrite for the sake of security; and farther, an honourable dvorianin with a few people of the service (soldiers) under him for the sake of perfect security, and that no writings tending to excite disturbances may find their way to him from others, or to others from him.

All this we have done *canonically*, without respect of persons, without any prejudice or partiality, fearing only that eye of God which cannot be evaded, A.M. 7175, A.D. 1666, Dec. 12. Then in the original there follow all the same signatures (with that of P. Ligarides among them), as have been given already, *i.e.* in vol. iii. at p. 439; and the same subscriptions are also attached to the Greek copy.

P. Ligarides relates that 'while this act was being read aloud in Slavonic by Hilarion, Nicon at times muttered something, as if to show that he was not willing so much as to listen to it. So he often muttered his objections, and denying this or that, reviled in return.' And Shusherin, after relating to the same effect, adds that Hilarion for that scolded at him, uttering the most foul and malicious words; calling him murderer, profligate, and robber. But Nicon, being so reviled, said to him: 'My son, let *grace* be upon thy lips;' and added other words from the

[64] Note here the purpose for which all these new accusations, suggested by Paisius Ligarides, are introduced both in the XXX. Questions of Streshneff in A.D. 1662, and in the XXV. Questions sent to Constantinople in A.D. 1663, and in the Spicilegium, or libells, laid before the two patriarchs in Nov. A.D. 1666, and lastly in this synodal judgment and manifesto; whereas the synod of A.D. 1660 had imputed no other crime to Nicon but his withdrawal, or, as his enemies called it, his abdication; and going upon that alone the synod of A.D. 1660 and the tsar had ultimately shrunk from declaring Nicon to have forfeited his priesthood.

[65] That is, from whatever motive or chance, it not being pretended that they had been canonically convoked, or sent as to a great synod.

divine scriptures. For that Hilarion had been ordained bishop by Nicon himself.

And when that act of deposition had been read through, the œcumenical patriarchs came down from their places, and went up before the royal doors, vested in their omophoria, and read through certain short prayers [finishing the customary form, and making the dismissal].

Then they turned round, and went to the most holy Nicon: and making signs with their hands, and speaking through the interpreter, they bade him put off his klobouk; for he had on his head a black klobouk with a cross worked in very rich pearls. He asked, 'Why?' They said: 'Because this synod has condemned thee, and thy works have convicted thee; therefore henceforth thou art not to be called a patriarch, because thou didst of thyself *of thy pride* arbitrarily abandon thy flock with an imprecation.' Nicon answered, and said: 'Though this synod may have condemned us unjustly, and though ye may say that our works, which we never did, have convicted us, or that I abandoned my flock, I will not do this, nor myself put off from my head the klobouk; for I bound myself by vows, when I received the holy monastic habit, to keep it to my dying breath: but do ye what ye list: for I see that ye are here as wandering strangers, who have come from distant parts, from the ends of the earth, not to do any good thing, or to make peace: ye are slaves under the Turks, who wander about the world as true mendicants, not only to get something for yourselves, but also to satisfy the exactions of your master.' He added to this: 'I would ask you, moreover, whence have ye taken your precedents, that ye dare to act thus? If I am really guilty, and worthy of condemnation, why do ye this *secretly*, like thieves, in this little church (or chapel), inside a monastery, without the presence of the tsar, of all his synclete, and of the multitude of all the people of the land of Russia? Was it secretly in this little chapel that I received by the grace of the Holy Ghost my flock and the pastoral staff? This little chapel was itself built by us. But we, by the election of the all-holy Spirit, and by the wish and procurance of the tsar, and his earnest request and petition, even with tears, and with fearful and insupportable adjurations, which God himself was called to witness, received the patriarchate in the cathedral before all the multitude of the people, not by our own wish

or procurance, or by condescension of any kind. And now, if it be your wish unjustly to condemn us and to cast us out, let us go to that same cathedral in which we received the pastoral staff, and *if I am found* [there, by the congregation, that is] worthy of being treated according to your intention, then let the charges be what ye please, and do *there* what ye will.' But they to this replied: 'Whether there or here, it is all one: the act is done by the common counsel of the religious tsar, and of all the bishops assembled together.'[66] And if the tsar's majesty is not present here, still what is done is all done according to his will.'

P. Ligarides writes thus: Then the patriarchs, standing in the middle of that holy chapel, declared his perfect degradation in the usual form; saying both of them [after *having made the dismissal*] that he must also be stripped of the customary insignia of the episcopate, viz. of the pectoral (ἐγκόλπιον) and of the mandya. But *none dared to take them from him*, from some reverence to the highest rank of the priesthood. At length therefore the patriarch of Alexandria, approaching him gently and quietly, took off from Nicon's head the klobouk (καμηλαύχιον). And Nicon said: '*Take also my mandya, if thou wilt;* for *now* thou hast the power.' The patriarchs said: 'Well, we ought indeed to do so; but, in consideration of the urgent request and entreaty of our emperor,[67] we allow thee to retain the episcopal mandya which thou art wearing, until thou be come to the place of thy banishment.' Shusherin writes: They took off from him the above-mentioned klobouk with its pearl cross, and also a panagia which was on him of silver-gilt, set with precious stones.[68] Then Nicon said: 'I know that ye are strangers, and not free men. If ye take these for yourselves—I will give them to you—and divide them between you, ye will so get in them some little help and comfort from all the afflictions that happen to us.'[69] They, on hearing these words, took both the klobouk

[66] But without publicity, and without *the people*. The day will come probably when the *people* for this will 'do something' without the religious tsar and the bishops: *He who sows the wind* shall reap the whirlwind.

[67] That there might be less to strike the eyes of *the people* outside.

[68] Ligarides says that they left on him the pectoral or panagia: but there is no contradiction here, because Nicon was then wearing *two* pectorals, as appears both from one of the questions asked him before the synod and from documents of a later date, when he was living in confinement.

[69] So it is, '*nam*,' not '*vam*,' in a MS. collated by me on Mount Athos; but in the printed edition it is '*vam*,' '*to you*.'

and the panagia, and gave them to Nicon's monk Mark, who was standing by. Ligarides writes: But Nicon said sarcastically: 'I know that, as ye are poor, ye will be glad to have some pearls; so ye had better take my pectoral.' But the patriarchs answered him: 'Take back this, and keep it to thine own confounded perdition; for let not the oil of the sinner anoint my head.'

We return to Shusherin: They put upon Nicon's head another klobouk, which they took from a monk who was standing there, a Greek; but the mandya and the staff they did not take from Nicon *there, for fear of the people.* After this they said aloud to Nicon, that from that time forth he was not to be called patriarch, nor to live in his own monastery of Christ's Resurrection, which he had founded at Voskresensk, but go to the appointed place of his penance, viz. the Therapontoff monastery, in the district of Bielo-ozero. And so they dismissed him; and he went out.

And when he was about to get into his sledge, he sighed and said to himself: 'O Nicon, all this has befallen thee; why? Don't insist upon *truth* and *right;* don't *lose men's goodwill.* If thou hadst given costly banquets, and hadst supped late with them, all these things would not have happened to thee.' Ligarides also had heard of this; and he relates it thus:

So Nicon vacated the patriarchate, though, *as he passed along,* he said *to the people:* 'O truth, thou hast perished from the earth, falsehood prevails.' And then, addressing from himself to Nicon Nicon's own words not much altered, he continues: '*In truth* thou *oughtest not,* O Nicon, to have been so free-spoken, nor to have represented the *truth* so plainly, so categorically, to the emperor and to the boyars *without being in any degree ashamed* (*i.e.* abashed). For *if thou hadst behaved more politicly,* flattering and humouring them, thou wouldst not have come at last to such a condemnation.' After this he adds:

The bishops meanwhile were indignant at what had been said, and smarting under it, they were exceedingly annoyed about the pectoral. Wherefore they all desired that this same ornament[70] might be taken back immediately. So *two of the boyars* being sent, as if from the *patriarchs,* regained it, stripping it off from him, and hanging it up in the cathedral *with triumph;*

[70] 'These same ornaments' it should be, that is, the klobouk and the pectoral: and what follows is similarly inaccurate.

where the patriarchs also *gave up of their own accord* the cross of silver-gilt, as if shaking off from themselves *all* imputation of covetousness. Vol. iii. p. 196.

How Nicon was taken away from Moscow to be imprisoned in the Therapontoff monastery.

§ x. Nicon then got into his sledge, and returned to the podvorie of the Archangel. And they sent from the synod to conduct him thither, and to be with him there as commissioners, the archimandrites Paul and Sergius, who have been named before—of whom Paul was a man humble and meek, but Sergius proud, and loud of tongue. And as Nicon was going on his way back from the synod, and speaking some words with his own people who were about him, Paul and Sergius followed him close behind; and whenever the patriarch said anything, that Sergius would cry out from behind, 'Silence, silence, Nicon!' And this not once only or twice, but many times. And when Nicon yet once again said something to his own people, and Sergius cried insultingly, 'Silence, Nicon!' Nicon bade his econome, who was behind him, say: 'If thou hast the power, then come and stop my mouth, and so prevent my speaking.' The econome Theodosius, turning round to Sergius, said: 'The most holy patriarch bids me say to thee, "If thou hast the power, then go and stop his mouth, and so prevent his speaking."' Sergius, on hearing this, immediately roared out like a wild beast at the econome: 'Monk, how darest thou call a monk patriarch? this man is no patriarch, but a common monk.' And as Sergius burst out thus, some one from the crowd of the people that was following cried out aloud: 'How darest thou to speak thus unjustly, when that name of patriarch was given him from above, and not from thee, thou proud bully?' Sergius, hearing that, shouted to the soldiers who were following to seize the man who had thus spoken. They answered that he had been already seized and taken away to prison. For there was a great multitude of soldiers following, for fear of a disturbance from the people. And the econome Theodosius told Nicon what had passed; and he said: '*Blessed are they that are persecuted* (lit. '*driven out*') *for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*' And so, when they had come to the dvor, Nicon began to read the holy scriptures for comfort under all these things which had befallen him. Now

he loved and read more than all other books the Commentary of St. John Chrysostom on the Epistles of St. Paul. That Sergius broke in upon him rudely, coming into his inner chamber, and seated himself impudently opposite to him, taking off his kamilavka, as if to show his shamelessness: and he began to speak to Nicon some words as if for consolation, but really himself insulting and mocking him. And the patriarch said: 'Sergius, who bade thee come in hither insolently to disturb us?' He replied: 'The tsar's majesty, and the most holy œcumenical patriarchs, and all the sacred synod.' Nicon said: 'Even if it be so, yet cease to bark at us like a dog that has been set on.' But he only the more multiplied his provoking words with proud arrogance. And Nicon after that kept silence; only he uttered this one sentence to him prophetically: 'Sergius, Sergius! I see that thou seekest to please the tsar and the rest, hoping it may be to possess thyself of my chair; but I tell thee of a truth, before long thou wilt be disgraced, and wilt be deprived even of that which thou now hast.' And this prediction was soon fulfilled: for soon afterwards he was deposed with disgrace from that place of archimandrite which he held, and lived the rest of his life at Yaroslaff, in the Tolgsky monastery, as a common monk. But when the time came for vespers (and early the next day for matins), they sang all as they had been used to do in the monastery; and in the ectenias they commemorated the most holy patriarch Nicon as before. And that proud Sergius, hearing this, again roared out, forbidding them to do this, and said: 'What do ye mean by calling a common monk patriarch?' But the priest and all the rest paid no attention to him whatever. And when the night had come, that Sergius, taking lighted candles, went into the inner chamber where the patriarch was sitting, and into the corridors and to the stairs, looking about everywhere, and saying that Nicon at any rate should not get out yet.

Now that same night, outside the Kremlin in the Kitai-gorod in the Zemski dvor (the police prikaz), close to where the most holy patriarch was lodged, and separated only by a single wall, they were inflicting (and it was nearly the same almost every night), by order of the tsar, great and divers tortures through the whole of the night, as if to menace him. And on those days too, as well as during the night, they inflicted on some persons

great tortures; and there was a report that they were torturing that John Shusherin; but this was not so: for after they had seized that John, and had taken him before the tsar, they delivered him over to be kept under guard. And the metropolitan Athanasius they after some time banished to the monastery of St. Macarius at Jeltovodsk, on the Volga, where he died. And these two were not the only persons who thus suffered; but many others also who sympathised with Nicon were subjected to tortures and bonds, and imprisonment or exile, and to cruel wounds; too many for us here to enumerate.

The next morning, after they had sung matins, very early, there came from the tsar the okolnik Rodion Streshneff, bringing silver money, and winter clothing of sable and fox and other furs in no small quantity; and he said: 'The tsar's majesty has ordered me to give thee this, because thou art going a long journey.' But he, looking upon the things sent, said: 'Take all these things back to him who sent you; *this* is not what Nicon asks or wants;' and he added other words from the divine scriptures. But he, Rodion, very earnestly besought him to receive the things sent, in order, he said, not to provoke the tsar's majesty to greater wrath; for that Rodion was a *specious* man, who knew very well how to speak. But Nicon cared not for that, and refused to receive the things sent. After this the same Rodion, with the utmost respect and gentleness, went up to the blessed Nicon, and said: 'The religious tsar ordered me to ask of thee for himself and the tsaritsa and for all his house *thy blessing*.' But Nicon said: 'If the religious tsar had really desired a blessing from us, he would not have inflicted on us such severities; but it may be understood that he did *not* desire blessing, which therefore is going away [into exile] far from him.' And many other like words he spake out of the divine scriptures. And that Rodion asked and besought Nicon much about this, but he had no success; so he made his obeisance, and returned to the tsar's majesty, and reported to him all that had passed; how Nicon had accepted nothing of what was sent, and had not given his blessing. And the tsar was much grieved on account of the curse, and the refusal of the blessing; but all the same he kept to his intention about Nicon, and ordered it to be forthwith carried into execution.

Presently, after that Rodion had left, there came from the

tsar a commander of the regiments of paid soldiers, Aggeus Shepeleff, and said: 'Blessed Nicon, the tsar's majesty has given orders for thee to go forthwith to the Therapontoff monastery; and we are to conduct thee thither.' He replied: 'I am ready.' Aggeus asked him: 'Hast thou sledges (*uski*) to go in?' The patriarch replied: 'We have none.' And Aggeus left him.

After this there came to Nicon from the œcumenical patriarchs and from all the synod certain persons, saying: 'The patriarchs and all the synod have sent us with orders to take again from thee and bring to them that klobouk and panagia which yesterday they took from thee, and which were delivered to the monk Mark.'[71] The patriarch ordered them both to be given up at once, and said: 'The Lord's will be done.' And so they took them and went away. After this the polkovnik Aggeus soon came back, bringing with him horses and sledges (*uski*); and having put to with great celerity, they put Nicon into his own sledge (*sani*), in which he had come from his monastery. And the people, having heard of these preparations, began to assemble in the Kremlin, to see the unjust expulsion of their pastor from the sheep of his flock. And this came to the ears of the tsar, that the people were crowding into the Kremlin. Then they devised thus: There came many of the soldiers, not with violence, nor as if to *drive* them away, and said with gentleness to the people: 'The patriarch Nicon will go out from the Kremlin by the Spassky gates, and along the street of the Sretensky.' The people hearing this poured out from the Kremlin into the Kitai-gorod, and stood there expecting to see him pass. But when the soldiers saw that the people had gone out from the Kremlin, they drove Nicon with the utmost rapidity out of the Kremlin to the old stone bridge, and thence to the Arbatsky (the Smolensk) gates, and so out of the Zemlianni-gorod, under an escort—such was the tsar's command—of four polkovniks and 200 men of the streltsi. And the hieromonachs and monks who were with him, who wished to go with him, as also many others of the laity, accompanied him out of the city as far as the suburb called

[71] See above, p. 729. What had annoyed the Russian bishops, and still more, probably, the boyars and the tsar, was this, that Nicon had treated the pearls and jewels of the klobouk and panagia which he had upon him as his own, to give away *in alms;* and the patriarchs had seemed to admit that right as a thing of course, instead of replying that though he had been wearing them, they *belonged* rather to the most religious tsar.

Soushcheva, and a little beyond it, with tears and great lamentation; the soldiers enclosing them all, and suffering nobody else to pass through to that enclosed company. And so the polkovniks and the soldiers escorted him out of the Zemlianni-gorod; and thence there went on with him as commissioner (as *pristav*) the above-mentioned Aggeus Shepeleff, having with him 50 soldiers. (*Shusherin*, p. 93-135.)

Letters of the two patriarchs and of the tsar to the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, mentioning among the grounds for their condemnation of Nicon what he had written respecting P. Ligarides.

§ xi. The letters written by the patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch, in their own and the tsar's name, and sent through the prikaz of secret service to inform the sitting patriarch of Constantinople Parthenius, and the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius, how they had gone to Moscow, and what they had been doing there for the tsar; and the letter of the tsar to the patriarch Parthenius of Constantinople to engage him to use his influence to restore the patriarchs Paisius and Macarius to their chairs, which had been filled up as vacant, are confessions or records of these patriarchs and of the tsar against themselves, that they had all *lied* publicly in their synod at Moscow, when they told Nicon in answer to his question and challenge, and repeated the same in their synodal act, that the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch had come to Moscow *with the counsel and consent of their brethren.*

The two patriarchs write from Moscow that, having *heard* that the tsar had invited all the four patriarchs, they too, hoping to meet the others, had come; and finding themselves there alone, had acted alone. And the tsar wrote that, having *heard* of the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, that they were travelling to collect alms in countries bordering on his dominions, he had written to them, that they should also come *for the collection of what they needed* to his dominions; and had profited by their coming to obtain their *counsel and judgment* on certain grave matters, which *occurred at the time of their coming* and during their stay. (Vol. iii. p. 456-463 and 476-479.) On which Subbotine observes:

'Consequently (by their own showing), they came *without*

having been authorised to act in the name of the other two patriarchs. But in the synod they *had assured Nicon of the contrary*' (p. 172).

In the letters of the two patriarchs to their brethren they wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople, that finding themselves at Moscow only two, though they would have preferred that all the four should have been there to act together, they began to examine the ecclesiastical cause [submitted to them by the tsar] which had also been already carefully sifted and judged by a local synod. 'And we found,' they write, 'the late-patriarch Nicon to be on many points punishable by the canons and guilty.' Of these points they mention, *first*, that he had affronted by his writings *our* most potent tsar;[72] *secondly*, that he had scandalised the most illustrious synclete, reviling it, and calling them heretics and latinisers. And after these two points they add his abandonment of the chair for nine years; his having continued to celebrate and to ordain after an absolute abdication; his profaning holy things, especially by calling himself patriarch of the New Jerusalem; with other transgressions, to enumerate which is superfluous, and which are scarcely to be counted.

Again, we found, they continue, this great flock destitute of a watchful shepherd; and we perceived that the calling in of us by the tsar on this account was an act very necessary, right, and canonical.

And the judgment which the local synod of Moscow had previously pronounced was perfectly correct; in all respects just, and framed according to the sacred canons, and confirmed [afterwards, in the spring of A.D. 1666] according to our patriarchal tomes.

Therefore we exerted ourselves with all our strength (doing all with much investigation on the part of the tsar, and with the judgment conscientiously given before God of the local synod of the bishops); and when we had made ourselves acquainted with the acts of Nicon . . . . we altogether deposed him publicly in the church, and gave sentence that he should live in one of the old monasteries, there to bewail his sins. In consequence the chair is now vacant.

[72] *i.e.* by his letter to the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius *intercepted by the tsar*. And this is written to the successor of Dionysius, the sitting patriarch Parthenius!

Moreover, we have requested the tsar that there be made some synodical notification, *through him*, to your holiness, about all that has been done here. And having received permission from him, behold we now with joy make this notification to you, *without any respect of persons*, speaking *all the truth*, in order that the future patriarch *may obtain his commemoration in* the diptychs. Moreover, we anticipate that *the usual alms* given [on the election of a patriarch of Moscow] *to the great chair of C.P.* and to the other poor patriarchal chairs will be now *repeated;* or rather that they will be something *more*, and *more satisfactory*, than usual. Vol. iii. p. 462.

And to the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius, who in A.D. 1660 had anathematised P. Ligarides, they write of Nicon in the letter itself only this, that 'there had been much inward pain caused for many years to the most worthy tsar, who shed tears, so as even to wet the floor of the room with them:' and that they ascertained that 'the accusations made were *not* made of passion nor of hatred. *For* to such an excess of swollen pride did Nicon go, that he constituted himself patriarch of a *New Jerusalem*.

'Moreover, our arrival was in some sense a liberation of thy messenger [the bearer of thy separate letter in A.D. 1660] Sebastian, whom *scarcely* we were able by many entreaties to get freed from the tsar's wrath and from confinement. And thence we learned that it was in truth *temerity* for any one . . . to judge in a matter with which he is not perfectly acquainted. Therefore, when we &c. had seen with our eyes, and having searched out all, had found Nicon not only unworthy to hold the patriarchal chair, but farther not to be worthy either of the episcopal rank, we, according to the divine canons, *and according to our patriarchal tome*, have stripped him of all power to do sacerdotal acts, going *in some degree* upon the codicil of thy beatitude, which thou didst write separately on the parchment after all our subscriptions, as if with a view to the condemnation of Nicon [viz. by such an application of the patriarchal tome by the local synod, *even if no one of the four patriarchs were present:* see vol. iii. p. 349].

And appended to this letter, or enclosed together with it, are the grounds given for the condemnation of Nicon by the two patriarchs, thus:

First. Because he left the chair, and without finishing the liturgy went out from the church.

Secondly. In a letter to the œcumenical patriarch of C.P. Dionysius he *wrote with wrath against the metropolitan of Gaza;* and of the religious tsar, and the sacred synod, and the boyars, and all the synclete, and all the orthodox Christians of the Russian empire he wrote as if they were heretics; as if they had separated themselves from the Eastern Church, and had united themselves to the Western Kostel &c. And *four* other articles, setting forth Nicon's own admissions, as they were represented, that he had vacated the patriarchate; viz. 3. saying that he left it of his own will for his sins, though without any imprecation, and would be no more patriarch; 4. saying that he had foreseen and predicted that after six years he would be persecuted by the tsar; 5. writing himself in three letters *late* patriarch; and in a fourth declaring that he looked not to a return, as a dog to his vomit, to any love of power and authority; and lastly, 6. writing about the election with his own concurrence of another patriarch. Vol. iii. p. 459.

Lastly, in the *Letter of Institution* given by the two patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch to the new patriarch of Moscow Joasaph II., whom they had appointed and consecrated in the room of Nicon (Paisius Ligarides also joining with them and with all the Greek and Russian bishops in that imposition of hands, ib. p. 469), they justify their act on these grounds: Whereas Nicon of his own will retired from the chair, and refused to return to it, as is clear from the synodal act (of A.D. 1660) written by all the Russian bishops before we came to Moscow; and whereas, besides this his verbal renunciation, he sent also a writing subscribed by himself to the tsar &c. in Jan. A.D. 1665, proposing that the tsar and the synod should elect another patriarch, we N.N. &c., with all the Russian synod and with the Greek bishops here present, have many times read and considered that synodal act above mentioned, and the writing of the ex-patriarch Nicon subscribed with his own hand: and we have found in addition certain divine canons (viz. canon ii. of the synod held in St. Sophia A.D. 879, xvi. of the First and Second Council, and xxv. of Chalcedon, which they quote, and for which see vol. iii. p. 337, 341, 344): Wherefore we have judged &c. that the cathedral of the patriarchate shall no longer remain in

widowhood &c. Vol. iii. p. 469, 470. This letter is dated in May A.D. 1667.

From Subbotine: On the fear shown by some of the Russian bishops, when it was too late, lest the Russian Church should be wholly subjected to the civil power.

§ xii. We will not begin to enter into an examination of the question of the import of such an unprecedented phenomenon in our history as that of a conflict between the Russian patriarch and the Russian tsar. We will draw attention in conclusion only to one very curious fact, which reveals to a certain extent in what way the affair was regarded by contemporaries, and what import they attached to it.

When the lot of the patriarch Nicon had been decided, when this all-powerful man, whom all had so much feared, had gone off from the scene, then some of the Russian ecclesiastical *authorities* (*clasts*) considered the work that had been done more calmly and accurately, and to their utmost annoyance perceived that in acting so decidedly and pertinaciously [from personal motives and feelings] against Nicon, they had been acting against themselves; that in the controversy of Nicon with the tsar Alexis Michaelovich there had been decided a question which touched themselves very closely, viz. that of the relative superiority of the ecclesiastical and the civil powers. They perceived that with the fall of Nicon, this latter had triumphed in great measure by their own coöperation, and that hence there were necessarily to be expected for the time to come many disagreeable consequences for the Church, of the interests of which they were bound to take care. All this presented itself now in full clearness to the Russian bishops, and they determined to make an attempt to remedy in some sort their mistake. They began to ask that the mutual relative limits of the civil and the ecclesiastical authority should be more distinctly defined. There were even found among them some [especially Paul and Hilarion, who, according to Ligarides, 'had seemed to be pillars' while acting personally against Nicon] who besides this were unwilling to subscribe the synodal act for the deposition of Nicon.

[Or rather, they scrupled to subscribe those patriarchal tomes of A.D. 1663, on which the act of Dec. 5 and 12 A.D. 1666 was based, and the Slavonic translation of which had been made, by

the management of Ligarides, to assert the absolute supremacy of the state in all matters, instead of asserting it only 'in all *political* matters' (see vol. iii. p. 207-257 and p. 320, 322). And P. Ligarides writes exultingly, that their scruples only caused sardonic laughter from the boyars at their utter discomfiture, when they had to subscribe every jot and tittle of the patriarchal tomes, and even then were all the same suspended, and put to penance.]

There were opened fresh synodal discussions: in the midst of hot disputes there were decided the questions: Can the pontificate (ἀρχιεροσύνη) be joined with the dignity of tsar? Can the patriarch be subordinated to the tsar? and the like. Paisius Ligarides exhausted all his eloquence to show the superiority of the imperial authority over the patriarchal: the opportunity of serving the *bountiful* tsar, the lover and *patron of strangers*, was the most critical that could be; and his harangues were in truth more brilliant and animated than they had ever been before. The matter ended, as might have been foreseen, thus: that those bishops who had most decidedly stood out for their opinions were suspended and put to penance, and then, after they had made their submissions, absolved. (*Dielo Nikona*, p. 177.)

Pope Clement IX. is informed that the patriarch of Moscow has been deposed because he did not think ill of the Latin Church, Jan. A.D. 1668.

§. xiii. On the 8th Jan. A.D. 1668 the papal nuncio in Poland wrote to Rome informing the Pope (Clement IX.) that the Polish ambassadors who had been at Moscow in A.D. 1667 reported that the tsar, after a speech made in their presence by Ordin Nashchokin in favour of a union of the realms of Muscovy and Poland, had said to them that, 'considering that there could be nothing to disincline them to this proposal but the point of religion, perhaps they would be pleased to have a little conversation on this subject with the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch now present here at Moscow, who had been called thither by him to judge and depose, as they had already done, the patriarch of Muscovy.'

The ambassadors went, and were strenuously exhorted by the two Greek patriarchs to exert themselves for this good end [*i. e.* the election of the tsarevich Alexis Alex. to the crown of

Poland and Lithuania]; to which end the same patriarchs said it was above all necessary to settle between them the point of religion; and that as at other times the Eastern Church had been united with the Western, it was not a great matter to return to the same unity at this present time also.

Nevertheless, the same ambassadors also report, that the said patriarchs had, after the assembling of a council, deposed, as has been said, the patriarch of Muscovy, *solely because* it had been signified to them by the grand duke that he had shown that *he did not think ill of the Latin Church*. Vol. iii. p. 541.

Really, it had been signified to them by the tsar, through the reading of Nicon's letter to the patriarch Dionysius, that Nicon had calumniated the tsar and the Russian bishops and boyars, as if *they* 'did not think ill of the Roman Church;' and for this mainly, though not *solely*, he was condemned. And since the canons enact that he who slanderously accuses another is to receive the same punishment which belongs to the crime falsely imputed by him, Nicon, *it had been argued in the council*, was to receive the punishment *due to a latinising heretic*, or to one who took the blessing and initiative for ecclesiastical acts not from the Eastern patriarchs, but from the Roman Pope. And so perhaps it came to be written to Pope Clement IX. from Poland, that for that crime solely or mainly, as if *he* had swerved aside to the Roman *doctrines*, Nicon had been finally condemned and degraded. For the mere vacancy of the chair, as if by his voluntary abdication, had been assumed from the first, and had been reasserted synodically at different times from A.D. 1660 to 1667. Of Ligarides' absurd accusation, that Nicon had sought to appeal to the Pope, or of the more true allegation, that his principles, if carried out, tended towards Popery rather than towards Cæsarism (as is shown also by his praises of the so-called Donation of Constantine, which he appended to the Kormchay), it is unnecessary here to think, as if they might have contributed towards that erroneous account of Nicon's condemnation which was heard by the Polish ambassadors: though certainly if there were any Polish priest at Moscow acquainted with Ligarides, as P. Schieretsky had been, such a priest might have heard Ligarides' fable of Nicon's appeal to the Pope, and might thence give a false account of the whole matter to the ambassadors.

Of the relations of P. Ligarides with the Roman or Latin 'Kostel.'

§ xiv. In consequence of the same report of his ambassadors which has been mentioned above, the king of Poland, John Casimir, on the 28th March A.D. 1668, wrote to P. Ligarides (vol. iii. p. 543) as to 'a singularly available instrument for the pious wish of religious unity,' of his 'public reputation for merit,' and his 'present legation' at Moscow, engaging him by his 'special propension towards the concord of the Church, and zeal for the same, derived from his long habitual experience and knowledge of the Roman Church (though it needs no exhortation), to exert his utmost diligence towards restoring peace between the Latin and Greek Churches,' and promising his royal favour.

And the nuncio writes in July A.D. 1668 to Cardinal Rospigliosi that he is doing something to encourage the metropolitan of Gaza, who is there, and *ever more and more reputed of by them all*, to prosecute so holy a work, having made a Dominican, P. Schieretsky, who had known Ligarides at Moscow, write to him; and he encloses to the cardinal a copy of P. Schieretsky's letter.

In this letter P. Schieretsky informs Ligarides how he had 'told the nuncio with what zeal for the true religion he Ligarides has been labouring in Muscovy, and is still labouring, for the holy union of the Greek with the Catholic Roman Church,' &c. And Ligarides in his answer, dated Sept. 25, A.D. 1668, writes that the desired attempt is impracticable: 'nobody here attends to these subjects: I myself, the only person who could have promoted this work, and *who was inflamed with the most ardent zeal to see it succeed*, . . . am overwhelmed by misfortunes, pursued by plots, surrounded by *calumnies*. . . The patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius has spread an ill-report of me, that I am a worshipper of the Pope, altogether a papist, as having sold myself to him, and having an annual pension of two hundred gold ducats, as a beneficed clerk of the Roman Church, which if I were really enjoying, I should not feel aggrieved; but I have not a penny of all this, and I have the title without the victual (titulumque habeo, sine vitulo). *Let the most holy congregation De Propaganda Fide consider attentively this point, and decree whatever the Holy Ghost shall inspire, through the favour and grace of the nuncio, whom I beg to interpose his influence in this matter*, insinuating moreover that the patriarch [of Moscow, Joasaph II.] is doing his utmost to

get me excluded from all place in those most sacred ranks of the clergy ('ut ex sacratissimis illis hierologis, *ἱερῶν λόχων*, exulem efficiat,' *i.e.* to get me to be treated as one degraded from priesthood), thrusting me down by fair means or by foul, and to cut off the whole thread of my hope, which was simply the prospect of my being hereafter raised to the patriarchate. . . *I pray thy fatherhood to leave no stone unturned to do something for me*,' &c. And he sends his best salutations to the archbishop Nicholas, the primate of Poland. Vol. iii. p. 543-548.

Of the immorality of Ligarides.

§ xv. On the 1st Nov. A.D. 1669 the patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheus wrote from Philippopolis to the tsar a letter, which seems to have been received or translated at Moscow Feb. 1 A.D. 1670, informing him that in the month of July preceding he Dositheus had received at C.P. a letter addressed by the tsar to his predecessor Nectarius, who had recently resigned his chair. 'In that letter,' Dositheus writes, 'it was written about the metropolitan of Gaza, *that we should absolve him*. But he Ligarides *has upon him many and great crimes and sins*, the details of which I would have written and sent to thee, only *shame would not suffer me to do so*, &c. One thing only we will say, viz. that Kyr Nectarius is not a man to write or say anything false,' &c. (vol. iii. p. 551). 'And now thou writest to us and requestest us, as if it were proper "that we should absolve him;" and "that from henceforth we should have him for a fellow-minister and a brother beloved; since the spiritual art and discipline is like that of medicine, at one time punishing for correction, but at another absolving upon repentance;" which repentance he Ligarides *had no mind to*. But "*he* has *brought thy holy empire to a good end*, as being extremely intelligent and very learned."

'Therefore also we proposed to our father Nectarius that he should pardon him, and *restore him to the see of Gaza*. But he writes that we should rather entreat thy majesty to *send him away from Moscow*. And we are aware how he our father Nectarius wrote before to your serenity to detain him, lest he should go off to the Roman Pope.

'And as for that matter, let it be as thou pleasest. If he is *wanted* by thy empire, *we are glad that he should be useful* to thy majesty. But if thou wishest to send him away to us, we will re-

ceive him, and supply him with the means of living *in retirement*, if he wishes it, at Gaza, or at Jerusalem, or in his native town in Chios, where Nectarius established a metochi with a school.'

And he encloses a letter written by Ligarides to some friend of his, that the tsar 'may see how he reviles his patriarch;' and then he continues thus: 'And thy majesty *might* have *commanded* us, under the pressure of thy power, to pardon him, whereas thou only makest *request*; but *he* at least should have written in terms of petition and entreaty (as if penitent); but now he reviles and abuses us, and calls us spiritually dead and irreligious; and our father Nectarius he calls "depravity," "a sort of wild beast," and "a madman," with many other unbecoming words; *for which I could have wished yet once more to give him the punishment he deserves.*

'But since thy majesty has made request for him, we, *out of respect to thy majesty's request*, and out of affection for thee, *take those* foul-mouthed *revilings* as if they were *a fragrant bouquet of flowers*, and by way of honour and praise for them we hold him [*though impenitent*] absolved and blessed, and freed from the just and tremendous excommunications and curses of the patriarch Nectarius; and we make him not to have been affected by his guilt ever so little.

'We are expecting the return of our archimandrite Prochorus with the alms of thy imperial majesty, who art our whole trust and hope and consolation. . . . *Let thy mercy*, most serene lord, *be upon us, as we do put our trust in thee.*'

And herewith he encloses a letter of absolution for Ligarides, dated from Philippopolis in October A.D. 1669, the substance of which is this, that

'Whereas the metropolitan of Gaza Paisius Ligarides, having sinned in certain points, was for his guilt degraded from the clericature by the late patriarch Kyr *Nectarius*, and by *all the sacred synod of* Jerusalem, and now the tsar &c.—we, out of consideration of his the tsar's request, and of our affection for his holy and powerful empire, hold him Ligarides absolved and blessed, and freed from all excommunication and curse, and we restore him to the see of Gaza, &c.

'*Moreover*, we have *recommended to our father Nectarius and to all the synod that they also should absolve him, in like manner as he by the grace of the Holy Ghost* [though impenitent] *is ab-*

solved by our humility, *out of affection for the most autocratic tsar*,' &c. (ib. p. 557).

Petition of Paisius Ligarides to the tsar.

§ xvi. The tsar, keeping secret, as we may suppose, the letter of Dositheus addressed to himself, gave to Paisius Ligarides the letter of absolution sent with it, to make what use he could of it to recover his position with the Russian clergy. But they seem to have objected that Dositheus had purposely made his absolution to be imperfect without the adhesion of the late patriarch Nectarius and all the local synod of Jerusalem; so that this adhesion was still to be waited for.

For there is a petition of Ligarides to the tsar, no longer saying anything of his own innocence of the crimes charged against him, or of calumny; but contending that the absolution sent by Dositheus is sufficient of itself, and praying the tsar for a *righteous revision* of the contrary determination of the patriarch Joasaph and the Russian bishops, who now, when it was too late, were ashamed of their former miserable leader and associate.

Of this third and final manifestation of the spiritual leprosy on the brow of the Russian Uzziah.

Nicon had seemed to cast upon the employers of Ligarides an imputation not strictly maintainable. Ligarides might, indeed, conceal under the mask of Orthodoxy Latin opinions; he might even be quite ready to seek a pension from the Roman Propaganda; but he had no more *mission* from Rome than he had from Jerusalem, nor was he in communion with Pope Clement IX. any more than he was with the Greek patriarch Nectarius. So the tsar and the boyars and clergy of Russia did not really, in A.D. 1664, take the spiritual initiative (*nachatki*) through Ligarides from the Western Kostel; nor, indeed, had Nicon imputed this to them absolutely, but only after a manner; 'to suit,' or so far as suited, 'their own wills.' Still, in what Nicon wrote, unguardedly and rhetorically, there was some slight misrepresentation. It would have been nearer to the truth, and less *calumnious*, if he had written that in A.D. 1664, having ceased to take a blessing either from himself or from the Greek patriarchs, they had taken the spiritual initiative, not certainly from *Rome* —that for them would have been apostasy, and for Rome it was

not true—but perhaps from *Sodom*. But in truth there was then no *spiritual* initiative taken at all. The only initiative, and that not a *spiritual* initiative, in the acts of A.D. 1664, was their own will, the will of the tsar; and the blessing of Ligarides in A.D. 1664, no less than that of Pitirim in A.D. 1658, was from themselves to themselves.

But when, in Dec. A.D. 1666, they passed as it were under review, through the reading out of Nicon's intercepted letter, what had been done by them in conjunction with Ligarides in A.D. 1663 and in A.D. 1664, and upheld it all, and made the business of the synod—that is, the condemnation of Nicon—to turn in great measure on what he had written of the acts of A.D. 1664 as connected with Paisius Ligarides, vindicating their own reputation, as if identified with that of Ligarides, from all imputation of Latinism, condemning Nicon as an alien, an enemy, an invader, who had insulted the tsar and slandered his own former flock, but justifying Ligarides, they showed by that same act to the world and to posterity how pride, which has rebelled against God and fallen away from grace, is in danger of losing also all sense even of human decency and self-respect, and of connecting itself with the foulest and most degrading ignominy.

The person and character of Ligarides was brought into juxtaposition and contrast with the person and character of Nicon; and the accusations made by Nicon against Ligarides with the accusations suggested by Ligarides against Nicon. Ligarides, though he had come to them unknown and unaccredited, was received; Nicon, though he was known, and though they had all vowed to obey him, was rejected. Ligarides, being ready to serve the boyars and the tsar, was sent as commissioner to sit in judgment over Nicon; Nicon, for having refused to be the servant of the tsar and the boyars, was treated as self-deposed and self-condemned. With the blessing of Ligarides and by the imposition of his hands the tsar translated and consecrated bishops; the blessing of Nicon was rejected, and his anathema despised. The more rumours and imputations were multiplied against Ligarides, and the more serious did they become, the more shamelessly he was upheld and employed, at first without investigation, at last even in spite of an increasing knowledge of facts; but Nicon was treated as a criminal before he was even accused, and was condemned by a synod without being summoned, behind his

back; and when at last he was summoned to a synod, it was not to be tried, but to be treated as one already condemned, and to be condemned on fresh charges over again. Ligarides, who was reported to be under anathema, and to be guilty of the foulest sins, was retained when even he himself would have preferred to slink away, and was put forward to instruct the two Eastern patriarchs, and to prepare the charges to be laid before their council. He translated into Latin and superintended the translation into Russ of the patriarchal tomes of A.D. 1663, which were in a great measure his own composition or suggestion: he sat with the patriarchs and with the Greek and Russian bishops in the synod in all their sessions: he subscribed all the synodal acts: joined in the act of the degradation of Nicon; took the lead afterwards in establishing against the scruples of some Russian bishops the absolute supremacy of the tsar; joined in the election and consecration of a new patriarch of Moscow; and lastly, having assisted the patriarchs and other bishops in the concoction of fresh chrism (μύρον), he concelebrated and communicated with them all on the festival of Easter Sunday, while Nicon was now degraded from all clericature, and imprisoned under guard in a distant monastery.

And these things being so, after one year had passed, in A.D. 1668, the tsar having been informed by a letter from the patriarch of Jerusalem (Nectarius), that his instrument Ligarides had just then been anathematised by him afresh as a Latin heretic, wrote to that patriarch to absolve him and restore him to the see of Gaza, since he was 'very intelligent and learned,' and it was *he* that had brought his the tsar's empire out of its difficulties to that '*good end*' to which it had been brought by the deposition and degradation of Nicon. And the patriarch of Jerusalem (Dositheus) replied, that though Ligarides had been originally anathematised for crimes which for shame he could not bring himself to mention, and though he was now impenitent, and deserved rather to be punished over again, he the patriarch (who wrote also that he was then anxiously expecting the tsar's alms), out of regard to the tsar's request, and of love for him, would take Ligarides' vices for virtues, and by the grace of the Holy Ghost absolve him, and restore him to his see of Gaza, and would *recommend* his father the late patriarch Nectarius and all the local synod of Jerusalem

to *do the same*. And he actually enclosed a formal letter of absolution, which the tsar gave to Ligarides, that he might make what advantage of it he could towards regaining his position among the Russian clergy.

All this, which took place between Nov. 1 A.D. 1666 and Jan. 1 A.D 1670, we have called the third and final manifestation of that spiritual leprosy which came out in A.D. 1663, A.D. 1664, and A.D. 1666, with ever-increasing malignity and foulness, on the brow of the Russian Uzziah; and from the Russian the contagion was communicated to the whole Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church.

For as the Russians from the pride of worldly power in the first instance had been carried on step by step to this deep and indelible disgrace, from which, if he could have seen it all at once, the tsar Alexis would probably have recoiled with horror and loathing, so also the four Eastern patriarchs from covetousness, from comparatively small beginnings, were led on step by step, till their whole Church had approved the ecclesiastical supremacy usurped by the tsar Alexis, had joined in condemning as a felon the patriarch who had contended against this usurpation, and had polluted itself by participation and contact of the Russian leprosy.

First, when in A.D. 1663 those unhappy Questions prepared by Ligarides were sent to the Levant, and the patriarch of Constantinople, not from any love of justice, but of caution only and fear of the Turks, was unwilling to receive the tsar's letters, it was the patriarch Nectarius of Jerusalem, the model bishop of his time, as his successor Dositheus calls him, and the same who had himself in A.D. 1660 anathematised Ligarides, who persuaded the patriarch of C.P. that they *need not lose the tsar's alms;* that they might without danger receive and open his letters; and then that they might write and subscribe *such Answers as were wanted*, without making themselves parties to any unjust use of those Answers; and that he, the patriarch of Jerusalem, could carry those Answers to Moldavia, and send them on from thence without anything becoming known to the Turks at Constantinople. Then the Answers so prepared for Ligarides and for the tsar's prikaz of secret service by those two patriarchs and the tsar's envoy, the Greek Meletius, were sent to be subscribed by the other two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch;

and they were subscribed by them as a matter of course, without any question about the purpose that they were to serve. Then those two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch who had had nothing to do with the preparation of those Answers or tomes, but had only subscribed them, were induced, by the agency of Meletius, to come for the tsar's alms to Moscow; and being there, they and the other Greek bishops who had been similarly attracted 'by honeyed discourses' and 'gold-beaming strings of words,' could scarcely do otherwise than earn the alms for which they had come. And this they might do with so much the less scruple or difficulty, that by the tomes of A.D. 1663, not prepared by them, but subscribed by all the four patriarchs then sitting when they were prepared, Nicon, though unnamed, was clearly pointed at, and all but condemned already; and according to a codicil added by the patriarch Nectarius, it was competent for the local synod of the Muscovite bishops, even alone, according to those tomes, to judge their primate; only it was necessary that Nicon should be summoned and heard. So then if those two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch had come to Moscow only for alms, they, like any other Greek bishops sojourning there for like reasons, might reasonably have been invited to be present in any local synod, and to give their testimony as to the sense of those tomes which they themselves had subscribed and sent; and if they agreed with the Russian bishops in applying the condemnations of the tomes to the person of Nicon, any such appeal as he might pretend to make afterwards to the four Eastern patriarchs would have been prejudged in a manner by two out of the four, so that unanimity *in his favour* would be no longer possible. But this was not enough. It was desired that the synod to condemn Nicon should be one actually held by the patriarchs, and not merely a local Russian synod, in which they were present by invitation without the right of presiding. And as Nicon, on being summoned not only by the tsar, but also by the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, immediately asked if they came with the knowledge and consent of the other two, and especially with that of the sitting patriarch of Constantinople Parthenius, since otherwise he would have nothing to say to them, they forced themselves, and together with the tsar constituted the assembly then brought together a plenary synod of the Eastern Church

by a bold and public falsehood. On the basis of this lie they proceeded. Paisius Ligarides they found at Moscow: probably they knew well enough before they came that they would find him there: and they entered into personal relations with him at first merely as a bishop of Greek origin then employed by the tsar: and whatever some of them might have heard about him, they did not feel called upon to raise difficulties by refusing to act with him: and he, on the other hand, seems to have been cautious, and to have felt his way before putting himself publicly forward in their mixed assembly. He was present indeed, as has been said above, in all the sessions, and he took part in the act of Nicon's degradation, and subscribed all the synodal acts: but this may have been by the tsar's order; and there is no mention of any mutual verification of powers, as in a synod canonically convoked by a primate or senior bishop. At any rate he seems not to have opened his lips in those formal sessions to which Nicon was summoned. It is only after Nicon's degradation and imprisonment, in the sessions of A.D. 1667, that we find him again taking the lead with the same loquacity as before, and concelebrating and communicating with the patriarchs and all the other bishops, and joining with them in the consecration of a new patriarch of Moscow and in the concoction of the holy chrism.

When that work for which the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch had been brought to Moscow was done, and was communicated by letters from them and from the tsar to the other two patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, it would have been awkward for these last two patriarchs to disallow the acts of the synod held by their two colleagues, or in any case with their participation, based as those acts were upon the patriarchal Answers of A.D. 1663. And besides, if they did disallow them, they would lose the tsar's alms usually sent on the election of a new patriarch of Moscow, and which this time—so it was promised—were to be more, and more satisfactory than on similar occasions previously; that so the new patriarch might obtain his recognition and commemoration in the diptychs. Thus the acts of this synod and the synod itself (though it was in truth a mere latrocinium, and based from the first on a lie) came, through silence and the recognition accorded to the new patriarch of Moscow Joasaph II. and his successors Pitirim and Joachim, to be accepted by the other two patriarchs of Con-

stantinople and Jerusalem, who had not really been parties to it, and by the successors of all the four, and by the whole Orthodox Eastern Church, Greek as well as Russian. And together with the acceptance of that synod and its acts there was a confirmation also of the state-supremacy, and the consequent *nationality* of religion now established in Russia, and an association, direct or indirect, with Paisius Ligarides, *by whom*, according to the testimony of the tsar Alexis himself, the Russian empire had been 'brought to that good end.'

So all the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church was infected with one and the same leprosy: and even if those who had sinned in Russia had changed their minds and had wished afterwards to recover a true spiritual blessing and initiative, instead of that derived from the tsar only, or from his vicars Pitirim or Paisius Ligarides, or Joasaph II. and his successors, there was now no spiritual authority either in Russia or in the Levant which could absolve them, or heal the irregularity which had been introduced, or cleanse the leprosy. Only Nicon, so long as he lived, could have done this: and he lived on long in confinement, no less than fifteen years, as if to keep this possibility before men's eyes. And the tsar Alexis, as is plain from his will, *did* afterwards *regret* what he had done; but he was too weak to attempt to undo it: he reconciled himself personally to Nicon, and died (in A.D. 1676) asking Nicon's pardon and blessing; but without having done any such public act as to justify Nicon in giving a *written* absolution. Theodore, who succeeded, was at first too young to govern personally: and the titular patriarch Joachim chose rather to inflict fresh and gratuitous severities on his prisoner Nicon than to accept from him that condonation and recognition which Nicon offered on the easiest possible conditions: 'If you will only treat me with humanity, and not worry me,' Nicon said, 'I will name you and pray for you as patriarch.' At last the tsar Theodore obtained the consent of Joachim and the council to set Nicon at liberty, and allow him to return to his own monastery of Voskresensk: but this was only when he was known to be dying: and he died on the way (Aug. 17, A.D. 1681). After his death the tsar Theodore ordered that he should be buried there under the Golgotha, in the tomb which he had prepared for himself, and that he should be buried as a patriarch. And when the titular patriarch Joachim refused, and objected

that Nicon had been condemned and degraded by the œcumenical patriarchs and a plenary synod, the young tsar ordered the next senior bishop, who was Cornelius the metropolitan of Novgorod, to officiate instead of Joachim; and Joachim, though he would not do it himself, consented that the metropolitan of Novgorod should act in all respects as the tsar prescribed. And so it was done. All the imperial family went to Voskresensk to the funeral: the tsar himself was the chief mourner; and he joined in all the singing; and he himself, together with the metropolitan, with his own hands placed the body in the tomb. Afterwards he also sent alms to the four Eastern patriarchs, and obtained from them for Nicon letters of posthumous rehabilitation, restoring his name to the diptychs, with the title and honour of the patriarchate. And having so obtained by money and influence this last act of absolution in the same way in which his father by money and influence had obtained the previous act of condemnation, Theodore himself died; and there was thenceforth—that is, from after the death of Nicon—no man living on earth (except it be the Pope of Rome, to whom Nicon virtually, but never actually or consciously, as Ligarides pretended of him, had appealed) who could absolve from the anathemas of the councils and the holy fathers incurred by all, or restore a true spiritual blessing and initiative, or cleanse the leprosy contracted from the contact and the blessing and the imposition of hands of Paisius Ligarides.

And now recapitulating, we observe with Nicon (*Replies*, &c. p. 581-584) that the tsar Alexis Michaelovich had three times vowed publicly to God to keep the commandments of God and of the Church; once in common with all Christians in his baptism, again at his coronation, and again a third time at the election of Nicon to the patriarchate. And especially at his coronation, besides other words of his vow he uttered these: 'I pledge myself to the Lord God Almighty . . . that I will keep a pure conscience, and do faithful service towards my Lord Jesus Christ in the order and dignity which is now committed to me by Him. And I will seek to make all those who shall be appointed by me to any office to keep themselves from all abuses and injustice. . . . And I will never by any manner or means oppose the orthodox faith, nor suffer others to do so, so far as God has given me power to prevent it. . . . And if I swerve in aught from this promise,

may I be judged without mercy by our Lord Jesus Christ; may I be made a partaker with Judas, and *may the leprosy of Uzziah cleave to me*, and such a trembling as was sent to Cain, and the torment of them that swear to a lie. May all these things come upon me!' (*Replies*, &c. p. 256.)

And as he forswore himself on all these vows, and rendered himself by the canons unfit not only to go into the sanctuary, but even to cross the threshold of the church, so God sent upon him, according to his own imprecation, *the leprosy of Uzziah*; He sent it upon him, and upon his government, and upon the Russian and the whole Greek or Eastern Church which followed him, so that it came out and spread itself, deepening and widening, by three distinct stages and manifestations, first in A.D. 1663, then again in A.D. 1664, and lastly in December A.D. 1666; when the tsar placed himself and his empire, and that national state Church which he had originated and set up, and ultimately also the whole Orthodox Eastern Church, when it had adhered to his acts, under the blessing *neither of New nor of Old Rome*, but of —*Sodom*.

PART III.

NOTICES OF PUNISHMENTS, PERSONAL AND PUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE BABYLONIAN FURNACE, AND THE FLAME OF THE FIRE WHICH SLEW THOSE MEN WHO TOOK UP AND CAST INTO IT THE THREE HEBREWS.

THE Three Hebrews in the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and Daniel in the den of lions, have ever been regarded in the Church as types of those who suffer persecution for refusing to give that honour which belongs to God to an earthly ruler or power. So in many of the fresco-paintings—works of the first three centuries after Christ—still visible in the underground Christian cemeteries in the environs of Rome, the persecutions and sufferings of the early Christians—never at first literally represented, as they came to be later—are alluded to under these two allegories of the Three Children praying in the midst of the flames, and Daniel in like attitude of prayer, with uplifted hands, between two lions.

The power of Christ is made perfect in the weakness and sufferings of His saints; and they by suffering patiently become conquerors with Christ. They are delivered also by His power, sometimes even by a bodily deliverance, as by a miracle; but at any rate they are all delivered spiritually; and they obtain by their patience graces for mankind: they are made rulers among the nations; and the earthly power itself whose pride and tyranny they had resisted proclaims afterwards, on account of them, with humility the supreme sovereignty of the true God.

But while the Three Children of the Hebrews are delivered, and come forth unhurt from the furnace, the flame of the furnace slays those men of Nebuchadnezzar's servants who took them

up and cast them into the furnace; and while Daniel is taken up unhurt from the den of lions, those lords of the council whose malice had stolen an order from the king to persecute him are themselves cast in with their wives and their children: and with them it is far otherwise; the lions have the mastery of them, and break all their bones in pieces, even before they reach the bottom of the den; that is, the bones of the wicked are broken, as it were, by temporal punishments before they come to the pit of hell which is prepared for them.

Among other occurrences recorded by Shusherin about Nicon's boyhood and youth, which, if considered in connection with the history of his later years, seem to have been typical, there is one story to the following effect: that when his mother had died, leaving him quite young, and his father had married again, his stepmother treated him cruelly, so as even to seek to make away with him. And once during the winter, when the frost was very severe, it so chanced that the boy Nikita—that was his name from his baptism—had crept into the empty stove, for the sake of its remaining warmth, and had there fallen asleep. And his stepmother put in logs of wood as if she had not seen him, and having lighted them went her way. And he would have been smothered and burned to death, but that when the smoke and the fire woke him, and he began to cry out, there was a neighbour, a woman named Xenia, within hearing, and she ran and pulled out the burning logs, and set him free.

Now let us ask—not of Shusherin, for he could not be expected to see the full meaning of this—but let us ask any Catholic Christian: Who is the true mother of souls? and he will answer that there is only one, that is, the truly orthodox and Catholic Church, the bride of the Lamb, the Jerusalem which is above, which is the mother of us all, which also is properly represented here below by that Church which is in communion with the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of Christ. But who was it that ill-treated Nicon, not as a child, but as a full-grown man, and shut him up, not merely in bodily imprisonment, but in an intellectual and spiritual furnace of persecution? This was not the true mother—from whom he had been separated, so that she was unknown and in a manner dead to him, from the time that he first attained the age of reason after his baptism—but the schismatical Russian and Greek or Eastern Church. This was the stepmother—to

say nothing now of the secular power—which was foreshown allegorically in the stepmother of his childhood. And even to this day Nicon is still shut up in that intellectual *pech:* and there is need of help, like that of Xenia, coming from strangers to extricate him, and set him before his countrymen and before the Church in his true character. Would that this present publication—which does in fact come from a *stranger*—might contribute in some degree, however feebly and indirectly, towards that end! Its author would then be more than repaid for any trouble he may have taken.

But it was not only by this personal incident in the life of Nicon that it was foreshown from his infancy how he should be joined with St. John Chrysostom and with the Russian metropolitan Philip as a sufferer of persecution at the hands of the secular power, and should be cast like them spiritually into the Babylonian furnace. There was also in the Russian or Muscovite Church a public ceremony typifying the same thing. Every year, a little before Christmas—at the season when the Church looks forward from the first to the second advent of Christ—commonly on the Sunday of the Forefathers, the Sunday next before Christmas, especially in the cathedrals of Novgorod and Moscow (those two with which Nicon was to be personally connected)—the story of the Three Children of the Hebrews refusing to worship the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar, and of their being cast into the fiery furnace, was enacted as a sacred drama.

Order of the ceremony of the Act of the Furnace performed on the Sunday before the Nativity, the Sunday of the Forefathers, in episcopal cities (especially in Moscow and Novgorod).

1. On the Wednesday preceding the kliuchars are blessed to take down the great chandelier (*panikandilo*) hanging over the ambon in the midst of the cathedral; and after the matins the clerks and bellringers (*ponomari* and *zvontsi*) do this, &c. 2. The Three Children of the Hebrews are vested in the chamber of egress, and go in to the bishop to the krestovaia palata before vespers, and before the nocturn, and they precede him thence, singing, to the cathedral, &c. 3. And at the seventh hymn of the kanons in the matins (there being lighted candles set round the furnace in the middle of the church), when they begin the seventh verse, '*The three youths*,' &c., the master of the youths

takes a blessing, and asks the bishop to bless them to go into the place prepared for them. 4. Then he goes into the sanctuary (within the *altar*) and binds the youths, and delivers them at the north side-door to the Chaldees, to take them before the episcopal place. 5. And first the Chaldees point to the furnace, and say, and repeat:

'Ye children of the King, of the King' ('of the Tsar,' *i.e.* of the true Tsar, who is above the tsars of the earth)! 'see ye this furnace burning with fire, and exceeding hot? This furnace is prepared for you, to torment you.'

Ananias replies: 'We see it, but are not afraid, &c.: *He* is *able* to deliver us.'

Azarias continues: 'And He *will* deliver us from your hands.'

And Misael subjoins: 'And this furnace will not be to us for torture, but to you for rebuke and confutation.'

6. Then the Chaldees lead them to the episcopal place, and they sing: 'And make speed to help us; for thou canst, if thou wilt.'

7. The protodeacon lights within the altar three triple candles for the youths, and stands within at the royal doors. And when they sing the last στάσις, the end of that verse, he comes out with the three candles, and takes a blessing from the bishop; and after they have done their reverence to the bishop, the master unbinds them, and Ananias goes first for a blessing; and the bishop, after blessing him, gives him his candle, and in like manner to Azarias, and to Misael. Then all the three bow together to the bishop.

8. *Then the First Chaldee cries:* 'Comrade! are these the children of the *King* (of the *Tsar*)?' *Answ.* 'Yes, of the *King*.'

First Chaldee: 'Obey they not the orders of *our* tsar?' *Second Chaldee:* 'They obey not.'

First Chaldee: 'Worship they not the golden image?' *Second Chaldee:* 'They worship it not.'

First Chaldee: 'Then we will throw them into the furnace.' *Second Chaldee:* 'And begin to burn them.'

Then the First Chaldee takes Ananias under the right arm, and the Second Chaldee takes him under the left, and they lead him into the furnace respectfully and gently; and he stands there to the right hand as seen from the episcopal place. And then the other Chaldee says to Azarias: 'And thou, Azarias, thou

too shalt have the same from us.' And so saying, he takes him under the right arm, the first Chaldee taking him under the left, and they conduct him into the furnace. And then Misael in like manner. And the Chaldees shut to the door of the furnace.

10. And the ringer, whose turn it is, goes near to the furnace, carrying a brazier with burning coals. 11. The protodeacon makes three reverences before the icon, and the bishop blesses him to give out (*klikati*) hymns vii. and viii. of the *Kanon, of the Three Children;* and he stands on the place prepared for him, facing towards the bishop, and gives out the seventh hymn: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord God of our fathers,' &c.; and the Three, who are in the furnace, sing this verse. And the Chaldees take pipes, with wisps of hay and lighted candles, and begin to go round about the furnace, sprinkling it, and threatening. And they measure for themselves a space round about with their palms. And when the protodeacon begins to give out the last *part* of the seventh hymn, 'And the flame burned up above the furnace,' &c., and the youths sing *Yaje obvieti o peshchi Chaldieytey*, the kliuchar coming out robed from the right side-door to the bishop, asks him to bless the Angel of the Lord to go down into the furnace. And then the deacons take from the Chaldees the pipes, with wisps and with the fire, which are to burn the Chaldees. And when the youths have finished singing, the deacon cries aloud: 'And the angel of the Lord went down together with the children of Azarias into the furnace, and drove off the flame of the fire from the furnace.'

12. The Chaldees, standing on either side, hold their palms up over their heads, the handle towards the church, the leafy end towards the sanctuary. And when the deacon cries, 'As a cool refreshing gale,' &c., the Angel of the Lord goes down into the furnace to the youths with a great earthquake and thunder. And the Chaldees fall flat on their faces on both sides; and the deacons burn them, as if personating the angel. The youths light from the crown of the Angel their three candles, and the kliuchar makes the Angel to ascend on high. The youths sing, 'But the angel of the Lord,' &c.

13. The Chaldees get up, and take off their helmets (their *sholomi*, i.e. *shouriki*), and put them on their palms. And the *First Chaldee* cries: 'Comrade!' *The Second Chaldee:* 'What?' *First*

Chaldee: 'Dost thou see?' *Second Chaldee:* 'I see.' *First Chaldee:* 'There were three, and now there are four, and the fourth is terrible and dreadful exceedingly, in form like the Son of God.' *Second Chaldee:* 'When he flew in, he overcame us.'

14. The podiaks give to the Chaldees great candles called *mammalia*, one to each; and they take them, and stand bending their heads and cowering; and thenceforth they do not make flame about the furnace.

15. And when the Three have sung, as was mentioned above, the protodeacon cries, 'Then those Three,' &c. And the Three sing that verse; and looking up to the Angel of the Lord, they cross themselves, and bow thrice to him all together, and turn with the Angel in the furnace thrice, having the Angel before them, Ananias behind his right wing, Azarias behind his right foot, and Misael behind his left wing. They turn with the Angel to the right, towards the episcopal place.

16. The protodeacon cries out, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers,' &c. The Three sing the same; and the Angel ascends a little above them, overshadowing and refreshing them; and they finish hymn vii., and sing hymn viii.

17. Then there is another descent of the Angel into the furnace with a great earthquake and with thunder, and the Chaldees fall on their knees. And the Three sing, 'O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael,' &c., and sign themselves, and reverence the Angel all together, and take one turn with him. And after singing, 'Let us praise, let us bless, let us worship,' &c., they look up, and worship as before, and take three turns.

18. At length when they sing, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers,' &c., they look up and bow; and the Angel ascends gently. And the First Chaldee takes a blessing to call Ananias; and he goes to the furnace; and having opened the doors, he stands there without his shourik, and cries, 'O Ananias, come out of the furnace!' *The Second Chaldee:* 'Move! Neither fire, straw, pitch, or resin touches you.' *First Chaldee:* 'We thought to have burned you, but we have been burned ourselves.' Ananias hereupon moves, and comes out. The Chaldees take him under the arms, and conduct him respectfully in front of the episcopal place. And the First Chaldee says, 'Come, thou son of the *King!*' (of the '*Tsar.*') Then Azarias, and then Misael is brought in like manner. And all the Three bow to-

gether to the bishop, who blesses them; and they sing Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα!

19. The Chaldees put on their helmets, and take their pipes with wisps of hay and with fire, and stand on either side. Presently they go up within the sanctuary (the *oltar*) by the north side-door, preceded thither and followed by the two Chaldees.

20. The bishop calls to him the ecclesiastical dignitaries (the *vlasti*) and the governors of the city, the boyars and the voivodes, and all the people of the prikazes; and, standing on the lowest step of his place, he says a πολυχρόνιον for the tsar and the tsaritsa, and for the patriarch, &c.; and both the choirs sing it by turns. And then the boyar and voivodes and spiritual authorities and the dvorianins say before the bishop a πολυχρόνιον for the tsar, &c., and for the patriarch; and it is sung by both the choirs, as in the former case. And the podiaks sing to the bishop Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα at the right side-door. And so the order of the Act is finished; and they go on with and finish the Matins.

But the youths and the Chaldees reappear, and the Three go again into the furnace, while the gospel is being read.

After the Matins they attend the bishop to his cells. And the master of the youths, and the choir-diaks, and the Chaldees have an early dinner at the fountain, and go out to the cellar.

After the Matins they take away the furnace, and replace the ambon, and they take away from above the Angel of the Lord, and put him by, in the place where he is kept; and they make haste to replace all the icons, and to sweep out the church before the liturgy. And on the Monday they replace the panikandilo.

The master and the youths and the Chaldees again go to conduct the bishop to the cathedral for the liturgy; take part wherever it is possible to give them any part; reconduct the bishop to his lodgings; and conduct him to the trapeza to dinner; and he makes them presents; and they sing. And after the dinner and the cups drunk to the tsar's health, the bishop dismisses the spiritual authorities; and the youths and the Chaldees conduct the bishop and the boyar and people of the prikazes from the refectory (the *stolovaia*) to the *krestovaia* hall of his cells, singing, &c.; and then Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα! And so they go out to the vestibule of egress, and put off their dresses. And

the bishop having sat with and entertained sufficiently the boyar and the people of the prikazes, dismisses them with his blessing.[1]

The same day they again come and conduct the bishop to the vespers and back.

The custom of performing this Act in the cathedrals, especially those of Moscow and Novgorod (the two with which Nicon was to be personally connected), was kept up through the reign of the tsar Michael,[2] so that Nicon, when he was living as a secular priest at Moscow, and the tsar Alexis also in his boyhood and early youth, must no doubt have witnessed it; but it seems to have been discontinued after the accession of the tsar Alexis, the figure ceasing when the reality was about to take its place. Nor is it left for us only to make this application, and to observe that after the enactment of the Code of A.D. 1649 the extension of the jurisdiction of the monastirski prikaz on the basis of its provisions, and the tsar's breach of his vow to respect the canons of the Church, Nicon, in his retirement at Voskresensk, and still more in his exile and imprisonment in the Therapontoff and Kyrilloff monasteries, was spiritually in the Babylonian furnace. For he himself in his writings, in more places than one, has made the same application of this passage of the Old Testament history to himself, and that while he was as yet only living in forced retirement in his own monastery at Voskresensk. So he does in his *Replies* (written in A.D. 1663), at p. 239, 402, and 486 of our vol. i.; especially at p. 238, 239, in a passage of some length, reprinted above at p. 343 of the present volume.

Some years later, when Nicon had been degraded from all priesthood, and was confined as a state prisoner in the Therapontoff monastery of Bielo-ozero, and when the tsar Alexis, without undoing what had been done, had obtained Nicon's *personal* forgiveness, the tsar, after his second marriage with Natalia Cyrillovna Narishkin, who had been bred up and in a manner adopted by his confidential servant Matveyeff, was pleased occasionally to see acted before him, by people of the

[1] From the church *oustave* or directory book of the cathedral church of Novgorod, preserved in the Synodal Library at Moscow. *Drevn. Russk. Bibl.* vol. VI. xviii.; and see our vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 238, 390.

[2] From those portions of the registers of the *Vichodi Tsarey* which have been preserved and printed, it appears that the *Act* (*diestvo*) was attended by the tsar Michael in A.D. 1633, Dec. 22; 1634, Dec. 22; 1636, Dec. 18; 1637, Dec. 17; 1638, Dec. 26; and 1639, Dec. 15.

household of Matveyeff, sacred dramas or 'mysteries,' composed by Simeon of Polotsk,[3] preceptor to the tsarevich Theodore Alexievich. Several of these have been printed in the *Drevnaia Russkaia Biblioteka* of Novikoff, vol. viii.; and the first-acted of them all seems to have been the '*Comedy*' of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonian Furnace. And this having been well received, it was followed by those of *Esther*, of *Judith* (acted in A.D. 1672),[4] *The Prodigal*, and others. And not only did the tsar honour with his own presence these performances, but he brought together all his court, or at least all those called *Blijnie*, who were about his own person, to witness them.

Probably Simeon of Polotsk, who knew well enough how his drama of *Nebuchadnezzar* exhibited under an allegory that which had recently been done—and was, in truth, still being done—in Russia, and who, from the time of his coming into the palace during all the remaining years of the reign of Alexis, was so cautious that though he wrote much he printed nothing, was emboldened to venture on so delicate a subject by the fact that the same subject had, within the memory of many still living, been represented annually even in the public ceremonies of the Church.

We will now insert a translation of this drama, bringing out the application underlying it by some bracketed additions of our own, as if we were getting up a fresh representation of it for the manager of some Russian theatre, on the stage of which there has been already exhibited an historical drama of *John the Terrible*.

CHARACTERS OF THE PLAY.

1. Nebuchadnezzar in his impious pride	Actor masked and habited to represent the Tsar Alexis Michaelovich.
2. The Treasurer	The Boyar Prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky.
3. Zardan	Bogdan Matv. Khitroff.
4. Boyar Nabuzar	Simeon Lucian. Streshneff.
5. Amir	Boyar Elia Dan. Miloslafsky.
6. Shadrach, or Ananias . . .	St. John Chrysostom.

[3] He came to Moscow seemingly in A.D. 1666 (see vol. iii. p. 130), and was made preceptor to the tsarevich when the latter was of the age of eight years, seemingly in the spring of A.D. 1669.

[4] The play of *Judith* was acted in the suburban palace of Preobrajensk. Others, as that of the *Three Children in the Furnace*, may have been acted perhaps in the house of Elia Dan. Miloslafsky, which after his death (May 20, AD. 1668) became the *Potieshni Dvoretz* (i.e. the palace or house of amusements), and where later plays, it is said, continued to be acted in the presence of the tsarevna Sophia.

7. Meshach, or Azarias . . .	The Metropolitan Philip.
8. Abednego, or Misael . . .	The Patriarch Nicon.
9. First Soldier	Joseph Metr. of Astrachan.
10. Second Soldier	Ivan Sim. Prozorofsky.
11. Third Soldier	Peter Mich. Soltikoff.
12. Fourth Soldier	Youry Alex. Dolgorouky.
13. Fifth Soldier	Doctor Daniel von Haden.
14. Sixth Soldier	Artemon Serg. Matveyeff.
15. An Angel	Representative Angel.
16. Nebuchadnezzar humbled by the miracle	The Tsar Theodore Alexievich.
17. First Noble	Rodion Matv. Streshneff.
18. Second Noble	Youry Iv. Romodanofsky.
19. Third Noble	Yakoff Nik. Odoefsky.
20. Fourth Noble	Peter Iv. Prozorofsky.

PROLOGUE.

Most orthodox and most illustrious Tsar,
Of many realms and princedoms Hossoudar,
Crown'd with a crown most glorious, crown'd by Heaven,
And as a sun to Orthodoxy given,
To shine on earth with dazzling virtues bright,
As shines the natural sun with rays of light!
Thou art our sun! before thy piercing ray
The gloom of unbelief is chased away.
No diamond set in gold can be so fair
As with thy faith for lustre to compare.
To God in Trinity alone dost thou
In adoration dutifully bow;
Humbly beneath His feet thy head inclining,
And lowliness with royal power combining,
That power alone which fits thy state and throne
Thy holy soul ventures to call its own.
All virtues, like young birds, within thy breast
Live closely grouped, as in some heavenly nest.
Nebuchadnezzar was not like to thee,
Though he, too, shone with scepter'd majesty:
His unbelieving soul was dark as night,
And scarce through miracles received the light;
Swollen and fill'd with mad satanic pride,
Above all gods himself he deified,
And whoso to his image bow'd not down

Into the fiery furnace he was thrown.
So the Three Hebrews, for their loyalty,
Were cast into the flames by tyranny,
But by God's angel kept unharm'd and free.
By which great miracle to faith reclaim'd
The Tsar his own past sin confess'd and blamed.
Pride of the flesh breeds worms and putrifies,
But suffering faith shines bright and never dies.
This is the drama we would now present,
And to the life in action represent
Before thy majesty, and others here,
Kniazes and boyars, who thee serve and fear;
Only to amuse: [Perhaps nor I nor ye
Can aught of sense beyond the surface see.
But if or now, or when with typic rite
The Church herself sets forth the self-same sight,
It chance that any parallel appears
To deeds and sufferings of recent years,
Blame not the Hebrews—nor those later Three,
John, Philip, Nicon—for their constancy;
Nor the old Babylonian kings—for *they*
Honour'd the saints who dared to disobey,
Nor fear'd the furnace or the lion's den—
Blame not *them:* blame and pity Christian men,
Who, *knowing all*, do the same deeds again;
Or who, not knowing, are *amused* to see
Their own *sins* acted as a 'Comedy.']

NEBUCHADNEZZAR [*Actor with a mask representing the face of the Tsar Alexis Michaelovich*].

My faithful slaves, ye boyars and dvorianins,
And ye of all our realms the chief zemlianins,
Ye see the strength of this imperial arm,
How all the lands it conquers and subdues.
No potentate on earth can stand against me;
Mine is the world, to take it and possess:
The gods of all the nations quail before me;
Henceforth I will be worshipp'd god of gods.

For this I think to have an image made,

To be set up upon the plain of Doura;
A likeness of ourself; that all our subjects
May in that image worship us as god.

Dost thou hear, Treasurer?[5] This is our command:
Give out pure gold as much as may be needed,
And cause at once our image to be made,
And set it up upon a lofty column.

TREASURER [Boyar Nikita Iv. Odoefsky].

When god commands, his word is terrible.
According to thy will, all shall be ready.

Exit TREASURER: NEBUCHADNEZZAR *speaks.*

When this our golden image has been made,
We then can test the loyalty of all:
Who loves us faithfully shall be preferr'd,
But he who loves us not shall be condemn'd.
Hearest thou, Zardan?[6] Have a furnace built:
Heap fuel, pitch, and brimstone: have it lighted
Near to the image: he who worships not
Into that fiery furnace shall be thrown.

ZARDAN [Okolnik Bogdan Matv. Khitroff].

I, nothing loth, but glad at heart, will go
Immediately to execute thy will.

Exit ZARDAN.

The Boyar NABUZAR [*Actor masked and habited as the* Boyar SIMEON LUCIANOVICH STRESHNEFF].

O our illustrious Tsar, and mighty god!
None can with thee conflict, but to his peril.
Shall any mortal man on earth now dare
Against thy will and order given to stand?
Thy word, even of itself, is like to fire:
The furnace of that word who does not fear?
Good is thy word, that they be burn'd in fire
Who worship to thine image shall refuse.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

All certainly is good which God commands,
Though all the world in fire should be consumed.

[5] Or, 'Hear'st thou, Kniaz Nikita?'

[6] Or, 'Hearest thou, Bogdan?'

This is our will: whoever questions it,
In that same hour we bid him to be slain.
But for to-day a truce to all severity:
Give us just now a little pleasant music.

The Musicians advance, and Nabuzar *says to them,*

Whate'er ye think will most divert and please,
The Tsar would have you now perform before him.

Chorus of Singers sing. Enter the Treasurer, *who says,*

O most illustrious monarch, live for ever!
Most excellent of all men in the world!
Behold, what thou commandedst has been done—
Thine honourable statue is set up.

Drawing the curtain, he shows the Statue [the Code of 1649, *laid on a carpeted ngloi, upon the Cross of Monomachus, on a golden dish, under a bust or portrait of the Tsar Alexis, who points down to it].*

Nebuchadnezzar *says,*

My faithful slaves, we do commend your labours.
Henceforth we favour you [and not the Patriarch].

Enter Zardan.

O holy autocrat! O Tsar of tsars!
God upon earth! reign many, many years
Over all lands, even to the world's end.
Behold, thy will has now been executed;
A mighty furnace has been built and lighted.

The curtain is drawn, and there is seen a burning furnace; and behind it, in the distance, the monastery of Voskresensk, and the Therapontoff and Kyrilloff monasteries of Biclo-ozero.

Nebuchadnezzar.

Thou hast served well. And, now that it is lighted,
Mind, boyars, that ye keep the fire still burning:
Heap fuel, sulphur, pitch; that all beholding
May fall before our image and adore.

Zardan.

I'm glad to do whatever thou commandest;
At least thou shalt not blame my want of zeal.

Nebuchadnezzar, *to the* Boyar Amir [Elia Miloslafsky].

Faithful Elia! let this charge be thine,
That the people of all ranks attend to-day
To worship; and command to make such noise
With trumpets, bagpipes, and all kinds of music,

That heaven itself be deafen'd with the clang.
Then, at that signal, all are to adore.
But if so be that any will not worship,
Command that they be thrown into the furnace;
And let the furnace sevenfold heated be
With brimstone and with pitch, to burn exceedingly.

Amir [Elia] *to the Tsar.*

O Tsar invincible! health be to thee!
On Doura's plain the assembled peoples wait,
And all is ready: please thyself to see
How all thy noble image will adore.

Nebuchadnezzar.

Now is the time; now bid the trumpets sound,
That all our golden image may adore.

Then Amir [Elia], *making a sign to the Musicians,*

Pipers, do ye hear? Play all of you your loudest;
And ye, O peoples, prostrate and adore.

A Piper says,

My lord, we were but waiting for the order;
We are all ready to begin the piping.

And they begin to trumpet and to pipe, and the people begin to adore: but the Three Hebrew Youths [John Chrysostom, the Metropolitan Philip, and the Patriarch Nicon] *do not prostrate; which* Elia *seeing, gives orders to seize them, crying out,*

Holloa! seize there, seize there those lawless rebels,
Who to the image no respect are paying.

They seize them, and bring them before the Tsar, and Amir [Elia] *says,*

Most honourable Tsar! these three lewd villains
Before thine image have not bow'd their necks;
Thy high commandment they dispute and blame,
And on thy noble image cast reproach.

Nebuchadnezzar, *with fury, says to the Youths,*

Shadrach and Meshach and Abednego
[Chrysostom, Philip, and thou, Nicon, too]!
Ye were aforetime honour'd with our love:
What say ye now? do ye, indeed, insult us?
Have ye our image to adore refused?
I wish myself to see: show ye the truth,
And, when the trumpet sounds, bow down your heads.

If ye will not the appointed worship pay,
Ye shall be cast into the fiery furnace;
And where shall be the god who has the power
To save you from the fire, or from our hand?

SHADRACH [John Chrysostom] *replies,*

There is no need, O Tsar, to answer thee;
Almighty God *can*, if He will, deliver us;
He is *quite able*, if He *will*, to save us
From the fierce fire, and from thy hand, O king!

MESHACH [the Metr. Philip].

But farther know, O Tsar! that this thy threat
Of fire shall not deceive us into sin.
If it please God to give us to the fire,
We, for His name, are *quite content to suffer.*

ABEDNEGO [the Patriarch Nicon].

We know one Tsar—the living Tsar of heaven:—
A soulless image boldly we despise:
For God to worship creatures is not right:
God is our Tsar; we worship only Him.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, *in rage and fury, cries out,*

O the vile enemies! how are they misled!
They shall forthwith be cast into the flames.
Ye valiant men-at-arms, seize these mine enemies,
And cast them bound into the fiery furnace.

The Soldiers seize them, and having bound them, say:

First Soldier [Joseph, Metr. of Astrachan].

It had been well for you to obey the Tsar,
Nor for a visionary faith to suffer.

Second Soldier [Ivan Sim. Prozorofsky].

Vile Jewish race! bind them all fast and tight;
Vile, disobedient rebels! spare them not.

Third Soldier [Peter Mich. Soltikoff].

He who would spare an enemy of the Tsar
Deserves himself the punishment of death.

Fourth Soldier [Youry Alex. Dolgorouky].

I'm ready to flay two skins from one back;
But mine own skin I purpose to keep whole.

Fifth Soldier [Doctor Dan. Von Haden].

For me to kill a Jew is as much pleasure
As to toss off a cup of hydromel.

Sixth Soldier [Artemon Serg. Matveyeff].

Cast them into the furnace; make few words;
What they command you, do it speedily.

They cast them into the furnace. Immediately there comes down to them an Angel, and says to the Youths,

Ye faithful servants of the living God,
Let not the excess of danger trouble you.
The Almighty Lord has not abandon'd you:
The all-devouring flame shall burn you not,
But shall be changed into refreshing dew.
Give to your God the praise and glory meet.

Then Ananias, Azarias, and Misael begin to say devoutly,

Blessed art Thou, O Lord God of our fathers, &c. (as in Dan.).

Here the fire from the furnace blazes out sideways, and scorches the Chaldees; and one of them cries out;

Second Soldier [Ivan Sim. Prozorofsky].

Alas for us! the fierce flames burn us too!
Ah! ah! darting forth strangely from the furnace.
(*Falls and dies.*)

First Soldier [Joseph, Metr. of Astrachan].

Ah! ah! (*Falls and dies.*)

Sixth Soldier [Artemon Serg. Matveyeff].

Ah! ah! (*Falls and dies.*)

Third Soldier [Peter Mich. Soltikoff].

Ah! ah! (*Falls scorched.*)

Fourth Soldier [Youry Alex. Dolgorouky].

Ah! ah! (*Falls and dies.*)

Fifth Soldier [Dr. Von Haden].

Ah! ah! (*Falls and dies.*)

When the First and Second Soldiers have fallen, the Tsar (who has now no longer the face and likeness of Alexis Mich., but that of his son the Tsar Theodore Alex.) cries out,

What is this miracle? The flame darts forth
Far from the furnace, and consumes my servants.
Take up the bodies; give them to the earth;
And keep yourselves away from the fierce fire.

Then all the Three Youths together, with devout voice, sing,

Blessed art Thou, O Lord God of our fathers, &c. (as in Dan.).

The Treasurer [Nikita Iv. Odoefsky] *says,*

O miracle! the enemies are not burn'd!
They sweetly sing some sort of canticle.

The Tsar [Theodore Alex.] *says,*

I hear, but without seeing can scarce believe;
Let mine own eyes of this be satisfied.

And rising, he looks at the furnace, and he thinks he sees in it four crowns. He says to the Boyars,

What is this, boyars? did we not cast *three*
Into the furnace, there to be consumed?

The Treasurer [Nikita Iv. Odoefsky] *replies,*

Even so, O Tsar; three were thus punished
Because thine image they refused to worship.

The Tsar [Theodore Alexievich].

But now I see amidst the arching flames
Not three but four men walking, all unbound
And scatheless; and the fourth radiant with glory—
O miracle! like to the Son of God.
Alas, alas! I, sinful man, have err'd,
Raging against the true and living God.
They are holy; I have sinn'd exceedingly;
Their innocence even the fire respects.
What am I now, wretch that I am, to do?
If not too late, I fain would sue for pardon.

And approaching the furnace, he says,

Shadrach and Meshach and Abednego,
Ye servants of the true and faithful God,
Come forth, I pray you, from the fiery furnace;
Come for the sake of us, *who all have sinn'd.*
Be pleased for my great sin to pardon me:
Your God henceforth I will adore and serve.

Here the Youths come forth unhurt, and at the sight of them the nobles exclaim;

First Noble [Rodion Matv. Streshneff].

O miracle! how is it that these youths
Have not been burn'd? they have overcome the fire!

Second Noble [Youry Iv. Romodanofsky].

O miracle! not even their hair is singed!

Third Noble [Yakoff Nik. Odoefsky].

See too their clothes, how they are all unharm'd!

Fourth Noble [Peter Iv. Prozorofsky].

A miracle, no doubt; but from what power,
Of that my ignorant mind is doubtful still.

The Tsar [Theodore Alexievich].

I see, O boyars, what miraculous power
Has now before our eyes Itself reveal'd.
Blessed be He, the God who hath done this,
Whom Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego
Preach to us! He is truly Tsar and Lord,
His is the mighty power that all transcends.
He by His angel has now saved His servants,
And kept the fiery flame from burning them
Who yielded up themselves to death and torture,
But would not yield to worship other gods:
Our own imperial word they disobey'd,
Because they trusted in the living God.
O blessed servants of the righteous God,
To whom I now my head in worship bow!
Him before all henceforth I do confess;
Him, the true God, to all I do proclaim.
If any dare to speak against this God,
He shall be slain, and his house made a dunghill.
So we command: for other there is none
So powerful as your God, so wonderful.
But ye, O servants of the living God,
Accept from us great gifts and territories;
Be honour'd, too, first above all the kniazes,
And be henceforth acknowledged as our friends.

Shadrach [John Chrysostom].

To God be glory for this miracle,
Who has saved us, and shown to thee His mercy.
To thee *for honour* we now bow our heads,
And promise to thee due fidelity.

Meshach [the Metr. Philip].

Not only has our God this miracle wrought,
But many other wonders worketh He,
Of which hereafter to thy grace, O Tsar,
We at thy bidding will more fully speak.

Abednego [the Patriarch Nicon].

Only do thou, O great and powerful Tsar,
Be a true servant of the Lord of heaven;
Humble thyself, and He will then be with thee,
And with His mighty hand will strengthen thee.

The Tsar [Theodore Alexievich].

I thank you heartily, beloved friends,
True servants of the true and living God,
That ye are willing to forgive the wrong,
And to make known to us the glory of God:
To that I lovingly my ear incline,
And open to it my heart's treasury.
But now to-day come with us to the palace,
And by your visitation bless my house.

[*Exeunt behind the curtain.*

EPILOGUE.

O most illustrious and religious Tsar,
Thou God-crown'd and Christ-loving autocrat,
We give thee thanks for this thy graciousness,
That thou hast deign'd to hear our acting through.
Thy penetrating eye has justly scann'd
This our performance of the Comedy.
If we have not in every point succeeded,
Nor satisfied, for want of skill, thy judgment,
Our lack of wit doth naturally offend,
But thy rich mind can well afford to pardon.
Therefore most humbly at thy feet we fall,
For all shortcomings pardon to entreat,
And we in turn will pray the Lord for thee,
That to thee also He may all forgive,
And grant thee happily in peace to reign,
And speedily thy foes to overcome,
And add unto thee many years of life,
And give thee after all the heavenly crown.

Mnogaia Lieta! *Music plays: that is, they sing in chorus the Polychronion, with musical accompaniments.*

(*Drevn. Russ. Bibl.* vol. viii. no. vii. p. 158-169.)

Those names which we have given (enclosed in brackets) above to the six Chaldees, who in the play are slain or mortally scorched by the flame from the furnace before the king confesses the true God and magnifies His three confessors, will have already suggested to the reader that some at least of those men who had taken part in establishing the ecclesiastical supremacy of the State in Russia came to ends significative of punishment.

And such indeed was the fact. But before giving any account of the deaths of the men thus alluded to, so as to explain how they were slain as it were by the flame of that furnace into which they had cast Nicon, we will first make some general remarks on the subject of punishments.

Punishments, then, of public crimes or sins are either public or personal. The public punishment is what falls upon the nation, or society, or class, or order, or institution itself; sometimes speedily, sometimes even after a long interval; and which affects even future generations. And this public punishment often seems to fall upon rulers and descendants who are personally innocent, it may be even unconscious, of the guilt of their predecessors; so as to show distinctly the difference between merely personal and public acts, and between personal and public rewards and punishments. Thus in England the guilt of those Tudor sovereigns who, in the sixteenth century, rebelling against God and against His Church, forced by their tyrannical violence the whole nation into schism and heresy, was punished a century later in kings *of another family*, against whom the people then rose in rebellion, as the kings before had risen in rebellion against God; and they were dethroned and expelled, and one of them even beheaded, by the ulterior developments of that same heresy which they had first imposed by force upon the people: and even to this day the sovereigns of England—and now the sovereigns alone, all their subjects being free—are bound by law and oath with the same bond of heresy with which their predecessors once bound the people. And in like manner in France, the selfish ambition and pride with which Louis XIV. made unjust wars and wronged the Church, and the gross immorality of the courts of the Regent and of Louis XV., were punished in the next generation by the horrors of that atheistic and murderous revolution, in which the innocent and virtuous Louis XVI. and his queen, and his sister, and his son were beheaded, or still more cruelly destroyed.

But omitting for the present the consideration of public punishments, and in particular that of the public sin committed in Russia in the time of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, if we think only of the personal responsibility of the tsar and of nearly all the nobles and higher ecclesiastics, and of the penalties and punishments threatened against such offenders by the holy

Scriptures, by the canons of the Church, by the writings of the holy fathers, and by the forcible denunciations and anathemas of the patriarch Nicon himself, the first thing likely to be remarked—and perhaps with a sneer—by any worldly observer is this: that by far the greater number of those men who established in Russia the principle of State supremacy in religion, or served and concurred towards its establishment, seem not to have been punished at all. They all died of course, some sooner some later, some in one way and some in another, like other men; but history has recorded of them no special misfortunes or torments. And though some of them may have experienced certain reverses or misfortunes which piety or superstition might regard as warnings, or as instalments of punishment, yet there is nothing so pointed as to justify in the eyes of worldly men such a view.

One of the most prominent of Nicon's enemies, who died before Nicon was finally degraded and imprisoned, was the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, the tsar's chief military commander, who, with Nicon's blessing, had covered himself with glory in the campaigns of A.D. 1654 and 1655. Afterwards, on the 10th July A.D. 1658, he was sent from the tsar to the cathedral to Nicon, to desire him not to leave his chair, but to continue to be patriarch as before, that is, to be content to serve under the usurped supremacy of the tsar and the boyars; and he then hypocritically asked Nicon's blessing, and was refused a blessing in these words: 'My blessing' (that is, the day of my blessing thee) 'is past; I have no blessing to give thee!' Just a year after that, on the 28th of June A.D. 1659, the tsar's army under him suffered the terrible disaster of Konotop, when the flower of the Muscovite nobility, of their horsemen, who had so distinguished themselves in the campaigns of A.D. 1654 and 1655, were taken and butchered like sheep; and thenceforth—so it is written of him—the prince Alexis Troubetskoy, instead of having the reputation of being a successful commander and terrible to the enemies of Russia, was famous only for his defeats; and in A.D. 1663 he died. This is all true, no doubt; and *we* may connect the reverse of his fortune and reputation with his having ceased to deserve a blessing, as Nicon does himself connect it in his *Replies* (see our vol. i. p. 388). But there is no outward word or fact related which can be urged against the

sceptical man of the world as indicating such a consequence or association.

There is one man against whom more than any other—much more than against the boyar Simeon Lucian. Streshneff or Paisius Ligarides, though their *Questions and Answers* were the occasion of his work—Nicon reasons at length in his *Replies*, and in a manner thunders, overwhelming him with all the warnings and threats and penalties of the holy Scriptures, the canons, and even the civil laws of former emperors and grand princes and tsars, nay, even of his own compilation; denouncing to him the anathemas of the Church and the inevitable judgments of God both in this world and the next. This is the boyar prince Nikita Ivan. Odoefsky, the chief compiler of the Code of A.D. 1648-1649, and the introducer through it, in a surreptitious way, of the new principle of the supremacy of the state over the clergy. Of him Nicon writes, in A.D. 1663, in his *Replies*, that 'he is a man extremely proud, who has not the fear of God in his heart: and the divine scriptures and the canons he neither reads nor understands. To live by them himself he has no mind, and others who do so live he *hates as his personal enemies*. His colleagues in compiling the Code are (or were) ordinary people, ignorant of the scriptures; the secretaries are notorious enemies of God, and barefaced robbers, who in broad daylight despoil God's people. The select representatives of the different orders and classes of the people, as is notorious to all, were chosen from the commonalty without any freedom, by overbearing dictation. And as for having written out (as it was commanded them to write out) from the canons and the Greek civil laws of the religious emperors and the old statute-books of the former tsars and grand princes of Russia, in asserting that he had done this, he, the prince Nikita, &c., simply lied. From the canons he wrote out nothing; and where in some places he professes to be writing as if from the canons, &c., even there also he lies, there being no such canons [as the text of his new legislation requires]: all is a new composition, foreign to orthodoxy.' And elsewhere, addressing Odoefsky, Nicon writes:

'Seest thou what the Church is, and how Christ betrothed her to Himself, and purified her? Then why hast thou defiled her by adultery, and hast perverted and dishonoured all her holy laws, and hast set at naught and injured Christ her Head?

as the Apostle says: "For the head of the woman is the man, and he is the saviour of the body." The Lord teaches and testifies: "As ye would that men should do unto you, so do ye unto them." Wouldst thou that thy servant should defile thy wife by adultery, even though thou hadst not suffered nor shed thy blood for her, as Christ did for the Church? What punishment wouldst thou not desire to inflict on such a lawless and evil servant? I trow that thou wouldst by no means suffer such a one to live. And as the old law commanded such to be stoned, so also by the civil law they are to be punished with death. But thou hast defiled with adultery the wife of the great King (*Tsar*), the wife of the Lamb. Thinkest thou that thou shalt go unpunished? Yea, thou hast to be tormented ten thousandfold for ever and ever,' &c. (p. 534). And again: 'Woe unto thee, who hast written a new law, by the counsel of Antichrist thy teacher (p. 487); who hast subverted the whole law and commandments of the gospel; who hast crucified Christ afresh! It would have been better for thee not to have been born. The Lord God testifies that it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for thee, who hast heard the word of God, and hast not kept it.' (Heb. vi. 4-8; x. 26-31: and 2 Pet. ii. 20-22).

Now Odoefsky may certainly seem to have received a *warning* after the compilation of the Code in the loss of his eldest son Michael, who was taken ill with a fever on Monday the 1st Nov. A.D. 1652, after he, with his brother Theodore, had the same day entertained the tsar at their house, and had accompanied him thence to Pokrofsk, and had there supped with him, and had been entertained with wine and spirits; and after nineteen days, on Friday the 19th Nov., he died, and was buried on the 21st. There is an autograph letter of the tsar, written on this last date, to communicate the death of his son to the prince Nikita, who was then voivode at Astrachan, and who had there with him the two youngest of his four sons, Alexis and Yakoff. In this letter, written in a tone of very friendly sympathy and of religious feeling, the tsar amongst other things bids the boyar not to grieve overmuch, but to trust in God and in His blessed Mother and all His saints; and he continues: 'Then, if God permit, we also will not abandon thee *nor thy children*. And, remembering thy petition, we did show our grace to them; and hereafter

we hope to show grace to thy grandson Youry, and to cause commemorations to be made for his father; and to the prince Theodore I have shown grace; I have tried to comfort him; and for the funeral and all the funeral ceremonies I have sent money, as much as God pleased; and for the time to come I will show grace, and will give what God may please [to suggest]; because *I know of a surety and have been informed of you* that except God in heaven, and on earth except me, you have no one; and I am glad to show grace to them and *to you*. Only do thou, prince Nikita, remember the mercy of God and our grace. As I showed grace to him while he lived, so I will gladly commemorate him now that he is dead. . . . Strive to add virtue to virtue; do not despair; only trust, and believe with all thy heart. And there is need to remember the hour of death every day and every hour. Seest thou that, as a thief, death steals from us our hopes and our life for our great and unrepented sins. It is needful for us to know God solidly, and *to do His commandments*. And in time past I showed grace to thee, and wrote to thee *how I, the tsar, and you, the boyars, ought to live*. And now do thou, our boyar, trust in God, and in His immaculate Mother, and in all His saints; and reckon upon us, the great hossoudar. If it please God, we will not abandon thee: we will be to thee and to thy children and grandchildren, after God, as parents, *if ye will abide in the commandments of the Lord;* and we will be to all who are helpless and distressed helpers in their need. For this God has also appointed us, that we may help the helpless. And if thou correspond to this our gracious letter, and with singleness of purpose serve us heartily, then our grace shall not fail you. We send this our letter Sunday, Nov. 21. I have ordered him to be buried, till thy return, at the Trinity, in his parish, at thy old dvor. Written at Moscow, 21 Nov.—P.S. Prince Nikita Ivanovich! grieve not overmuch; only trust in God, and reckon upon us.'

Thus the tsar Alexis wrote when he was still quite a young man, and affectionately attached to Nicon; only a few months after the translation of the relics of the metropolitan Philip to Moscow; and just after he had himself vowed publicly *to obey the laws of God and the Church*, and to allow Nicon (as the condition of his accepting the patriarchate) *to correct past abuses, and to govern the Church in all things according to the canons*. But the

boyar Odoefsky had no mind to follow the young tsar's pious exhortations, though they came to him joined with the announcement of a divine chastisement which might have touched and humbled even a worldly and proud heart. Two or three years later, in A.M. 7164, June 18 (A.D. 1676), he lost his second son Theodore, who, only a year before, in A.M. 7163, had been created a boyar, and who seemed to have a brilliant career opening before him. This was a second warning; but it wrought no change: and after two years more the tsar, who in A.D. 1652 had urged Odoefsky to adhere to him and to support him in following the divine laws, changed himself, and went over to the worldly maxims and the worldly pride of Odoefsky, who thenceforth appears on all occasions as the foremost and the most influential of all the boyars in their conflict with the patriarch. On the 15th Dec. A.D. 1665, just a year after the final expulsion of Nicon from Moscow, when the staff of St. Peter was all but literally wrested out of his hands by the tsar, Odoefsky lost also his third son Alexis. But notwithstanding his neglect of these successive warnings, and his contempt of the denunciations of Nicon, he lived on as the head of the nobility, and outlived the tsar Alexis, saw one grandson at least from each of his three deceased sons arrive at manhood, and after that outlived also the tsar Theodore, and more than one of his own grandchildren, not dying till the beginning of A.D. 1689. His youngest son Yakoff, who then (Feb. 15) succeeded him in the presidency of the Aptekarski prikaz, had been made a boyar in A.D. 1663; as his grandson Youry Michaelovich was, after the accession of the tsar Theodore, in 1676. Another grandson, Basil Theodorovich, with the rank of Kraichi s'poutiem, was with his grandfather in 1677; and two sons of Youry Michaelovich (who seems to have died before his grandfather) appear in A.D. 1682, in the joint reign of John and Peter, among the komnatnie and the stolniks of Peter.

Bogdan Matveyevich Khitroff, another of Nicon's chief enemies, who in A.D. 1658 'made the beginning of skirmishing,' by publicly striking the patriarch's strapchi, and who even before the death of his first wife was notorious for his immorality, lived on, like Odoefsky, to old age, retaining the favour of the tsar Alexis, whom he outlived. He joined in a fresh persecution of Nicon, and saw his nephews and relatives still holding high offices, without any signal misfortune, to the end of his own life,

which was continued to A.D. 1680. And though it is true that his end is related to have been unhappy—as he saw his only remaining child, a young daughter by his second marriage, die just before he died himself suffering great pains of body—still there is not enough in this to strike the world as a signal punishment. The secretary of the council, Almiaz Ivanoff, lived on in prosperity till he died in A.D. 1669; and the boyars Peter Mich. Soltikoff too, and Rodion Streshneff, and Youry Iv. Romodanofsky, lived to old age, and seem to have died natural deaths; though a son of Peter Soltikoff and relatives of Almiaz Ivanoff and Youry Romodanofsky were among those who were murdered by the streltsi in A.D. 1682.

Of the ecclesiastics too the same reflections will hold. Pitirim was disappointed, no doubt, of his expectation of being rewarded at once with the patriarchal chair when it was vacated by the final deposition and degradation of Nicon, and when at length he did obtain it, he held it only one year. Paisius of Gaza, besides being disappointed of a similar expectation, was disgraced, and kept under surveillance till his death. Methodius also was deposed and anathematised in Little Russia by order of the patriarch of Constantinople; and at Moscow too he was disgraced, and he died there in imprisonment. And Hilarion archbishop of Riazan, after having been rewarded with the title of metropolitan, is said to have been deprived of his see before death. But if there was in truth, as *we* may well think there was, some hint of divine punishment in the ends of these men, still there was nothing certainly in such punishment calculated to strike the public mind in a country and in an age in which not only felons but even innocent men under accusation, and witnesses, were every day put to the torture. And what is to be said of Paul, who, with the blessing of Ligarides, was made metropolitan of Kroutitz, and of Joachim, who after having been one of Nicon's monks in the Iversky and at Voskresensk, went off to lay patrons better able to promote him, and became first archimandrite of the Choudoff and eventually titular patriarch of Moscow, where he sat long, and was able to inflict fresh persecutions upon Nicon, even after the tsar Alexis had reconciled himself to him personally, and had from his death-bed sought once more his pardon and blessing? What is to be said of these men, and of so many more, both of the laity and of the clergy, who seem to have reaped in

this world only a reward for their base servility or their interested malice and envy? To all such we may apply what Nicon has written in the first instance of Odoefsky, as the lay originator, and secondly of Pitirim, as the first ecclesiastical vicar and instrument of the new state supremacy.

Addressing then the boyar prince Nikita Odoefsky (in his *Replies*, &c. p. 500), Nicon writes thus: 'If in the case of those who are excommunicated or deposed by men they who communicate with them are also excommunicated and deposed, what of those who by the law and commandments of God are rejected and cursed? how much more is he who communicates with them to be excommunicated or deposed? And on account of such lawlessness all episcopal or sacerdotal power and all Christianity is effaced in them, from the least to the greatest. And all these sins which now exist, *or shall exist*, all these scandals and lawless acts, shall be visited upon thee, thou lawless traitor! for *from thee all these things have originated*.' Then, after connecting with the Code compiled dishonestly by Odoefsky the tsar's assumption of ecclesiastical supremacy, and his delegation of power to Pitirim as his vicar—whereas the canons depose any bishop who gets possession of a church through secular rulers, or does any ecclesiastical act only by their orders—and after quoting the canons by which the same Pitirim had on a number of counts incurred deposition and excommunication, he continues thus:

'Seest thou how many synods of the holy apostles and of the holy fathers depose and deliver over to anathema that wretched metropolitan of Kroutitz?—which we also following, say: It is, and let it be as the canons of the holy apostles and of the holy fathers have decreed: whom they have anathematised we also anathematise, &c. . . . And let no man wonder at the long-suffering of God, that He has not already taken vengeance upon him for his wickedness. God *will take vengeance perfectly* for everything in the day of judgment; as also He says: "Vengeance is mine, I will repay;" and "The word which I have commanded, the same shall judge him in the day of judgment." Nor wonder that though he has been cursed by us, nothing has happened to him. For the Lord also *himself* cursed Bethsaida and Chorazin and Capernaum, and condemned them to hell; and yet fire did not come down upon them, as upon Sodom and Gomorrah. So also

He cursed those cities and houses that would not receive the apostles and the other teachers (their fellow-labourers and successors), and condemned them even above the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. Understand that *the word is unfailing*, and that it is *not in this world* that the retribution of vengeance falls speedily after the curse; but it is accomplished in an eternal and far worse punishment. For as the good things of the world to come incomparably exceed those of this present, so also the torments of the world to come are much more terrible than any temporal torments which may be suffered here, and they are eternal, &c. Therefore also the Lord, answering the Jews, said to them (John v. 21): "I honour my Father, and ye do dishonour me, &c.: and the paraphrase of the gloss: "Though I do not avenge myself, think not that ye will escape unpunished. . . . There is one that seeketh and judgeth." So to him *whose office it is* to punish transgressors of the divine doctrines He says, Punish and judge: "Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven." He says not merely, "Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound," but "in heaven." Hence understand that it is not in the present world that punishments fall upon such offenders as are bound (*i.e.* as are cursed), but in the world to come. . . . So if I rebuke a lawless transgressor by the commandment of God, and the other will not listen to me, he shall not be without punishment.' p. 509.

And elsewhere he quotes from St. Chrysostom as follows: 'If men escape when they swear, or when they swear and perjure themselves'—as the tsar and the boyars and the bishops all swore at the election of Nicon to obey the laws of God and of the Church, and afterwards trampled them under their feet—'let them not be confident; for this is *for their greater hurt*. For what think ye? How many have there not been since Ananias and Sapphira who have dared to do like them, but have not suffered like punishment? And how is it (one will say) that they did not suffer? It is not because their sin is forgiven them, but because they are kept *for something worse*. Therefore they who sin many times, or habitually, and are not punished, ought to fear and apprehend *all the more:* for their punishment is increased through their impunity, and through the long-suffering of God. Many sins are committed now like those before the Flood, but there is no repetition of the Flood; for they are threatened with hell and

torment. Many sin now like the men of Sodom, but there is now no fiery shower; for there is prepared for them the river of fire. Many have dared to do like Pharaoh, but have not suffered like Pharaoh, nor have been drowned in the Red Sea; for the depth of the abyss awaits them, where the punishment will not be joined with insensibility, nor can one be stifled and drowned; but, with increase of torment, they will be burning and drowning for ever. Many have sinned like the Israelites, but have not been bitten by serpents; for that worm that dieth not is expecting them. Many have dared to do like Gehazi, but have not become lepers; for instead of leprosy, it is reserved for them to be cut asunder, and to be placed with the hypocrites and apostates. Many have sworn (as every Christian swears at his baptism, and as the tsar swore also at his coronation, and again as the tsar and all the synclete swore at the elevation of Nicon to the patriarchate) and have perjured themselves; and if they have escaped punishment, let us not be confident about them; for there awaits them the gnashing of teeth. And *even here also, it may be, they will suffer*, and will not escape, *though it may not be at once, but after some other sins*, that the punishment may be the more severe,' &c. p. 532.

Indeed already in A.D. 1663 Nicon, in his *Replies*, writing of the solemn engagement made by Russian bishops at their consecration, and broken by them all, and of the multitude which had followed them to sin, could point to the cases of some individuals who had been visibly punished: 'The Lord looked down from heaven,' he writes, 'to see if there were any that would understand or seek after God. But they are all gone out of the way; there is none that doeth good—no, not even one. There were they in great fear where there was no fear [*i.e.* they feared to resist the tsar and the boyars when they should rather have feared God], for God shall scatter the bones of the men-pleasers (Ps. lii.). Into the houses of such men as these, who swear by the name of the Lord falsely, it is that that fiery sickle shall enter, and abide in the midst of their houses till it shall have consumed them. *Many* of them, indeed, *it has already consumed.* Some having inflamed themselves with wine have been consumed by it as if by fire; another has hanged himself; another has died miserably in some other way, as is notorious to all.' Vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 152.

And Michaelofsky, having before him the *Remarks* of the metropolitan Platon *on the History of the Russian Church*, and the *Life of Nicon* by the archimandrite Apollos of Voskresensk, writes thus: "'Whether Nicon was condemned justly or unjustly, God will judge,' writes the metropolitan Platon. All the same, one's heart fears and trembles when one reads the concluding words of the synodal manifesto concerning the complete degradation of Nicon. Here the judges of Nicon call to witness the impartial judgment of God for the justice of their sentence against him. 'All these things,' they say, 'we have done *canonically*, without *any respect of persons*, and without *any passionate* judgment, *fearing God*, who cannot be deceived (for God has an eye to avenge and punish); and trembling at the thought of that future judgment-seat which will repay punishment where it is due, and considering also in our minds and in our thoughts the judgments of God in this world, and in the world to come the torment of everlasting fire, we have pronounced and passed a righteous judgment'" (see vol. iii. p. 448).

'We do not think it superfluous,' he subjoins, 'to mention what befell the chief of Nicon's judges.' [And then he borrows from the archimandrite Apollos, who, in a note at p. 78, inserts the same particulars, giving as his authority a contemporary MS. of one Potemkin, preserved in the library of M. Pogodin. He writes that]

'Both the Eastern patriarchs, Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch [this statement, however, seems to be inaccurate], were hanged by the sultan, for having gone without his permission to Russia.' Michaelofsky adds: 'The rich alms which they had carried away with them out of Russia were taken from them by the Turks, and even their dead bodies after their execution were subjected to insult. Of the patriarch of Alexandria Paisius, at any rate this is said by one of his successors, Parthenius, in his letter to the tsar Theodore Alexievich for restoring to Nicon the patriarchal dignity.' And then he proceeds to speak of the unhappy ends of Paisius Ligarides, Joseph archbishop or metropolitan of Astrachan, Hilarion archbishop or metropolitan of Riazan, and Methodius bishop of Mstislaff, quoting also part of that passage in Nicon's *Replies* given by us above, in which already, in A.D. 1663, he wrote of some of his enemies that in them there had begun to be fulfilled

those words of the Scripture, 'God shall scatter the bones of the men-pleasers.'

Some, however, of those who had taken a prominent part against Nicon repented afterwards, whether with or without any sensible chastisements moving them, and before they died obtained, or at least asked and desired to obtain, his pardon and absolution. Such were the boyars Boris Iv. Morozoff and Simeon Lucian. Streshneff, the one the former preceptor and brother-in-law of the tsar, the other his maternal uncle, who died respectively in A.D. 1661 and A.D. 1666 (see above, p. 316 and p. 660). Such was the tsar himself, who, after losing his two elder sons and his wife, and seeing all his ambitious hopes disappointed, obtained Nicon's personal forgiveness, but was too weak to attempt to undo the public wrong that had been committed, or to obtain a *written* absolution which he had asked for in A.D. 1676 from his deathbed, and desired in his will, but which was refused after the tsar's death by Nicon. In his will Alexis mixed expressions of regret and repentance for the deposition of Nicon, and for the wrong done on account of him to the Church, with expressions of distress and alarm for his own soul, which was on the point of being called to its account. Such again was Sergius, the ex-archimandrite of the Spassky monastery at Yaroslaff, who had sought in Dec. A.D. 1666, by an excess of unmannerly and brutal zeal, to recommend himself to his masters, but after being disappointed of his hopes (as Nicon had foretold to him that he would be), and after having lived many years degraded like Nicon himself to the state of a simple monk, came forth from the Tolgsky monastery at Yaroslaff to cast himself at Nicon's feet, just as Nicon was dying (Aug. A.D. 1681), and obtained his forgiveness.

But besides those—the far greater number—who seem to have suffered no punishment, or no very striking punishment, in this world, and those few but eminent persons who asked Nicon's pardon before they died, there were *some*—and those *not by any means the most guilty*—upon whom punishment did fall in a most striking way even in this world, some upon whom it fell even to the third and fourth generation. The names of six[7] of

[7] Six is the number in the original play; but two other names ought to have been added, viz. those of the boyar Gregory Sounch. Cherkassky, a coarse savage, present in the council of Dec. 1666 against Nicon, who was

these we have given above to those six Chaldees, servants of the king of Babylon, in the play of Simeon of Polotsk, who fall scorched and slain by the flame of the furnace into which they have cast the three Hebrews; they are—1. the boyar Ivan Sim. Prozorofsky, murdered by the rebel Kozak Stenka Razin, with his two younger sons, aged sixteen and eight, at Astrachan, where he was then voivode, in A.D. 1670; 2. Joseph metropolitan of Astrachan, murdered there by the Kozak rebels under Vasko Ousa, in A.D. 1671; 3. the boyar Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, murdered by the mutinous streltsi, after they had first murdered his son Michael, in A.D. 1682; 4. Peter Mich. Soltikoff, whose son the same streltsi murdered *by mistake*, and sent the body with an apology to the father, who was in his house sick; 5. the Jew doctor Daniel von Haden, whom the streltsi murdered, after having already murdered his son, the stolnik Michael Danilovich; and lastly, 6. (though he and the prince Michael Youry Dolgorouky were the first in order of time of all those—above seventy in number—who were murdered in A.D. 1682 by the streltsi), the boyar Artemon Serg. Matveyeff. Of each of these we will mention such details as make to our purpose.

i. The boyar Ivan Sim. Prozorofsky has come before us in the course of Nicon's conflict with the secular power only once, viz. in vol. iii. p. 169, where he is named by Paisius Ligarides as present in that council of Dec. A.D. 1666 by which Nicon was definitively deposed and imprisoned. He may have been present also at Nicon's degradation, though he is not mentioned in the procès-verbal of the synodal archives (vol. iii. p. 443) in connection with that act; since it is said that others also were present besides those named. But all the boyars (except Ziuzin) were confederate together against the patriarch; and, as has been said above, it is by no means always on the *most guilty* that the visible punishment in this world, when there is any such punishment, falls. It is to be observed, however, that the father of Ivan Sim. Prozorofsky, the boyar Simeon Bas., who died in A.M. 7168 (A.D. 1659-1660), had been the colleague of the prince Nikita Odoefsky in the dishonest compilation of the Code of A.D. 1648-1649, by which the principle of state supremacy

afterwards, 12th Oct. 1672, murdered by his own Tatars; and Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, also present in the council of Dec. 1666, who, with his eldest son, was beheaded without form of trial by the tsarevna Sophia, 17th Sept. 1682, as will be related at length in ch. ii.

in ecclesiastical matters was surreptitiously introduced. His brother Peter Sim. is named (vol. iii. p. 443) as having been present with others on the 12th Dec. 1666 at the act itself of Nicon's degradation; and his eldest son, 'the boyar Peter Iv. Prozorofsky,' is mentioned later by Matveyeff, in his petition to the tsar Theodore, as having been in attendance upon the Eastern patriarchs in A.D. 1667, when he was only a stolnik, and as having, upon information from Matveyeff, prevented the patriarchs and the synod from subscribing certain clauses derogatory to the tsar's supremacy.

ii. Of Joseph archbishop of Astrachan there is no reason to think that he was, like Pitirim, a rancorous personal enemy of Nicon, nor that like Pitirim, Hilarion, Paul, and Joachim, on whom no striking punishment fell in this world, he had hopes of obtaining for himself the patriarchal chair. But this is to be observed of him, that he was the *first* of all the Russian bishops who (in A.D. 1663) was brought, as the representative of them all, face to face with the primate to whom they had all vowed canonical obedience; and especially they had promised that no persuasion or violence of any multitude of the people, nor of princes and boyars, nor even of the tsar himself, should induce them to do anything contrary to their canonical duty, nor to desire to have any other patriarch, so long as Nicon should live; not even though they should be threatened with death. Yet, after this oath, the archbishop Joseph allowed himself to be sent, in the name of all the synod of the Russian clergy, as the subordinate colleague of an unaccredited vagabond Greek, by the tsar and the council, to reprimand the patriarch, to make inquest and to sit in judgment upon him, and after that to say to him from the synod, 'From this time thou art no more to celebrate; *we forbid thee* too to wear the episcopal mandya and klobouk' (see above, p. 479, 480). He joined also with the tsar's lay commissioners, the prince Nikita Odoefsky, the stolnik Rodion Streshneff, and the secretary Almiaz Ivanoff, in taking forcibly and examining, in the name of the tsar and the council, Nicon's vicar-archimandrite and other clerks. But Nicon said to him, 'Dost thou remember, wretched man, thy vow? Thou didst vow at thy ordination not to obey even the tsar; but now thou speakest to us in his name. They may have given thee something, poor wretch; say, what have they given thee?'

(p. 473.) Farther on it is written that, after Nicon had cut short the loquacity of Paisius Ligarides, the archbishop of Astrachan said nothing, except this only: 'Thou wert our father;' and stood with his eyes cast down (p. 477; and vol. iii. p. 77, 80, and 402, 439; and *Replies*, &c. p. 477, 487). Nicon, preaching in the church at Voskresensk on Sunday the 19th July, while the commissioners were present, and enlarging on the way in which what was done against Christ the Head is repeated, and as it were wrought out in His body the Church, paralleled Paisius Ligarides, the chief ecclesiastical commissioner, and *Joseph*, the archbishop of Astrachan, his junior colleague, with the high priests Annas and *Joseph*, surnamed Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Annas. He compared too Odoefsky, who represented the empire of the tsar, and *Herodion* or Rodion Streshneff, his junior colleague, with Pontius Pilate, who represented the Roman emperor and the vassal king *Herod*; and this was afterwards made one of the charges on which Nicon was condemned (*Replies*, p. 477, 487). Again, after Nicon had returned to Moscow, on the 18th Dec. A.D. 1664, with an offer of peace and absolution, when it was made a crime against the metropolitan Jonah of Rostoff and all the clergy of the cathedral that they had received him and had taken his blessing, in contravention of the decree of the synod held under the tsar in A.D. 1660, and without the tsar's permission, letters were sent from the tsar, and from the bishops acting at Moscow under him, to all the absent Russian bishops, and among these to Joseph archbishop of Astrachan, as if for consultation; and there has been preserved a letter written by the archbishop Joseph in reply, acknowledging the receipt of the tsar's letter, (countersigned by the secretary of the council, Almiaz Ivanoff) which had reached him on the 17th of May A.D. 1665, and adhering to the judgment of the bishops acting under the tsar at Moscow, that the metropolitan Jonah should no more be *guardian* of the patriarchal see, but should be remanded to his own diocese of Rostoff, and that the metropolitan of Kroutitz Paul should be appointed guardian in his stead (see above, p. 575). In A.D. 1666, when the two Eastern patriarchs were on their way to Astrachan, a letter, dated the 11th of March, was sent from the synod at Moscow to the archbishop Joseph, instructing him how he was to receive the two patriarchs; how he was

to answer any questions they might ask; what he was to say, and what he was not to say, nor to tell them. He was to lie, and to mislead them, so as to make them suppose that he had no personal knowledge of Nicon's case; and especially he was not to let them know that he had been personally sent to the patriarch Nicon as commissioner, together with the tsar's boyar, the prince Nikita Odoefsky; and he was to bid the clergy and the laity who were with him to be equally cautious and reserved; to the end that the Eastern patriarchs might know nothing about those matters till they should be come to Moscow; and once there, they would be too closely kept and watched to allow of their hearing anything beyond what it was intended they should hear. Such were the instructions sent as by a synod of bishops, successors of the Apostles of Christ, to a brother and colleague! The letter itself has been printed in vol. iii. p. 402; and in the same volume, p. 112, in the history of Paisius Ligarides, it has been related how, on their arrival at Astrachan, the two Eastern patriarchs were received by the archbishop Joseph and by the voivode, the boyar prince James, son of the prince Nikita Odoefsky; and no doubt the instructions previously sent were obeyed. Lastly, the name of Joseph archbishop of Astrachan appears in the heading to the acts of the synod of Dec. A.D. 1666, and among the subscriptions to the same, showing that he was present at all the sessions held against Nicon, and that he took part personally in the act itself of his degradation, when he was stripped of his patriarchal attire. After all was over, when Nicon had been also banished and confined under guard as a prisoner of state, those who had served the court against him were rewarded in different ways by largesses, honours, and promotions. The archbishop Joseph of Astrachan was promoted to have the title of metropolitan. Possibly, as Nicon had before suggested, he may have received other marks of the tsar's favour. But however that was, he, like Paisius Ligarides, lost his gains or savings, as will be related below, and he complained in a letter to the tsar, dated 7th Aug. in 1669, that he had been plundered of all.

The dangerous rebellion of Stenka Razin, with all its circumstances, was no doubt one of those public punishments with which the sin of Alexis against the Church, and that of the boyars, was visited and rebuked: and the Kozak rebels them-

selves put forward the names of the patriarch Nicon and of the tsarevich Alexis (who died in Jan. A.D. 1670); and while one division of them seized cities and overran the territory between the Oka and the Volga, murdering the voivodes and landlords, they gave out that Razin was coming up after them with Nechai, the tsarevich Alexis Alexievich, and the patriarch Nicon. They professed to have risen not against the tsar himself, but against *the boyars*, especially Youry Alex. Dolgorouky and Bogdan Matv. Khitroff; and it was against the boyars that Razin, in A.D. 1670, was purposing to go up the Volga from Tsaritsin and to march upon Moscow, when he was induced to change his plan and go southward. And when, in A.D. 1671, he was to be examined with torture at Moscow, before being quartered, the tsar wrote down with his own hand ten heads on which he was to be questioned, and among them these: 1. Respecting the prince Ivan Prozorofsky and the secretaries, why did he kill them? 5. Why did he extol Nicon, and dishonour the present patriarch? 7. Why did he wish to kill the two œcumenical patriarchs, because they had *justly* deposed Nicon? and what message did he send to him? and did the monk Sergius in this last winter come to him from Nicon? (*Zapiski, &c. Russ. i Slav. Archeol.* vol. ii. p. 785.) But the public calamities and punishments of the reign of Alexis are not the subject of this present chapter; and the account which we shall now give of the rebellion of Razin is intended only to introduce and to illustrate the personal sufferings and punishments of the boyar Ivan Prozorofsky and the metropolitan Joseph.

Already in A.D. 1666 there were piracies committed on the Volga by a band of 500 Don Kozaks under a leader named Vaska Ousa, and in the governments of Voronege and Toula. In A.D. 1667 the tsar wrote to the prince Yakoff Nik. Odoefsky, then still voivode at Astrachan, to warn him of danger there, and about Cherni Yâr, because a great band of freebooters was collecting on the Don under Stenka Razin, to go as pirates on the Volga, and to seize Tsaritsin. The cause of these piratical enterprises was the increasing multitude of the runaways on the Don, and the lack of means to feed them there. The Kozaks would not let their adventurers go *down* the Don, being then at peace with Azoff; so Razin went *up* to the point where the Don is nearest to the Volga, got ammunition from Voronege,

and made a 'New Riga' between Tishina and the Ploula, with water all round it, near Panshin. Thence, being now 1000 strong, they fell upon a rich convoy of barges, one of them full of exiled prisoners, whom they let loose; they overawed the voivode of Tsaritsin; sailed with 35 barges and 1500 men down the Volga, and by sea to the mouth of the Yaika, where Razin obtained possession of the fort, and wintered there. Thence in the autumn he plundered the Tatars near the mouths of the Volga. In Nov. some who came from the Don brought him a tsar's letter, to which he said, 'When he writes again, I will obey,' &c. Ivan Sim. Prozorofsky, when on his way to succeed Yakoff Odoefsky as voivode of Astrachan, sent two messengers to Razin, who killed one of them.

In the spring of A.D. 1668 Razin put to sea: another Kozak named Krivoi with 700 men defeated the tsar's troops sent against them from Astrachan below Krasni Yâr on the Karabouzana, and went after Razin, who ravaged the coast of the Caspian from Derbent to Bakou, but lost 400 men at Reshta. He then treacherously seized and sacked Pharabout, and wintered on an island.

In the spring of A.D. 1669 he went to the east side of the sea, and threatened the encampment of the Turcomans; but he lost his comrade Krivoi. He made the island of Svini his headquarters. In July he was attacked by a Persian fleet, having on board 4000 men. He defeated it, and took among other prisoners a son and daughter of its commander, Menedi Khan. He had now with him only 500 men. Early in August there came flying into Astrachan the sinboyar of the metropolitan Joseph, from his fish-preserve, announcing that it had been emptied by the Kozak pirates, and that the ship of a Persian merchant coming with presents for the tsar had been plundered. The second voivode, Simeon Iv. Lvoff, with 36 barges and 4000 men, went to look after the pirates; but they put to sea; and he, being soon tired of pursuing them, made terms with them, sending to them first *a gracious letter of the tsar*. They obtained an amnesty, and a free passage to return to the Don, only they were to give up the cannon they had taken, &c.

So Razin entered Astrachan, and he turned the heads of all the people there: he by no means performed his own promises. On the 4th Sept. he left Astrachan; and on the 1st Oct. he

came to Tsaritsin, and broke through the order given that they were not to receive the Kozaks nor to sell them wine. Having come again to the Don, he fortified a position. In Nov. he had 2700 men. At Cherkask (the chief place of the Kozaks, from which they are often called Cherkasses), the ataman *dared not* give pacific assurances to the envoys from Azoff.

In the spring of A.D. 1670, on the Sunday of St. Thomas, a jiletz came from the tsar to Cherkask; but the next day Razin came thither, and overbore the Ataman, and nearly killed the tsar's messenger. Then he went up the Don to Panshin, where he joined Ousa. In all they had now 7000 men. Then in two days he advanced near to Tsaritsin, where some were in league with him. Leaving Ousa to besiege Tsaritsin, he went on 30 versts, threatened the Elisansk Tatars, and returned with the booty he had taken. On the 13th Apr. some came out to Ousa, and admitted him into the town, the tsar's voivode and officers retiring into the tower or fort. Presently Razin joined, and while he was himself drunk, he assaulted and took the tower, and the voivode was murdered. Razin then announced his intention of going *up* the Volga, and to Moscow, *against the boyars*. But news came that Prozorofsky, the voivode of Astrachan, was sending men to Cherni Yâr; and again that a force was coming from Moscow to Tsaritsin. With 5000 men he attacked a body of 1000 streltsi who were posted in an island seven versts off, slew 500 of them, and forced 300 whom he had taken prisoners to serve as rowers. But the streltsi at Astrachan were ready to join him. The prince Lvoff led out 2600 of them and 600 freemen to Cherni Yâr; on the sight of Razin and his partisans they all fraternised, and went over to him; and they persuaded him to change his plans, and to go southwards.

At Astrachan, on the 25th May, when the prince Lvoff had left that city, insubordination immediately began; and on the 4th of June there came the news of the defection of the streltsi. The voivode Prozorofsky did all he could. The foreigners Butler (captain of the Orel) and Boyle were constantly with him. On the 13th of June an aurora borealis alarmed all; and sand and ashes fell from the sky. The metropolitan Joseph wept, and as he was returning from matins observed to some who were near him, 'The vial of God's wrath is poured out upon us

from heaven!' He was a native of the place, and knew them well; and he had seen, during eight years, how the Kozaks of Zaroutsky had ill-treated the archbishop Theodosius for rebuking them and calling them brigands; he had already too had his own head broken there. Prozorofsky perceived how great was the danger. He bade Butler dine with him every day. They silenced the first pretext of the streltsi, who clamoured for the arrears of their pay, by making the metropolitan find personally[8] 600 roubles, and take 2000 more from the Troitsa monastery. When the voivode spoke of it he assented, and said, 'The money *must* be given!' The sentinels saw in the early morning from the gates of the city three differently coloured columns (of sand, in the distance?), and over them (as they thought) three *crowns*. The metropolitan too himself saw them, and said, 'They bode no good! Nor does this bode good, that now during the fast of St. Peter,[9] instead of the usual insufferable heat, all are wearing their winter dresses, and there are cold rains with hail.'

On the 23d of June the Kozaks came in sight. The voivode assembled all the chief men, to be exhorted to fidelity by the metropolitan and himself. In the evening he went out to the Vosnesensky gates. The night passed. At three o'clock A.M. there was an assault; and guns were fired from the walls; but the Kozaks set ladders to the walls, and entered, and *met with no resistance*. Prozorofsky was mortally wounded; but he lived to be communicated by the metropolitan, *with whom he had been on very good terms*. The rebels forced the doors of the cathedral, and butchered on the spot or in front of the church, or bound and threw down from the parapet, both the voivode and the rest who had taken refuge there. Blood ran in a stream past the church to the government office. All the slain were buried together afterwards in one common grave or pit at the Troitsa monastery: they were counted to the number of 441 by the monk as they were thrown in. Then commenced the plundering. Razin reorganised Astrachan, so as to make of it a Kozak town. He ordered the priests to celebrate marriages of the widows of the slain on the bidding of the ataman,

[8] He may have remembered then, and still more afterwards, Nicon's words to him in July A.D. 1663. See above, p. 473, 477, and vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 595.

[9] From the Monday after the octave of Pentecost till the 29th June.

or the presentation of a written order under his seal, without any blessing from the metropolitan. The metropolitan was silent. On the names-day of the tsarevich Theodore Alex. (really the 8th June, but probably now transferred on account of the fast to the 30th, which had been in A.D. 1661 the day of his baptism) he *had the weakness* to invite to dinner, or at least to receive and entertain, Stenka Razin and about a hundred others of his Kozaks. Razin murdered two sons of the voivode Prozorofsky, aged sixteen and eight years, hanging them by their heels from the city walls; and the under-secretary of the prikaz he impaled on a hook passed through his ribs.

At the end of July he prepared to go up the Volga. The people of Astrachan, who had joined him, were afraid to be left alone, and bade him first kill all who were of the opposite party. He replied, 'I will leave with you Vaska Ousa, and when I am gone you can do what you please.'

So he set out with 200 vessels; and there followed 2000 horsemen along the bank of the Volga. They occupied Saratoff and Samara and other places, killing the voivodes, &c. At Simbirsk Razin was encountered by Youry Nik. Bariatinsky, who had come thither from Kazan on the 31st August. Razin, who came up on the 4th of Sept., defeated him, and began to besiege the town, Bariatinsky withdrawing to a little distance. Razin got possession of the fort and of the town, and besieged Ivan Bogdan. Miloslafsky in what was called the Little Town (*gorodok*) till the 1st of October, Bariatinsky, owing to his weakness in foot soldiers, still remaining at a distance of seven versts. At length, Oct. 1, by a stratagem he created a panic among the rebels, and Razin fled with only the Don Kozaks; and thenceforth all was over with him.

Bariatinsky fought four battles with him near the mouth of the Kazan river, and defeated him completely, and he fled into the fort of Simbirsk. On the 3d Oct. Miloslafsky was set free; but Razin still held the town. Then Bariatinsky made him fly by sending men to shout, as if a fresh force was coming up from Moscow. Bariatinsky took alive some 500 or 600 rebels, and slew them all, besides all those who were killed fighting or who were drowned.

But meanwhile the insurrection had spread all up the country between the Oka and the Volga, and everywhere they

murdered the voivodes and the landed proprietors, giving out that Stenka Razin was at hand with Nechai, the tsarevich Alexis Alexievich, *and the patriarch Nicon.* One detachment had gone off in this direction from Razin in September.

Youry Alex. Dolgorouky was with his force at Arzamas, having the insurrection on three sides of him—on the south, the east, and the north—and he remained on the defensive. On the 28th and 30th Sept., Leontieff and Scherbatoff defeated the rebels; and again on the 13th Oct. Then Dolgorouky began to act on the offensive; and on the 22d Oct. he took 22 guns and 18 standards, &c. At the end of Oct. Bariatinsky moved, and met and defeated 8000 insurgents on the Ourena; and on the 5th Nov., at Tagaeff, he learned that there were 15,000 on the Barisha at Kandirata. On the 12th of Nov. he routed them also; and again on the 8th Dec.

At Astrachan, on the 3d of Aug., they began to murder all those who were on the side of the tsar. Some sought an asylum in the palace of the metropolitan, but the rebels threatened him in common with the rest. He saw in a dream the three murdered Prozorofskys expecting him: they were sitting and drinking drinks *sweeter than mead in a fine room, with crowns of gold and jewels,*[10] he himself being seated at a distance, without anything to drink: and they said, '*He* has not yet come to us.' 'So,' he observed, *weeping* as he told this, 'the hour of my death has not yet come.' Sinister reports came about Razin. On the 2d Nov. there came a Tatar bringing a letter from the tsar to the metropolitan, exhorting the rebels and all the inhabitants of the city to confess their fault.

Meanwhile Razin had not been received at Samara, nor at Saratoff. In Sept. a letter from the tsar had been ill received by the Don Kozaks at Cherkask; but after they had had news of Razin's defeats all changed. In Feb. A.D. 1671, Razin would have come to Cherkask, but he was not received, and he went off threatening that he would be revenged, and fixed himself at Kazalnitsk. At Moscow he was anathematised on the Sunday of Orthodoxy. They sent a well-selected agent, who on

[10] *i.e.* as if they had been *martyrs;* and as if the metropolitan Joseph was soon to be joined with them in *martyrdom;* but this *martyrology* comes to us from the servants of the *tsar;* or perhaps some malicious spirit really mocked the wretched man by thus hinting to him that he was to be *martyred for the tsar.* Moreover martyrs do not '*weep*' at the prospect of martyrdom.

the 14th of April came, and without difficulty took him. On the 6th of June he was quartered at Moscow.

In April A.D. 1671 there came a report to Astrachan that Razin had been taken by the Don Kozaks at Kazalnitsk. The rebels then determined that one division of them (one *shaika*) should go up the Volga under the ataman Theodore Sheludiak to Simbirsk, while Ousa remained at Astrachan. Sheludiak after setting forth, feeling doubtful as to his success, and wishing to make sure of having Astrachan to fall back upon, held a '*ring*,' and determined that it would be better to kill the metropolitan Joseph and the remaining voivode the prince Simeon Lvoff; and in order to supply a motive for doing so, they sent back a messenger to tell Ousa that they, the metropolitan and the voivode, were in correspondence with the Don, and it was through them that Razin had been taken and given up. Having done this, Sheludiak went on, and came in June to Simbirsk, where, having been repulsed, he retired to Samara, and began to treat with Peter Bas. Sheremetieff; and Sheremetieff was reprimanded for having treated with the rebels, and for having sent on to Moscow that letter or petition in which they denounced some of the boyars as traitors, especially Youry Alex. Dolgorouky and Bogdan Matv. Khitroff. But before long they were all dispersed, and the insurrection entirely put down.

On the 27th of November A.D. 1671 the tsar's voivode of Simbirsk, the okolnik Ivan Bogd. Miloslafsky, who had been encamped within sight of Astrachan from the 1st of September, entered that city with his force in the name of the tsar.

What had taken place there in the mean time may be related from the report of the inquest held in July of the following year by the prince Yakoff Nik. Odoefsky, who had been sent as commissioner from Moscow.

(*From the Acta Arch. Exped.* vol. iv. No. 226, *July and Aug.* A.D. 1672): *Inquest respecting the murder of the metropolitan Joseph of Astrachan by the Kozak rebels, partisans of Stenka Razin, who had taken Astrachan in* A.D. 1670; p. 482.

From an inquest made 11th July, A.D. 1672, it appeared that on the 2d Nov. A.D. 1670 there was brought to the metropolitan Joseph by some Tatars a letter from the Kazanski dvor, from the tsar, dated 26th Sept. [exhorting the rebels and

all the people of Astrachan to return to their obedience]. And the next day the metropolitan called the sin-boyar Zolotareff into his cell, and read that letter, *and wept much*. And he bade him write out three copies of it. And on the same day, Sat. 3d Nov., at the first hour, he bade them sound the bells: and some came to the church: but the rebels went to Vaska Ousa (their captain) to his dvor. And the metropolitan bade the kliuchar Theodore vest himself, and go out and read the tsar's letter to them. And he did so; and having read it, he brought it back, and returned it to the metropolitan. And they snatched it out of his hands. And he, the metropolitan, called them heretics and traitors; and they called him 'black fellow,' saying, 'Thou blackfellow (*chernetz*), knowest thou thy cell? thou hadst better keep within it: what hast thou to do with us? Knowest thou the parapet? thou shalt be thrown down from it!' And some cried, 'Throw him into the water!' others, 'Imprison him!'

And the next day they bound and tortured Theodore, and beat him with cudgels, asking, 'Who wrote that letter? and are there *copies* of it?' And they sent and took those three copies which had been made of it.

In April of A.D. 1671 there came a report to Astrachan that Razin had been taken by the Kozaks of the Don at Kazalnitsk. The rebels then determined that one division of them (one *shaika*) should go up the Volga under Sheludiak to Simbirsk, Ousa remaining at Astrachan, &c. (as has been related above on the preceding page).

And on the 21st of April the metropolitan Joseph was told of the arrival of another letter from the tsar. And (fearing to be endangered by it) he sent to ask the chiefs of the rebels to come to him; and they would not; but they sent word that he might come to them; he would find them at the bazaar. He went. They then said that they could do nothing without Vaska Ousa. Ousa came to the church, and there railed at the metropolitan; and the metropolitan shook his staff at them, and said, 'Thou wretched enemy, heretic, and apostate! why do ye not submit to the hossoudar?' And turning himself sharply, he would have poked them with his staff. And they all went off from the church, and began to abuse him, and his mother. And in the church he had had a great altercation with them; and he

reproached that ataman Ousa, and called him repeatedly a thief and a traitor.

And the next day, which was the Great Sabbath, they sent and bade him give up those letters: 'Else,' they said, 'we will kill all thy people, and will not spare thyself.' He said, 'The letters are still with the Tatars, on the other side of the Volga; send for them yourselves.' And one of them went and brought them, at the sixth hour of that same day, to the cathedral. And Ousa and the rest were there. And the metropolitan would have read them; but they went out. So he too (with all his priests) went out, and caused those letters of the tsar to be read to them, and also the separate letter *addressed to himself*. But they said that there was no *red seal*, and cried out that he with the vlasts and popes had concocted it; and they began to abuse him: 'The parapet is impatient to have thee!' 'If it were not for the *day*, we would have seized thee!' 'They have caused the Terek and the Don to separate from us!' He said aloud, 'The hossoudar bids you all own your fault, and arrest and imprison the brigands from the Don.' They replied, 'We are all brigands! It is well for thee that this is the Holy Week!'

On the Sunday of St. Thomas (30th April) they questioned, tortured, and murdered the kliuchar outside the city, after he had celebrated the liturgy in the cathedral; and they took and tortured the sin-boyars, &c.; and they seized and began to torture the people of the metropolitan. But soon they said, 'What good is there in torturing *them?*' and desisted. Shehudiak, having misgivings, had sent back to them a messenger to say to Ousa, that the metropolitan Joseph and the voivode the prince Simeon Lvoff were in correspondence with the Don, and had caused Razin to be taken, and they had better kill them.

And on Thursday, the 11th May, when the metropolitan was making the offertory (the προσκομιδή), they called him out. He put on all his pontifical robes, and caused the bells to be rung (while they were waiting outside in the place impatiently), and he went out to their *ring*. A Kozak named Myron saying that they were orthodox Christians, and could not lay hands on such a sacred character ('*san*;' the word *san* meaning here the *robes* quite as much as the *rank* or order itself to which they belonged), they turned upon him, and murdered *him* on the spot first, and then bade the priests who stood round the metro-

politan *unrobe* him. '*Degrade* him,' they cried; '*he made no difficulty of degrading even his patriarch Nicon.*' He gave up to the krestovoi pope Ephrem the cross, and put off his mitre and panagia, and gave them to the pope Joseph, who began to unrobe him, but was clumsy at it, and did not know how. And he said to the protodeacon: 'Why dost thou stand, and not unrobe me? my hour has now come.' And the protodeacon took off the omophorion and the sakkos, and all the robes, and gave them to the priests; and he remained in only a riaska, without a klobouk; and he took a klobouk from the priest Joseph Oselka.

Then the Kozaks drove us all out from the ring, saying, '*You* are not concerned here;' but him they took to the Zeleyni dvor, to torture him. And Larko, the city executioner (the *palash*), took from him his two riaskas, and bound together his hands and his feet, and putting a stake through, turned him to the fire, with only a black cloth wrap over him: and it was burned through: and he, the hangman, tore off that cloth into rags, and *roasted him on the fire naked, putting his foot on him*, and tortured him, saying, 'Speak out, thou metropolitan; tell thy roguery, thy correspondence.' But he only prayed, *and cursed Larko*. And a soldier, one Vetchino, assisted Larko.

And after having so tortured him, they took him to the parapet of the citadel: and he passed the body of Myron (whom they had murdered before): and as he passed the cathedral he crossed himself. And when they had led him up to the parapet they set him on its edge, towards the east, over against the cathedral, and were going to throw him down. But he *was terrified*, and *caught hold of a Kozak*, and there was a scuffle; *and then he caught hold of the parapet*. And they took him and laid him lengthways on his side on the parapet, and threw him down by its slope. And he fell to the east, before the parapet doors of the cathedral, on his right cheek, and broke in that cheek so as to bring blood; and from his nose blood came out to the length of a finger and a half. And there was a great revulsion of feeling, and fear. And they, the bandits in the ring, were all horror-struck, and they were silent a long time: for twenty minutes or so they stood hanging down their heads, and no one spoke.

When the metropolitan fell two priests ran out from the church, Cyril of the cathedral and Cosmas of the church of the Nativity;

and Cyril fell on his breast and Cosmas at his feet; and they began with tears to ask his pardon (*i.e.* to take leave of him): he was still writhing. And the bandits saw that from their ring: and they sent the esaoul of Astrachan, Athonka, with a cudgel; and he beat them off, and drove them back into the church. And he lay so an hour. And then they bade them take away the body. Before that all the priests had collected in the sanctuary, and lamented and wept much. And the bandits heard in their ring the sound of their lamentations, and they sent fifteen men with swords, and said, 'Why are ye popes making all this *noise* in the church?' And they beat them, and drove them all out of the church. And at that time the church-doors were shut, and there was no noise.

And the protopope with the priests took up the body and carried it in a carpet into the church, in only his light riaska (his under cassock) in which he had been thrown down. And they all examined his wounds. His back and his belly *were black, and had great raw places from the fire*, and his beard and hair was burned or singed. And in that same riaska they dressed him, without any wrap, saying the verses of the vesting according to the custom for bishops. And they laid him in a coffin; and it stood in the church twenty-four hours.

And after having murdered the metropolitan they murdered also, on that same day, the voivode the prince Simeon Lvoff.

And the next day at the sixth hour they sounded the bells; and all assembled together; and they buried the metropolitan, &c., p. 489.

iii. After the death of the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, who in July A.D. 1658 was sent by the tsar and the boyars to Nicon to the cathedral, and to Voskresensk, it is the prince *Youry Alex. Dolgorouky* who seems to succeed to his place, both as commander in the field, and at Moscow as the spokesman of the tsar and the boyars. Thus on the 18th December A.D. 1664 he was sent three times with the prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky (the second time also with Paisius Ligarides) to expel Nicon from Moscow. On the same occasion his brother Dmitri Alex. Dolgorouky was sent with the polkovnik of the streltsi Artemon Serg. Matveyeff to escort Nicon out of the city. And then it was that Nicon for the second time, both outside of the cathedral and in passing through each of the city gates, shook off the dust from his feet

against those who had not received him (vol. iii. p. 88; iv. p. 520, 523, 511, 512). After that, in the council of December A.D. 1666, when the tsar reproached the boyars for their silence, and called on them for support, it was Youry Dolgorouky who stepped forth and showed most zeal to say something, though what he said was little to the purpose, and Nicon observed to the tsar that they would do the work for him more speedily and effectually with stones (Shush. p. 114; and above, p. 690). And when Nicon had been condemned, the boyar Youry Dolgorouky and the stolnik Peter Sim. Prozorofsky, and others, were sent with the prince Nikita Odoefsky to represent the tsar and the synclete at the act of Nicon's degradation, after he had now for the third time shaken off the dust from his feet against them.

As for his personal character, 'a foreigner,' Solovieff writes, 'has observed of Dolgorouky that he wished to appear a Fabius, but was more like to a Catiline. This remark sounds epigrammatic, and we do not know enough about him to determine how far the comparison to Catiline may be just.' However, Solovieff finds nothing to say in his favour; and if he had been well reputed of for honesty, morality, and piety, the thought of comparing him to Catiline would not have occurred. He seems at first to have dissembled with regard to Nicon, as if sharing the tsar's own feelings: at least, the tsar, in A.D. 1658, while sending by him to Nicon a private assurance of his own continued regard, wrote thus: 'Except myself alone, there is scarcely any one *but the prince Youry* who is *good* for thee' (see above, p. 154). According to Michaelofsky (ib. p. 109), Dolgorouky was also *good* for the raskolniks, though not, perhaps, so openly as was the prince Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy. We have seen that in the rebellion of Stenka Razin, when the cry was to march against the boyars who held the tsar in thraldom, they extolled the patriarch Nicon, as if making common cause with him against injustice; and those of the boyars whom they most loudly denounced as the chief traitors were Youry Alex. Dolgorouky and Bogdan Matv. Khitroff.

After the death of the tsar Alexis in A.D. 1676, Youry Dolgorouky assured Matyeyeff (who then seemed to be isolated and in danger) that he might reckon on the continuance of his friendship. All the same, when soon afterwards Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky (for it was really he, though he affected to call it in-

justice and to regret it) through Volhynsky and Khitroff persecuted and exiled Matveyeff, the rest of those who were of note, as the Odoefskys, the Dolgoroukys, and the titular patriarch Joachim, were all parties to this; and during the six years of Matveyeff's exile Youry Dolgorouky never said a word nor so much as moved a finger (so Matveyeff writes, in his petition to Dolgorouky himself) to obtain for him any mitigation of his lot.

On the death of the tsar Theodore in A.D. 1682 Dolgorouky, in common with nearly all the nobility, desired to see the tsarevich Peter raised to the throne in preference to the elder half-brother John. And when Matveyeff had returned to Moscow, he on the next day, the 13th of May, 'rode to the house of *his old friend* Youry Dolgorouky to inquire after his health; for he was sick; and he remained long with him alone in conversation.' Dolgorouky at that time held the Streletsky prikaz, in conjunction with his son Michael. This was a most important office. But the streltsi were in a state of mutiny. Already, before the death of the tsar Theodore, they had been exasperated by the imprudent severity first of Yazikoff, and then of the Dolgoroukys, to whom they had presented petitions. The original cause of their discontent was corruption and oppression of the same kind as had in the reign of the tsar Alexis caused the alarming disturbances of A.D. 1648 and A.D. 1662.

Early on the 15th of May the streltsi were told by Alexander Iv. Miloslafsky and his relative the stolnik Peter Andr. Tolstoy from Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky and the tsarevna Sophia that the tsarevich John had been made away with by the Narishkins; and the same day they marched into the Kremlin, demanding that all the traitors should be given up to them. They had a list, according to Berch, of forty-six names, among which were those of the boyars the princes Youry Dolgorouky and his son Michael. They hesitated for a short time, when the tsarevich John himself came forth to them together with his brother Peter; and when Matveyeff went down and addressed them he obtained a hearing, so that they even requested him to intercede for them: and he went back to the tsar Peter and the tsaritsa his mother with that commission.

At that moment, when the streltsi might possibly have been pacified, the boyar the prince Michael Youry Dolgorouky, a man who of all others ought just then to have kept out of the way,

took upon himself to act the commander, and began to shout to the streltsi, scolding and threatening them, and ordering them *that instant* to clear out from the Kremlin, and to disperse to their respective regiments (*polks*). The consequence was that they went mad, broke through the gilt railing, rushed up the palace stair, and flung Dolgorouky from it on to the spears held up in the place below, where he was immediately hacked to pieces, and his body was dragged afterwards out of the Kremlin to the Krasnoi ploshchad.

In the evening, after all those other murders which it is not now to our purpose to relate, some of the streltsi having relented, as it seems, 'surrounded the carriage[11] of the father, the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, now about eighty years old, and escorted him to his house,' apologising as they went for having been so provoked as to kill his son. The old boyar, having been used all his life to dissemble, dissembled still: when they had brought him home he treated them with beer and spirits, and at length, doffing their caps to him respectfully, they took leave. But he was not so to escape. Not till they were all gone, when his self-command and politic dissimulation seemed to have saved him, as his daughter-in-law, the wife of his murdered son Michael, was weeping and lamenting, he said to her: 'Don't cry; if they have eaten the pike, they have left the teeth' (meaning his grandsons, the sons of the prince Michael): 'it will not be long before they are all swinging from the city walls.' A slave, overhearing this, slipped out from the house, ran after the streltsi, and told them. They returned at once, dragged the old man out of his bed into the courtyard, hacked him to pieces, cutting off his arms and his legs, and threw his remains on to a dunghill outside the yard. It was then quite night.

So the son, the prince Michael Your. Dolgorouky, was the first victim, and perhaps the cause of the deaths of all the rest, and his father, the prince Youry, was the last victim of that bloody day. It was not punishment enough for the father that he was to die, but he was first to see his son murdered, and then his own death was to be connected as a consequence with the death of his son. And the death of his son and of many others

[11] Another more trustworthy account makes him to have been sick in his bed when the streltsi came to his house bringing the body of his son, and apologising for having murdered him: we have seen that he was sick on the 13th.

was under that same palace-stair up which the boyars had rushed, shouting at the top of their voices, in December 1661, when they heard that Nicon had returned, and feared lest, regaining his former influence with the tsar, he should 'humble' their injustice. And the blood of his son was shed and his body mangled in that same place, almost on the very spot, on which Nicon had shaken off the dust from his feet; across which the father Youry Dolgorouky had passed and repassed when Nicon was finally expelled from Moscow; and from which the uncle of Michael, Dmitri Alex. Dolgorouky, together with the streltsi under Matveyeff, had escorted the patriarch, as if he had been a prisoner or a dangerous rebel, for fear of the people, till he was out of the city. And now the same streltsi are shedding on that same spot the blood of them that had persecuted Nicon, and of them against whom he had shaken off the dust from his feet.

iv. The *Soltikoff's*, as well as the Prozorofskys, are named by Solovieff among those sixteen great families of the first rank, the members of which from stolniks were usually raised at once to be boyars, without passing through the grade of okolnik. *Peter Mich. Soltikoff* (whose father, Michael Mich., lived till A.D. 1672), was made kraichi, and so brought into close personal attendance on the tsar Alexis in A.D. 1648, at the same time that the tsar's father-in-law, Elia Dan. Miloslafsky, became a boyar, and Bogdan Matv. Khitroff an okolnik, all being then under the patronage of Morozoff. Peter Soltikoff became a boyar in A.D. 1659. He is named for the first time in connection with the proceedings against Nicon in the spring of the following year (A.D. 1660), when he laid before a synod convoked by the tsar certain depositions previously taken by the tsar's order. Michaelofsky imputes to him, in part at least, the convocation of that synod, writing thus: 'Soltikoff and Troubetskoy, together with the metropolitan of Kroutitz Pitirim, represented that the Church was left without a primate, and that it was necessary to elect a new patriarch. The tsar ordered the assembly of a synod' (see above, p. 190). At any rate it is certain that he appears (p. 209, 210, 222), in Feb. A.D. 1660, as the tsar's commissioner and representative in directing the proceedings of that synod, carrying from the tsar his commands to the synod, and from the synod resolutions, reports, extracts from the canons, and requests for further orders to the tsar. When,

after more than six months, the synod was closed, it was Soltikoff who, by order of the tsar, gave up the documents connected with it (sealed with his own seal and with that of the tsar) to the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff to be kept in Posolsky prikaz, of which Ivanoff was president (p. 283). After that, in A.D. 1663, when the tsar caused letters to be written to all the churches and monasteries, seeking cause of accusation against Nicon, they were directed to send their answers to a mixed commission of two bishops and five laymen, the second of the five laymen being Soltikoff, and the first Odoefsky (p. 424). And Soltikoff at the same time, in conjunction with Hilarion the archbishop of Riazan (p. 422), was acting and presiding in the tsar's name in the *krestovaia hall of the patriarchate*. He notified also to the raskolnik Abbakoum the tsar's sentence that he should be sent again into banishment, because, however willing to disobey and accuse Nicon, he would not in matters of conscience obey the tsar. On the 3d of February in A.D. 1665, shortly after Nicon's unexpected return and final expulsion from Moscow, when he had for the second time shaken off the dust from his feet, Soltikoff was again joined with Odoefsky as the second of four commissioners (the other two being the doumni dvorianin Eleazaroff and the secretary Almiaz Ivanoff), to examine with torture the boyar Nikita Ziuzin, whose letters to Nicon had caused them all so great an alarm. Before the opening of the council held towards the end of A.D. 1666, on the 10th of October, Soltikoff brought to the *krestovaia* palata of the patriarchate the same chest containing the documents of the synod of A.D. 1660, which in October 1660 had been committed by the tsar's orders to the custody of the Posolsky prikaz; and after the condemnation of Nicon he took back the same chest. He is one of those members of the synclete who are named for their prominence by Paisius Ligarides as having been present in the sessions of the council, and at the act itself of the degradation of Nicon. For first on that occasion, as on others, he names Nikita Odoefsky, then the boyars Gregory Soumch. Cherkassky, Ivan Prozorofsky, Youry Dolgorouky, Peter Mich. Soltikoff, Bogdan Matv. Khitroff, and the okolnik Rodion Streshneff. The secretary too, Almiaz Ivanoff, is named as having been present. During the council, when they were reading Nicon's letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, at that part where he gave his reasons for having

anathematised the boyar Simeon Lucian. Streshneff, Soltikoff, to show his zeal, interposed as an objection the unlucky remark, that Nicon, when he wrote his letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, had granted to Simeon Streshneff his pardon and absolution.

There is a story related by Dr. Samuel Collins (physician to the tsar Alexis from A.D. 1659 to 1667), from which it would appear that the corruption and injustice of Peter Mich. Soltikoff, in causing the pay of soldiers and officers to be kept back, led on one occasion to the tsar's killing an innocent petitioner with his own hand *by mistake*. The story is related thus: 'When he (the tsar) goes into the country or into the fields, none may interrupt him with petitions. A captain of White Russia, not getting his three years of pay from Peter Soltikoff, lord of the province,[12] and coming too near to the tsar's coach, the tsar, seeing no petition in his hand, suspected he might be an assassin, and with his staff (which had once belonged to the tsar Ivan the Terrible, and was sharp-pointed), intending only to push the man away, struck him to the heart, and he died. The nobles rode up to the coach, and searching what arms the man had, found nothing but a wooden spoon and a petition for three years' arrears; whereupon the tsar smote his breast and said, "I have killed an innocent man; but Peter Soltikoff is guilty of his blood, whom may God forgive!" And immediately sending for him, after a severe rebuke he turned him out of his place, banished him from court, and appointed Nashchokin to take his prikaz, and examine and search out the malpractices thereof. This happened in *June last* [seemingly June of 1667], and this action was but whispered, and that too with much peril of a man's tongue' (vol. iii. p. 838, 836). Probably there is truth in this story, though the doctor's personal connection with the court of Moscow is no warrant for the accuracy of all his statements. From March 13, A.D. 1673, to March 9, A.D. 1676, Soltikoff was

[12] *i.e.* president of the prikaz for Little Russia, in which the captain had petitioned in vain for his arrears. Soltikoff held that prikaz from A.D. 1663 to A.D. 1666 inclusive. This and several other prikazes (including those for *Smolensk* and White Russia, and for *Lithuania*) were under the superior control of the *Posolski* prikaz; and the Posolski with all its dependent prikazes was by ukaz of 15 July A.D. 1667 placed under Ordin Nashchokin. See *Drev. R. Bibl.* vol. xx. p. 369. The term 'White Russia' is often used vaguely, so as to include even Little Russia and Kieff.

voivode at Tobolsk in Siberia. He returned to Moscow not long after the death of Alexis, in time to be a party, together with Odoefsky and Dolgorouky, to the banishment of Matveyeff, an act of injustice which in its indirect results was to cost himself as well as Dolgorouky dear. Solovieff writes, 'They say of him that he was of the same age with the tsar, and much beloved by him. He is praised for his rare good sense and firm fidelity.'

On the 15th of May A.D. 1682, after the streltsi had burst into the palace, and had murdered there the secretary Larion Ivanoff,[13] with his son, they came upon the young Peter Pet. Soltikoff, son of the boyar Peter Michaelovich, *against whom they had no ill-will*, and killed him *by mistake*, as he was hiding in one of the churches,[14] not seeing his face distinctly, and supposing him to be Ivan Narishkin. On discovering their mistake they sent the body, escorted by a party of their comrades, to the boyar his father, with an apology for what they had done. He only exclaimed, 'It was the will of God' (that is, I will not blame you for it, nor impute it to you); and he regaled them with beer and spirits. He was himself at that time confined to his bed with sickness.[15]

In this one instance we have given to one of the six guards of Nebuchadnezzar, against whom the flame of the furnace breaks forth in the play of Simeon of Polotsk, the name of a boyar who was only *scorched* as it were (by the loss of his son), but not

[13] Successor to *Almiaz Ivanoff*, 'a man intelligent but immoral,' who had died a natural death in A.D. 1669. A Danish envoy, who, on the 16th May, narrowly escaped with his life, was taken by some streltsi from his house to the palace, and found himself in presence of the tsaritsa *Martha*, the tsarevna Sophia, and some boyars; and while he was there Khovianskoy asked the streltsi if they wished that the tsaritsa Natalia should leave the palace; and they cried, 'Liubo! liubo!' ('Yes! yes!') *Khovianskoy* in astonishment asked him, 'What brings you here, Ivan Andreyevich?' He pointed to the streltsi. Khovianskoy went up to the tsaritsa Martha and the tsarevna Sophia, and spoke a few words inaudible to him, after which Sophia made a sign to him to go away, and Khovianskoy charged some streltsi to see him safe home. The same day *Basil Golitsin*, at his request, stationed some streltsi at his house for his security; and he ends his narrative with these words: 'I had before asked the same from the secretary Larion Ivanoff, and he had promised; but as he did not receive from me any *present*, he *did not keep his word*' (Berch, app. p. 63).

[14] But another account, printed at the end of his vol. xiii. by Solovieff, says in the *Masterskie palati*.

[15] This sickness may have been the cause of his not being present at the coronation on the 25th of June. He is mentioned, however, in public acts of a later date, *e.g.* in October A.D. 1682, when he was sent to receive the submission of some mutinous streltsi (Solovieff, vol. xiii. p. 419).

himself *killed* by the flames bursting forth from the furnace of the persecution of Nicon. If any one object besides, that to have his own son killed *by mistake* seems more like a punishment of that injustice by which he had himself, in years past, caused the tsar Alexis to kill *by mistake* an innocent man, this is true; but we must remember also that observation which Nicon has quoted from St. John Chrysostom, and which we have reprinted above, namely, that 'punishment is often delayed, and not inflicted at once at the time, but long afterwards and *upon other sins*, that so it may be the more severe' (*Replies*, &c. vol. i. p. 532, and above, p. 806).

v. In the summer or autumn of A.D. 1666, as it would seem from the text of Shusherin, though the first facts from which he begins may have been earlier, there were living at Voskresensk, in the service of Nicon, two men who had recently been baptised as if converts from Judaism. One of these was in the habit of going often into Moscow to a man named Daniel, born a Jew, and like himself recently baptised, who was a doctor of medicine in the tsar's *Aptekarski* prikaz. About these men the patriarch was informed on reliable authority that his Jew servant, when he went to Moscow, was in the habit of living again as a Jew with that Daniel, and that they held worship after the Jewish manner in his house, and that the other Jewish proselytes who lived in Muscovy, or came from other countries, were in the habit of going to them, and meeting all of them in the house of that Daniel, and there celebrating together Judaical worship, having become in outward show only proselytes to Christianity, but by no means giving up their former belief; also that these Jewish proselytes '*tell to that Daniel many calumnious stories* which they invent *against the patriarch; and he Daniel often repeats to the great hossoudar those unbecoming and malicious stories, and so excites him against the patriarch, and seeks to harden the tsar's heart against him*' (see above, p. 493).

Richter, in his *History of Medicine in Russia*, writes of this Daniel that 'he was in the tsar's service as a physician, and in such favour that he was *created a doctor of medicine*.

But why should he have been so malicious against the patriarch? Light is thrown on this question also, and on the character of the man, by the fact that he was ready to render all services to Bogdan Khitroff, as appears from the following passage

written by Dr. Samuel Collins, himself physician to the tsar Alexis between A.D. 1659 and 1667:

'The *Jews* have strangely crept in of late to the city and court by means of one surgeon who *calls himself* a Lutheran, and who *assists Bogdan Matveyeff Khitroff*[16] *in his amours*, and supplies him with Polish handmaids. But his lady being jealous of these, became a burden to him; so one morning *last winter*, *after eating some dainties*, she *was found dead in her bed*. This caused much grumbling among the commons; and since that time the tsar has urged him to marry and abandon that wicked life he led with his Polish doxies, or else he should quit his place. *'Twas said he would take one of his mistresses for his wife*' (vol. iii. p. 536).

The favour of the tsar Alexis had not only obtained for his Jew proselyte the degree of doctor of medicine, but it had also raised the son of the doctor, Michael Danilovich Von Haden, to the rank of stolnik.

But when in A.D. 1682 the mutiny of the streltsi was turned to a political purpose, and they demanded the extirpation of the Narishkins, one of the cries raised was this, that the Narishkins had poisoned the tsar Theodore, and that their instruments had been the foreign physicians, especially the Jew doctor Daniel Von Haden.

After the horrors of the 15th of May, according to Berch, half the streltsi stayed that night in the Kremlin; others kept watch at the gates, and searched houses for those of the proscribed who were still at large, especially for the ex-Jew doctor Daniel Von Haden[17] (who had become first Lutheran and then Greek), and his son, the stolnik Michael Danilovich, then aged about twenty (and so born about A.D. 1662). The cry was that they had poisoned the tsar Theodore. But that night they took no one.

On Thursday the 16th they all went again to the Kremlin, and even into the inner chambers of the palace, seeking for the

[16] Who, in A.D. 1666, was still okolnik, president of the *Bolshoi Dvoretz* and of the *Dvortsovoi sondni* prikaz, and *Oroujnichey;* he was made boyar in A.D. 1667, and died in A.D. 1680.

[17] Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 335. But in an appendix to the same vol. p. 415, he is called 'the doctor *Stepan*;' and Matveyeff in his petitions, written during his exile, calls him 'the doctor *Stepan* Simon Kosterius.' Seemingly he took the name *Daniel* only at his last change of religious profession, and had been known by that of *Stephen* before, or *vice versâ*. See *Hist. of the Reign of Alexis*, and *Theatrum Europæum*, xi. p. 922.

Narishkins. Two hours later the son of the doctor Daniel was recognised and taken in the street, disguised. They examined him to make him discover where his father was, threw him from the palace stair (for he had been brought thither, to the place with which his father's old sins were connected), and thrown down from thence on to the spears of the streltsi, who stood below crying out, *Liubo! liubo!* (Good! good!) Then they murdered also the doctor Gutmensch as a friend of the doctor Daniel Von Haden: and lastly, they would have murdered the wife of the doctor Daniel; but the tsaritsa Martha interceded for her; and just then there arose a cry that one of the Narishkins, Basil Philemonoff, a young man little more than twenty, had been found; and he was at once murdered.[18]

It was not till the 17th that word was brought to them that the father, Daniel Von Haden, had been taken in the German sloboda, where all the German officers and other foreigners in the tsar's service lived, half a mile from the city. Knowing his danger, he had disguised himself as a peasant, had gone away from the German sloboda, and for two whole days and nights had wandered about in the wood called the Marinen grove, and its vicinity. At length *hunger* drove him back to the German sloboda, where he hoped to get unobserved to the quarters of a friend and find something to eat; but he was recognised in the street, taken, and brought to the Kremlin, to the palace, and into its inner rooms, as he was, in his peasant's disguise. There the tsaritsa Martha and the tsarevna Sophia began to entreat the streltsi for Ivan Narishkin and for him, assuring them that the doctor Daniel was entirely innocent, and that in their presence he had himself first tasted all the medicines which he had composed for the late tsar during his sickness. All was in vain. They cried that having poisoned the tsar was not his

[18] In a notice of the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin, by A. Malinofsky, in the *Acts of the Soc. of R. Hist. and Ant.* part vii. p. 68-85, we read: 'On *the 16th of May* (A.D. 1682) Basil Bas. Golitsin was named "Keeper of the prikaz of the Imperial Seal and of great Legational Affairs" (*posolskich diel*),' &c. But in vol. xx. p. 372 of the *Drevn. R. Bibl.* Golitsin is said to have been appointed to the Posolsky prikaz *by the tsarevna* Sophia on the 16th of May A.D. 1683, not 1684; and the full title mentioned by Malinofsky was not given him till Oct. 13th of A.D. 1683. The government no doubt was virtually in the hands of Sophia after the 15th May A.D. 1682, but it was not till the 26th that she raised to the throne her own brother John, giving him precedence over Peter, nor till the 29th that she made herself regent.

only crime; he was a sorcerer: they had found in his house dried echinuses and snakes, and he must die: they would leave the rest of the proscribed to be punished by the tsar; but Ivan Narishkin and the doctor Daniel must be given up to them. According to Bereh, 'all the imperial family—of *both* sides—with the patriarch Joachim, came out together, and all (except only the patriarch) even went on their knees; but in vain. One strelitz, more audacious than the rest, seized Ivan Narishkin by his long hair, and tore him away from his sister; and they dragged both him and the doctor below, and stripped and tortured them, and then cut them to pieces in the public place. This was done about noon; and so all ended.' Solovieff adds these observations and details: that while other victims were pointed out to the streltsi for proscription, these two, Ivan Narishkin and the doctor Daniel, seemed necessary to the streltsi themselves, to justify their own rising: there must be treason, and these two men at least must be punished as traitors, else they themselves were only rioters and insurgents. Hence it was that they insisted on these two being given up to them, and regarded the miserable Jew doctor, to whom no political importance could attach, in the same light with Ivan Narishkin or Matveyeff, whose destruction was a political necessity for the Miloslafskys and Sophia. For the same reason, instead of dealing with these two as they dealt with the rest, they first *tortured* them as traitors and state criminals, to make them confess and reveal the supposed plot and their accomplices, before they killed them. They dragged them at once, Solovieff writes, to the chamber of torture at the Tower of Constantine (one of the towers of the walls of the Kremlin) to torture them. From Ivan Narishkin they extorted nothing; and at length they dragged him out to the krasnoi ploshchad, and there quartered his body. But the Jew doctor did not hold out. They put him to the question, and a strelitz stood by taking down all that he said on the rack. He began to confess against himself various matters, and implored them to allow him three days, and *he would discover to them those who deserved death more than he did.* They cried out, 'That is long to wait!' tore up the paper which was being written of all that he said, dragged him to the Krasnoi ploshchad, and there cut him literally into small pieces, tearing out his stomach, and throwing bits of it about on the ground.

The Jew doctor and his son the stolnik, by whose advancement the father had been rewarded and gratified, and to whom the way had been opened for rising to any rank however high, were quite innocent of all that was imputed to them: but there were *other* sins of which the Jew had been guilty: and after those two miserable days of expectation, during which his son and his friend (his wife too hardly escaping) had been murdered before him—absolutely for nothing—when his own time was come, and he was brought to the palace, not even the entreaties of the tsarevna Sophia herself, for whose ambition the whole tragedy was brought about, could save him; nor, at the last, his promise from the rack *to denounce others*. His old sins had found him out.

vi. In the insurrection made by the streltsi in May A.D. 1682 the man whose destruction was most aimed after was undoubtedly Matveyeff; and in order of time Michael Dolgorouky and Matveyeff were the first two to be slain. But since all other personal punishments seem in this tragedy to culminate in his, we have deferred the consideration of his fate to the last. There are also circumstances which make it a natural connecting link between the subject of personal punishments, treated of in this present chapter, and that of public punishments which is to follow.

In A.D. 1638, in reward for the services of his father, a diak of the Posolsky prikaz, who had been sent as envoy to Turkey and to Persia, Artemon. Serg. Matveyeff, then in his 13th year, was taken into the *jitie*, that is into actual service, among the dieti boyarskie at Moscow. He was regarded as a pattern boy for his good conduct; and he was noticed by the tsar Michael, who made him (in his 16th year, in A.D. 1641) strapchi to his son the tsarevich Alexis (then 12 years old); and only a year afterwards, in A.D. 1642, he was made a golova (a captain) of streltsi.

After the accession of Alexis he became a stolnik and polkovnik of a regiment of the streltsi. In A.D. 1669 he was president of the prikaz for Little Russia; and soon after that he was made a doumni dvorianin and a komnatni (*i.e.* of the tsar's chamber). He served in a number of campaigns, and always with credit. His first diplomatic service was that of treating with the Crimean envoys; then he was sent thrice to Little Russia, to invite to subjection Bogdan Khmielnitsky, or to de-

tach him (in A.D. 1656) from the Swedes and Transylvanians, in which he was successful. After the death of Khmielnitsky in 1657 he was sent again to Little Russia, and he detected there the treason of Vigovskoy.

When Nashchokin retired from the service in A.D. 1671, Matveyeff, by oukaz of 22d Feb. in that year, took the Posolski prikaz. In A.D. 1672, May 30, he was created okolnik, and in A.D. 1674, Oct. 22, boyar and dvoretskoy, with the title of deputy for Serpouchoff (*Drevn. Russ. Bibl.* vol. vii. p. 57).

Solovieff writes of Matveyeff as follows:

We have often had occasion to mention Matveyeff, who, though only the son of a diak, stood from the first in the very closest relation to the tsar. If we are to guess how this was brought about, it was probably through Morozoff. Like Ordin Nashchokin, Rtischeff, and other conspicuous persons of the reign of Alexis, Matveyeff was a lover of foreign novelties. His house was simple, but furnished in the European style, with pictures and timepieces. He gave no brandy to visitors, nor pressed it on them again and again, as was the fashion of others. His wife, Eudocia Gregorievna, by birth a Scotchwoman, did not live shut up, but received her husband's company, and remained with them. His son received an European education. Matveyeff obtained the dangerous title of the tsar's friend; and often the tsar would come and spend hours with them.

But while, like Nashchokin, he looked to the West, Matveyeff in his personal bearing was a contrast to Nashchokin.

Nashchokin was impetuous, and went right forward without minding with what or with whom he might come into collision: he got into disputes not only with the diaks of his prikazes, but with grandees, and threw himself, with continual complaints, upon the tsar for support, thinking that as the tsar had raised him, and needed his services, he must maintain him against all adversaries. At the same time—though religious and uncorrupt—he was obsequious in the matter of Nicon, and *even more than obsequious.*

Nevertheless he found in the end that it was not only the spiritual friend and pastor who rebuked his pride to whom the tsar could be false, but that a secular minister, even one chosen and promoted by himself, however useful and able, and however faithful and personally obsequious, might also be given up when

he became obnoxious to the great lords. So Nashchokin, in A.D. 1671, retired prematurely from the service,[19] and became a monk at Pskoff, his native place, where he died in A.D. 1680 (see vol. iii. p. 532).

Matveyeff, on the contrary, though he was personally in the closest relations with the tsar, never at any time stood prominently forward. He long held only the rank of a golova of streltsi. He never had any differences with the grandees: and if eventually he was exiled in the reign of Theodore, this was not through any jealousy of the nobility as a class, for they—at least most of them—appear to have been friendly to the tsaritsa Natalia Cyrillovna, and consequently to Matveyeff. Towards the end of the reign of Alexis he was placed over two of the most important prikazes, that of Little Russia and the *Posolsky*, with the modest rank of doumni dvorianin. It was only in A.D. 1672, on the birth of the tsarevich Peter, that Matveyeff was advanced to be an okolnik, together with the tsaritsa's father Cyril Polyeuctovich Narishkin. In October 1674, on the baptism of the tsarevna Theodora, he became a boyar.

It has been said above that punishment in this world, when it is discernible at all, does not always fall, nor fall heaviest, on the most guilty. If it had fallen visibly and heavily on Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, on Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, on Elia Dan. Miloslafsky, on Almiaz Ivanoff, on Bogdan Khitroff, on Youry Iv. Romodanofsky, on Peter Mich. Soltikoff, or on Rodion Matv. Streshneff, there would have been no difficulty certainly in their cases in showing that it had been deserved. But when we find it falling most heavily of all on such a man as Matveyeff there is need of

[19] He had written before to the tzar: 'I petition thee with bitter tears: order me to be removed from the service, since I have displeased thee, and am unworthy the grace of being defended, that the imperial service may not be ruined through me. As for the people of the council, there is not one to whom I am acceptable [just what was written and said of Nicon]. In the Muscovite empire from of old, and in all other states, foreign affairs are directed by people of the privy council (or *near* council), such as are altogether well spoken of for intelligence and integrity. But I am destitute of all qualifications, and am unworthy to be in thy service. For all these thy majesty's ready graces and for that employment it is proper that there should be chosen some of the *blijnie* boyars, who are of great families, and have numbers of friends, and are of capacity to take wide views, and to make provision for all, and who know how to live; and the [direction of the] Posolski prikaz will then for their rank and greatness be respected, and not spoken ill of by anybody,' &c. (Malinofsky in *Acts of R. Soc. of Hist. and Antiq.* part vi. p. 172-191).

some closer attention. He was not a *personal* enemy of Nicon, not proud, not corrupt, not unjust and oppressive, nor profligate, like Elia Miloslafsky, Khoviansky, and Khitroff, nor a venal and malicious slanderer, like the Jew Von Haden, nor irreligious. It even appeared probable to Ziuzin, and not improbable to Nicon himself, that, though too cautious to show it, he was secretly a friend to the patriarch. He had, however, one fault —a fault common to him with Nashchokin—viz. that when he had to choose between God and the tsar he served the tsar first, and sought to please the tsar first, rather than God. And in this respect he seems to have gone beyond Nashchokin: for while Nashchokin is not known to have done more than to disclaim all personal friendship and even acquaintance with Nicon, Matveyeff showed besides an active and gratuitous zeal in favour of the tsar's supremacy. He is named by Shusherin as that polkovnik of the streltsi who with the prince Dmitri Dolgorouky (brother of Youry) was sent to escort Nicon beyond the walls on the 18th December A.D. 1664, when they finally expelled him from Moscow. And he it was, no doubt, of whom Shusherin writes, though without repeating his name, that when Nicon had shaken off the dust from his feet, a certain polkovnik said to him ironically: 'This dust *we* will sweep up.' Then Nicon, pointing up to a comet (called a '*besom*-star') which was visible in the heavens, said again to him: '*That besom* shall sweep *you* away from the face of the earth' (see above, vol. iv. p. 523). And that same morning, after he had returned from escorting Nicon out of the city, being again at the cathedral for the liturgy, Matveyeff was accosted by Ziuzin, who asked him, 'What! did the patriarch come?' and he answered: 'Yes, he did come:' and he added: 'A pretty thing he did: he shakes off the dust from his feet, as against infidels! *God* does not endure him' (ib. p. 536).

Nicon rebuked the tsar and the boyars for their sins and injustice, and it was natural that for this he should suffer persecution. Nashchokin kept himself clear from Nicon, and served the tsar ably and faithfully; but he was not obsequious enough towards the great nobles, nor indulgent enough towards the people of the prikazes; and the tsar at length was annoyed, and tired of having to support him against the grandees, and weakly failed him. This was *his* punishment. But Matveyeff was not

only obsequious towards the tsar: he was obsequious also towards all others who thought themselves above him, and just, good, and affable to all who were under him; even as if he had had from the first a keen sense of the danger which he might incur from the favour of the tsar, and had made it the study of his life to avoid that danger. In one case only he seems to have drawn upon himself ill-will from a bad man, Bogdan Khitroff, by discovering to the tsar the abuses and peculations of which he was guilty: but this was at a time when Matveyeff had risen to such rank and power that the ill-will only of Khitroff might not seem to be dangerous. But all his caution was vain. Though he had never sought for himself any conspicuous promotion, and though he had made no such use of the tsar's friendship as could offend others, the offence was to come, through the tsar himself. Visiting Matveyeff in his own house, after the death of the tsaritsa Maria Ilichna, the tsar Alexis saw there Matveyeff's adopted daughter Natalia Cyrillovna Narishkin, then aged about twenty, and declared his intention of marrying her. This second marriage of the tsar drew after it the promotion of the new tsaritsa's father and of Matveyeff himself to the rank first of okolnik, and then of boyar; and not only so, but it made enemies for Matveyeff and for the Narishkins of the daughters of the tsar by his first marriage, and of their relations the Miloslafskys, with their friends and dependents, who were more or less supplanted by the connections of the new tsaritsa, and especially by Matveyeff. Still the tsar was at that time (in A.D. 1671) only forty-two years old, and he might live many years; so that though Matveyeff had been forced into that prominence which he had before avoided, it did not at once threaten him with danger. But after five years the tsar Alexis died; and as he lay dying he foresaw clearly to what great danger not only Matveyeff, but the tsaritsa Natalia herself, and his children by her, and her relations would be exposed; and he wrote with bitterness in his will that if he could have foreseen that he was to die so soon, he would never have contracted his second marriage: 'Let his days be few!' 'Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow!' But as Nicon wrote in his *Replies*, and repeated over and over again, 'He would not understand! No, he would not understand!' (*Replies*, &c. p. 566.)

By the death of Alexis the chief power passed to the ma-

ternal relatives of the young tsar Theodore (who had not yet quite reached the age of fifteen, and who was sick at the time of his father's death) and to the great lords of the council, who, if they had no personal enmity against Matveyeff, were yet not at that time specially interested to support him. Still he was left for a time in possession of his high offices. By the will of Alexis the prince Youry Dolgorouky had been appointed guardian (*opekoun*), and the prince Theod. Theod. Kourakin (brother-in-law of the prince Nikita Odoefsky) and Ivan Bogdan Khitroff were the governors (diadki) of the young tsar. The first overt act of hostility against Matveyeff was his dismissal from the Aptekarski prikaz, as if the medical staff of the palace could not safely be allowed to depend upon him. At the coronation of Theodore (June 16) the name of Matveyeff does not appear, nor that of any one of the Narishkins. Somewhat later, in August, he was dismissed from the Posolsky prikaz; and Rodion Streshneff, with whom Matveyeff had once been sent to Nicon, announced to him the tsar's oukaz that he should go at once as voivode to Verchotourie in Siberia. But on the way, at Laisheva on the Kama, he was stopped, and examined as if on suspicion of having practised sorcery, or plotted against the life of the tsar Theodore, and he was placed under arrest, and taken to Kazan, where Ivan Bogd. Miloslafsky was voivode. Here they read to him an oukaz by which he was deprived of his rank of boyar; and all his property, inherited[10] or acquired, was confiscated. His people were dismissed. All arms and ammunition were taken from him, 'as if,' he writes himself, 'I had been a bandit; whereas I had been employed all my life in putting down such crimes, not in promoting them' (Solovieff, vol. xiii. p. 218). He had, however, been employed in other service besides that of putting down robbers and injustice: Nicon was no robber of churches nor oppressor of the poor: but Matveyeff had forgotten that. He who had so often and so long commanded the streltsi was now made for greater dishonour to go on foot to the police-court by a golova of streltsi. His sentence and his imputed crimes were there read over to him. When

[10] 'During 69 years' is in the text. But if Matveyeff was in his 13th year in A.D. 1638, he would be only in his 51st in A.D. 1676, and in his 57th when he was murdered in A.D. 1682. Perhaps he was in his 15th, not 13th, in A.D. 1638, and so the whole space of his life may have been 59 years, and that may have been in the mind of the son when he wrote this passage.

he would have spoken, the doumni diak cried out, 'Hold thy tongue, and listen!' much as the archimandrite Sergius, having the support of the tsar's streltsi commanded by Matveyeff, had cried out to Nicon.

He was stripped of his rank of boyar (as Nicon had been stripped of his rank of patriarch and of his priesthood), and was banished with his son Andrew, then a boy of eleven years old, to Poustozersk (as Nicon had been banished to the Therapontoff monastery of Bielo-ozero). There he remained six years, forgotten and neglected, almost as if he had been dead.

This most cruel and apparently most undeserved reverse of fortune was outwardly the work of Bas. Sem. Volhynsky, a man under obligations to Matveyeff, who had served under him in the Posolsky prikaz. Volhynsky had always been in appearance a devoted and obsequious friend, but he had a mind to obtain the Posolsky prikaz for himself; and in this he after a time succeeded. But the true originator of the blow was no doubt Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, who together with the Khitroffs, Bogdan and his son Ivan, encouraged and supported Volhynsky; though Ivan Miloslafsky affected to disapprove as unjust what was done; and Matveyeff himself in his petitions to the chief members of the council *imputes no* personal *enmity* to any one of those who had concurred to ruin him except Volhynsky, of whom he expresses himself with bitterness, and to whom he writes no petition.

Schebolsky, in his *Regency of the Tsarevna Sophia*, relates the matter thus: The accession of Theodore gave a new turn to the wheel of fortune: they who had been thrown into the background and cast down by the second marriage of Alexis were brought up again to the top, and they who were at the top at the time of the death of Alexis were cast down. Miloslafsky, as the near relative of the young tsar, took with his friends the first place near the throne. This boyar,[21] who was a bad man, malicious and revengeful, regarding Matveyeff as an enemy, directed against him a huge intrigue, [to which all the other men of note in the council, even those who were not movers in the matter, nor personally hostile to Matveyeff, became parties.] Matveyeff was accused of sorcery, and even of an

[21] He was created a boyar after the accession of Theodore, in A.D. 1676; his cousin Ivan Bogdanovich, who was voivode at Kazan, had become a boyar earlier, in A.D. 1671. Iv. Bogd. died in A.D. 1681, and Ivan Mich. in A.D. 1684.

attempt against the life of the tsar, and he was banished to Poustozersk.

Miloslafsky became all-powerful: his years, experience, his versatile mind, his near relationship to the tsar gave him an undisputed prëminence over the rest of those who were about the young tsar, people who for the most part were of no remarkable ability, such as Khitroff and Volhynsky, &c. [and whose age made them less active than they had been in time past]. Only one of the tsar's close advisers became eventually dangerous to Miloslafsky: that was Ivan Max. Yazikoff. How this was will be shown below. But let us return to Matveyeff.

Experienced in service, but inexperienced in calamities—writes Solovieff—Matveyeff could not refrain from complaining. His supplications are humble and abject, and his complaints pitiful; but there is a certain naïveté in them, when we consider the absurdity of the accusations, and the open injustice of all the proceedings based upon them. He ought to have seen from the first that appeals to considerations of justice, compassion, and religion, addressed to enemies who could move the council to do such acts were out of place. He was innocent, no doubt, of all that was then imputed to him: but he too, like the doctor Von Haden, had been guilty of *something else*, of which he seems to have been so entirely unconscious, that in his first petition to the tsar (*i.e.* to the council) he actually pleads the very *sin* for which he was then beginning to be punished by God as a *merit* and *service towards the State*, which ought to obtain for him deliverance from that his punishment.

In his first petition to the tsar, written at Kazan in A.M. 7184 (A.D. 1676),[22] but sent later, Matveyeff wrote:[23]

'In A.M. 7184, A.D. 1676, through envy and malice I was accused of a crime which had never so much as crossed my imagination: and I was sent to Siberia, to Verchotourie. And in A.M. 7185, A.D. 1677, I was left at Laisheva. And on the 25th Nov. there came the pol-golova of Moscow streltsi, Alexis Loukin, and demanded of me a medicine-book, containing many papers in cipher, which book, and my people Ivan the Jew and Karl Zacharka, were to be taken from me. I possessed no such

[22] But elsewhere, 'June 13, A.M. 7185,' *i.e.* in 'A.D. 1677.'

[23] The extracts which here follow are from the book entitled *Of the unjust Exile, &c. of the Boyar Artemon, Serg. Matveyeff*,' by his son Andrew Artemonovich.

medicine-book, but I gave up the men; and I begged him to search my things, and those of my men. But he said he had no orders for that. And I gave him a cahier in Slavonic of receipts for diseases; and there were references marked in cipher for looking out the remedies: but he did not take it from me. And on the 22d Dec. there was sent the doumni dvorianin Theodore Procop. Socovnin and the secretary of the council Basil Semenoff: and they examined me and my son and my three nephews and nine men of my people about books, and took from them depositions. And I showed them the above-mentioned cahiers, and they took them from me. And there was sent to me from Kazan the dvorianin Gabriel Narmatskoy and the polougolova Alexis Loukin; and they took me from Laisheva to Kazan under guard. Afterwards an oukaz was sent to leave me there only a few of my people, and to dismiss the rest. Also by the same oukaz there was sent to Kazan the secretary Ivan Gorochoff:[24] and he came to me by night with an oukaz to take from me all letters of the late tsar Alexis Michaelovich, and all papers connected with my embassies (or with the Posolsky prikaz), and all orders or minutes of instruction (*nakazi*) and title-deeds, &c. &c. And I gave up to them two books of inventories of all my property, and of my son's property: and he examined it, and confiscated the whole *without any exception*; only he allowed me according to thy oukaz. But for all this *no cause* was assigned. But on the 11th of June at Kazan, by oukaz &c., the boyar Ivan Bogdan Miloslafsky with his colleagues ordered me and my son and people with their wives and children to be taken from my small house by the golova of streltsi Ivan Sadiloff to the *siezjaia izba* as malefactors and traitors, "for many great crimes and wrongs." My honour of boyar was taken away; and my estates, &c., down even to all clothes and furniture, were confiscated.

'In my deposition I wrote that "during your majesty's sickness, your majesty's doctor Stepan[25] Simon Kosterius made the medicines according to the receipts, and those receipts are still in the *Aptekarskaia palata*. And the doctors first tasted the

[24] Who had been in the Monastirski prikaz, but in A.D. 1667 was transferred to the *Nevaia Chet*, then held by Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky.

[25] The same as the doctor *Daniel*, whose end has been related above. See the note at p. 807.

medicines, then I, and after me your diadki the boyar prince Theodore Theod. Kourakin, and Ivan Bogd. Khitroff. And from those medicines there was done to thy health no hurt at all; and what remained, after you had taken them, I drank in your presence." But thy diadki said that this was not so: as if I had *not* drunk up what remained of the medicines. But I &c., having no help nor succour except God and thee, beg of thee mercy and discerning consideration in thy justice.

'They examined me about the doctors; and I answered as the truth was. But as for this, that thy diadki the prince Theodore Theod. Kourakin, and Ivan Bogd. Khitroff said that what I had stated was not so, of that (let them say) as they please: according to their own recollection about it, so (no doubt) they spoke: and may the Lord God recompense us according to our justice and truthfulness, in the terrible day, &c. But I, according to my recollection so spoke and gave my deposition, not as justifying the doctors. If I had *not* tasted the medicines, the rule required only the doctors to taste them: but I of supererogation drank up the remains, thinking to please thee doubly. Thy diadki *did not* either *write* that they themselves *too* tasted, or did not taste, the medicines. But what remained *in the vial* and stood in the window, that I did not drink afterwards: perhaps they meant that: but the doctors took that away to the apothek, to change it for medicine made with new ingredients.

'But it was said to me that the physician Davidko Berloff, when examined before all the boyars, said that "he had treated medically my man Karl Zacharka, who told him that he was suffering from my ill-usage. I had beaten him, he said, because I had been reading a black-book in my house with the doctor Stepan, and then a crowd of unclean spirits had come to us into the chamber (but he had come in there before, without any set purpose, and had fallen asleep behind the stove): and the spirits told me that there was a third person present; and I leaped forth, and caught him David behind the stove, and beat him with violence; and thrust him out."' [And Matveyeff goes on to show about this story how the deponents contradicted one another, and how Zacharka contradicted himself.]

And in the same petition, at p. 49, Matveyeff writes of himself, while enumerating his services, as follows:

'Also I thy slave, together with the boyar[26] prince Peter Ivan. Prozorofsky, was with the most holy œcumenical patriarchs and with all the sacred synod (in A.D. 1667), when they made articles of church-reformation. And at the beginning *they made two, not duly recognising your imperial rank (i.e. your absolute supremacy) and your sovereign imperial prerogatives.* And they were about to subscribe. And I thy slave spoke to the prince Peter Ivan. Prozorofsky; and *he* in consequence *did not let* the patriarchs and all the synod subscribe those articles. And the metropolitans *Paul of Kroutitz* and *Hilarion of Riazan* showed *great rage and malice* at this. But when the boyar prince Peter Ivanovich had informed thy father the hossoudar &c., he the tsar thy father, *with the blijnie boyari*, having heard those two articles read, *ordered that they should be omitted.* And the metropolitans Paul and Hilarion stood out obstinately, not to omit those two articles, and *refused to sign:* and for that they were *by the œcumenical patriarchs suspended.* And I was taken from the patriarchs, and sent on other duty' [of which he goes on to speak, detailing his services], &c. (p. 71).

This petition and the petitions which he addressed at the same time to different members of the council remaining unnoticed, Matveyeff later wrote a second similar petition to the tsar, and other fresh petitions to members of the council, all or most of them printed in the same volume. The persons to whom he wrote either once or more than once were: 1. the patriarch Joachim; 2. the tsar's confessor Basilieff; 3. the boyar prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky; 4. his son the boyar prince Michael Yourievich; 5. the boyar prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky; 6. his son the boyar prince Yakoff Nikitich; 7. the boyar Rodion Matv. Streshneff; 8. the boyar Bogdan Matv. Khitroff; 9. the boyar Cyril Pol. Narishkin; 10. the boyar Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky; all, except the confessor and Narishkin, men known to us as Nicon's enemies, whom in past years Matveyeff had

[26] Created boyar from the stolniks after the accession of Theodore in A.D. 1676; son of the boyar and voivode murdered in 1670 at Astrachan.

[27] Hilarion was not then (in Jan. A.D. 1667) *metropolitan*, but after having made his peace, and after having subscribed 'every jot and tittle' that was required of him, he was rewarded for his previous service with this title. Matveyeff seems to have shared with P. Ligarides the merit of defeating the 'altogether too late' and abortive attempt of some of the Russian bishops to obtain some salvo for the rights of their order after they had served the tsar and the boyars against Nicon (see vol. iii. p. 207, 317, 320, 322, and 230-257).

been so careful to avoid offending. From these letters or petitions we will extract some passages:

1. To the patriarch Joachim he wrote three times. The first letter begins thus: 'To the great hospodin, *bishop of bishops, and pastor of pastors*, the most holy Joachim, &c.: Having no help nor succour, except the all-merciful God and thee, great bishop, to intercede for me to the gracious and religious tsar, &c., I Artemon Matveyeff, being utterly ruined, make my petition, and, together with my poor orphan son Andrew, flee from the storms of hatred to thy intercession. This is the third year (so in A.D. 1678-9). . . This my petition to thee is written with tears rather than with ink . . . from us who are in affliction, not only from open enemies, but also from those who made as if they were close friends; who in sheep's clothing act with hypocrisy; whom from their works we know, &c. And as for this which I write to thee, great hospodin, I mean not that any others[28] should take it as meant for them, but it is meant only against those who served me and worked under me [that is, Bas. Sem. Volhynsky], and then rose up against me. May the Lord God reward them according to their works! A man's foes, it is written, shall be they of his own household.

'Who has ever been condemned for murder without trial and conviction? &c. Or for sacrilege?[29] or for sorcery? &c. . . . I was not believed as to what I deposed *while yet a boyar*, nor was the doumni dvorianin my son believed; but a single witness, the thief Davidka, *was believed*. Who, seeing such injustice,[30] &c., would not have pity and weep? . . . condemned without trial . . . and not only so, but sent away to a distance, that so my enemies and that Davidka might the more freely inform against me. . . . All my neighbours and friends stood afar off, &c. &c. My tears could not obtain at Kazan even the

[28] *E.g.* Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, whom some of the above words point at even more clearly than at Volhynsky.

[29] Nicon was twice over so condemned, in A.D. 1658 and in A.D. 1664 (see vol. iii. p. 388, 349 and iv. p. 141, 523), and Matveyeff and the streltsi under him represented *with a will* that tyranny which persecuted him, and which kept off the Christian *people* from their pastor.

[30] Nicon, no doubt, if he had been now patriarch, would have been ready to prevent or to redress such injustice; but Joachim had served the tsar and the boyars for injustice, and now needed for himself the good-will and concurrence of those unjust boyars to worry or, as he might think, to *humble* and 'keep down' his prisoner Nicon.

grace that my petitions to the great hossoudar and to thee should be forwarded; for they, the commissioners (the *pristaves*), *had force on their side*, and *the favour of the powerful*, but I, poor wretch, have only tears and sighs, &c. Have pity on me, most gracious great hospodin! &c., and intercede, &c.; lend a helping hand! . . . I pray ever, and do not despair, by your episcopal all-potent intercession, to be helped to find grace. Great hospodin, be gracious, show pity' (so this letter or petition ends).

In his second petition to the patriarch he writes: 'Artemoshka, with his *worm* (*i.e.* his *son*) Andriushka, makes his petition. In my first petition, written at Kazan in A.M. 7185, on the 18th June (A.D. 1677), and not received from me there, but received afterwards at Poustozersk, and sent thence on the 26th July 7186 (A.D. 1678), &c.

Again, in a third petition to the same (p. 257), he writes: 'There is no help for me except from God and from thee His high-priest. There are *two*[31] great lights set in the world, the tsar's throne and the episcopal chair. Thou *oughtest* to receive the prayers of the poor, and *not reject them at the desire of the powerful*, but listen to the complaints of the innocent who are unjustly condemned. . . . It is now already the fifth year (A.D. 1680-1681), that I send thee this third petition, and I receive not grace nor intercession for my innocence, *not even any answer*.'

2. Matveyeff wrote to the tsar's confessor, the protopope Basilieff, a letter dated 20th July A.M. 7187 (A.D. 1679), and given at p. 268 of the printed volume. In this he alludes to another earlier letter, not printed; and at the end he writes: 'I *may* be driven to *commit suicide*, and thou wilt be the cause. But I pray thee, elect father, before I be so guilty, go with a sad countenance and intercede for me to the tsar, representing my innocence, and rescue me from the pit of destruction. I, thy servant Artemoshka, make my petition.'

[31] So now Matveyeff writes to Joachim with flattery, after having himself, together with this titular patriarch, assisted the civil power to *extinguish* whatever appearance there was of there being *two* lights, and not only *one*, in Russia: and by that change the secular power, which should have been a light (by the help and reflection of the other higher and spiritual light), became the blackness of darkness, and its titular patriarchs mere masks, servants and priests of Nebuchadnezzar and his Chaldees or streltsi. See vol. iii. the places above referred to.

3. His first petition to the blijni boyar the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky (at p. 310), which is long, begins thus: 'My hossoudar and gracious *benefactor*, &c., many years to you! If, according to thy former grace, thou inquirest after me, I am still alive, &c. . . . Who would not help a man out of a pit? But you, *after having promised me to keep charity and good-will towards me*, hast done and doest nothing to help me. No, thou hast not moved a finger. He who consents to them that commit cruelty is on a par with them that commit it.[32] This is all that I say now in the bitterness of my soul, my heart not allowing me in evil reproaches. . . . I have been stripped of everything, and I am utterly helpless. My friends and my neighbours have *stood aside*. My friends have been cruel to me; I have become to them as an alien. I called to them, and wept and entreated, and they did not hear me. Who, seeing such calamity, would not weep? &c. . . . Judged without a trial, I was exiled, &c. But the tsar's laws permit not a man to be thus dealt with, before he have his accusers face to face,[33] &c. When at Kazan they notified to me my offences, the secretary of the council, Ivan Gorochoff, *did not suffer me to speak a word*. But of the Code and of the oukaz, my hossoudar, I need not write to thee, seeing that thy nobility was thyself one [of the framers or subscribers] of that Code, &c.

'But as regards what the doctor Stepan and Nicholas Spathari said—for that was the beginning of the matter—or how far they justified or did not justify themselves and me, I cannot say, because I was never confronted with them; and at Kazan nothing was said to me of this in the official notification.' And after more, relating to the details of the false accusation devised against him, he goes on: 'This I write, not as if thou, my hossoudar and benefactor, wert ignorant of these things, &c., but to remind thee of thy grace and former friendship . . . that I may be allowed to return and live in privacy wherever the tsar shall be pleased to appoint. . . . Even the people who came with me, seeing my infinite misery, deserted me, and fled away. . . . There is only *borsh* to be had: it is brought from Ijma.

[32] Matveyeff did not think of this enough himself when *others* were concerned, *e.g.* in A.D. 1664 and 1666: he feels it *now*.

[33] So Nicon also reasoned in A.D. 1660; and so in A.D. 1663, and later, he too quoted against the tsar and the boyars even their own unrighteous Code.

They celebrate with prosphorae made of rye-flour. As the son of Sirach says: "Gold is tried in the fire, and men get *in the furnace*[34] humility." And whether thou, my benefactor, hast abandoned me, the helpless orphan, or hast not abandoned me, God knows! only I see that for what that thief Davidka devised against me thou hast sent me hither, to live among people from whom one cannot even beg, &c. If I die, do not abandon, O my benefactor and hossoudar, my lad, the poor worm Andriushka, whom thou usedst in time past to be good to. For this I thy servant Arte*moshka* Matveyeff knock my head.'

At p. 288 there is another and still longer letter to the same boyar, dated in A.M. 7187 (A.D. 1679): '. . . I seek some intercessor with the tsar, &c., and there is no one: I seek a helper, a deliverer, and I find not even a favourable word. Letters and news, &c., from relations I get none: they are all paralysed with fear. I looked for some one to have pity on me, but there was no one, neither found I any to comfort me. *O, it is cruel*, and *unendurable!* I found instead some even to *reproach*[35] me, when I was without any crime. It is of hatred only that I suffer such and such things. And now this is the *fourth* year. . . . My first petition was written at Kazan in 7185, June 13 (A.D. 1677), and . . . was sent from Poustozersk June 26, A.D. 1678, &c. And now I write a second petition . . . . The small chamber (*izbyńka*) given to me here, and another given to my *worm*, my young son, are both—yea, yea, I write only the truth—without a stove,' &c.

4. At p. 313 there is a short letter to the prince Michael Your. Dolgorouky, all about pity and charity, covering only one page and a half.

5. At p. 310 there is a letter to the senior boyar of the council, the prince Nikita Odoefsky. To him he writes: 'Be merciful, hossoudar! Be pleased to extend your patronage to me who, without any fault, have been stripped of everything and completely ruined. It is now the fourth year. Mercy is the very chiefest virtue.' The whole letter closely resembles that to

[34] 'Then the king commanded, and they cast those men which had accused Daniel into the den of lions; them and their children . . . and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces,' &c. (Dan. vi. 24, and iii. 22).

[35] So some one was found to reproach Nicon in Dec. 1664, saying: '*God* does not *endure* him!' He who so said has now already '*swept up*' some of 'that *dust*,' and it sticks to him, and eats into his flesh and to his bones.

Bogdan Matv. Khitroff, only it is much shorter; he implores Odoefsky, by motives from the Gospel, to intercede for him to the tsar, 'in consideration of the grace shown me by his father the late tsar Alexis Michaëlovich, to let me live in privacy wherever he may be pleased to appoint,' &c. And he ends: 'I Arte*moshka* Matveyeff knock my head on the ground.'

6. And at p. 317 he writes also to the boyar the prince Yakoff, son of Nikita Odoefsky: 'Remember my poor services to yourself *and to your father*, when he had to make journeys as envoy or ambassador, the first time, and the last,' &c.

7. At p. 315 he writes to the boyar Rodion Mat. Streshneff: '. . . It is now the fourth year . . . I have no help from any one. . . . The Lord will repay calumniators, &c. Be pitiful, my hossoudar! Remember God's words: "Blessed are the merciful," &c. Help me by a good word, a just counsel, that I may be allowed,' &c.

8. At p. 319 there is a letter also to the boyar Cyril Pol. Narishkin, whom of course he regarded as a friend, not knowing that the same jealousy which had banished him had banished the Narishkins also, and that the tsaritsa Natalia Cyrillovna had not been able to protect even her own father and her brothers.

Matveyeff wrote not only to those from whom he hoped to obtain positive help, as the prince Youry Dolgorouky, and the patriarch Joachim, and the tsar's confessor, but also to those whom he knew to have sought his ruin, but who he hoped might now be content with their success, and allow others to obtain for him some alleviation of his lot. With this view, to deprecate, and to facilitate their acquiescence, he wrote to the Odoefskys (father and son), to Streshneff, to the Khitroffs, and even to Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, making as if he thought that they might still show him mercy, and as if he did not regard them as enemies, but throwing all the blame upon Volhynsky, and on inferior calumniators. Then he wrote also to Cyril Narishkin, lest by omitting him he should seem to imply that those motives which had led to his own ruin had necessarily deprived of all influence even the father of the tsaritsa Natalia.

Matveyeff then—as if Cyril Narishkin had been still at the court—wrote to him thus: 'I am still alive, my *worm* Andriushka. . . . But of you, *my friends*, I have not only no letters,

but I have not heard a word since I was taken from Kazan. God's discipline is for our good, that we may not be judged with the world. If thou hast convenient access to the tsaritsa Natalia Cyrillovna and to the tsarevich Peter Alexievich, pray remind them of my unfeigned affection, and find an opportunity respectfully to ask grace for me who am innocent, and utterly ruined, &c., by the malice of my enemies . . . [that the tsar may allow me to return to live in privacy] where he wills.' And he asks him 'if friends desire to send me any alms, according to their ability, to petition the tsar, and to pay those alms into the *Siskni* prikaz[38] (the prikaz of inquests), asking the boyar prince *Youry Alex. Dolgorouky* to let me have the benefit of them. Thy servant Artemoshka Matveyeff,' &c.

9. At p. 323 there is given the first of two letters to the boyar Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, the representative at once of the enmity of the Miloslafskys against Nicon, and of that of the children of the tsar Alexis by his first marriage, with their relatives and connections, against the stepmother Natalia Cyrillovna and her son, with their relations and connections. Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky thought himself to have also a *personal* quarrel against Matveyeff, because, after the second marriage of the tsar Alexis, he had been sent against his own wish to Astrachan, while Matveyeff had obtained at the court that prominence which Ivan Miloslafsky had hoped would belong to himself.

In this letter, written in A.M. 7185 (A.D. 1677), Matveyeff writes: 'My hossoudar and *benefactor* Ivan Michaelovich! . . . However, I have dared to write my petition to thee, my hossoudar and *benefactor*. They judged me without trial, believing some lying words spoken before you boyars by Davidka. Have pity on me, my benefactor! &c. I hear that thou showest charity to me in my affliction; that thou *callest my causeless ruin "unjust,"* and givest no encouragement to those who calumniate me.' [And then he begs him] 'to intercede for me according to my petition, which the commissioner (the *pristav*) Gabriel Yak. Touchachevskoy received from me and sent

[38] From the account (not always full nor accurate) of the prikazes printed in vol. xx. of the *Drevn. R. Bibl.* p. 388, it would seem that *Bas. Sem. Volhynsky* took the *Siskni* or Razboini prikaz from Sept. A.D. 1677 to A.D. 1686: he had held it also before, from A.D. 1668 to 1671). Possibly Matveyeff did not know *who* then held the Siskni prikaz, or did not choose to apply directly to his enemy Volhynsky.

to the great hossoudar.' (And so the letter ends, without anything more.)

Then at p. 324 there is a second letter to the same, dated in A.M. 7187 (A.D. 1679), and referring to his former petition: '. . . . See that ye despise not one of these little ones,' &c. And he writes of *peace:* 'And what benefit is it if there be peace with one, but enmity with another? There shall be judgment without mercy to them that show no mercy. . . . Every sin or offence before the end may be healed. In my former life, except my *services* to thy relatives and the grants made to thyself, I am conscious of nothing. And as regards thy appointment to Astrachan, except my good *services* to thee, I am conscious of nothing. And of that the Lord God is my witness, and thy brother-in-law the okolnik Andrew Iv. Chirikoff.[37] But as for this, my hossoudar, that they make up to thee with interested motives, as is the fashion of the time, and calumniate me about the choice of thee for Astrachan—if only that offence were out of the way the Lord knows that I should be blameless in thy sight—indeed that appointment was by the will of God and by the will of the great hossoudar, and I had no share in causing it. Have pity, hossoudar! be merciful to me who am innocent, and strangely stripped of everything and ruined: when they read my petition before the tsar, take my part, that he may let me return and live in privacy where he pleases to appoint, that there may be an end of our tears of blood, and that they may cease to be shed before the Lord God against those who, without any cause, have driven us out from his imperial favour and have utterly ruined us. Be gracious, O my benefactor,' &c. '*Poustozersk* well deserves its name' (*poust* means desolate or empty, and *ozero* lake). 'Thy servant Artemoshka Matveyeff.'

10. Lastly, at p. 331, there is printed a letter to the boyar Bogdan Matv. Khitroff. In this letter, written 'after four years,' Matveyeff begs him to intercede with his relative, 'my lady the gracious boyarina Anna Petrovna Khitrova,[38] that seeing my

[37] Who was the colleague of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky in all the prikazes held by him.

[38] The son of Matveyeff writes that 'Bogdan Khitroff hated Matveyeff because he had made known to the tsar Alexis his corrupt practices, his embezzlements, and his oppression of those under him. So he took into league with himself his connection Anna Petrovna Khitrova, a widow who was very bold, mischievous, and *pharisaical*, and a great enemy of Natalia Cyrillovna and her

innocence and tears, and my utter ruin and helplessness, for the sake of the heavenly kingdom,' &c. [appealing to Bogdan himself at the same time against the common maxim, '*It is no business of mine*,' and referring to St. Paul about *charity* and *Christian motives*], 'she may be pleased with thee, my benefactor, to intercede for me, poor wretch, with the great hossoudar, to restore my property and to allow me to live, out of this confinement, *wherever he pleases*, so that I may not die before my time of cold and hunger. This place deserves its name. What little was not taken from me is all gone by waters and mountains and porterages, sunk, broken to pieces, stolen, wasted, devoured, &c. I, thy servant Artemoshka Matveyeff, knock my head to thee on the ground.'

'From the addresses on these petitions of Matveyeff,' Solovieff observes, 'we see that those to whom he wrote were the most influential people, those *nearest* to the tsar. To these there was soon added another Miloslafsky, the boyar Ivan Bogdanovich,[39] who was till voivode at Kazan at the time of the exile of Matveyeff. He was the most energetic of all the family; for Ivan Mich. was distinguished only by his talent for intrigue, for plotting, and undermining by covered ways those whom he wished to ruin.

'But the young tsar soon had two favourites of his own; the first the postelnik (groom of the bedchamber) Ivan Max. Yazikoff, the other the *kommatni* stolnik Alexis Tim. Likhacheff, who had been instructor to the tsarevich Alexis Alexievich' (*Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 238).

In a notice of Ivan Max. Yazikoff, furnished by a descendant of the same family, though from another branch of it, and printed by Berch, we read as follows:

'Ivan Max. Yazikoff[40] was not of very noble birth; but he

son.' She had much influence in the palace with the tsarevnas, and is named as *kravchaia* to the tsaritsa Agathia at a banquet given by her to the chief ladies of the court in A.D. 1680.

[39] In A.D. 1680 he was appointed to command the third of the seven corps of the army prepared to act against the Turks and Tatars and Doroshenko. He died in 1681.

[40] In A.D. 1671, March 10, being then one of the *ploshchadnie* stolniks, who were very numerous, and not to be confounded with the *komnatnie*, who were of distinguished birth, he was appointed to serve in the dvortsovi soudni prikaz (*under Bogdan Matv. Khitroff; Descr. Bibl.* xx. p. 303); and in A.D. 1673, Dec. 31, at the entry of the Swedish envoy Oxenstiern, he was *golova* of the fourth

was very sharp-witted, and he was befriended by Bogdan Matv. Khitroff, a man simple[11] and good, whose simplicity Yazikoff abundantly repaid by his subtle and useful observations and suggestions. Bogdan Matveyevich, knowing that the tsar, on his accession, would raise to preëminence his uncle (*diadia*, his mother's first cousin), Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, a man wily and malicious, and fearing lest he should become too powerful and do harm to himself, disclosed his misgivings to Yazikoff, who advised him to give Miloslafsky plenty of work, so as to leave him no time to be much at the court. In consequence of this advice *they* (*i.e.* the Odoefskys, Dolgoroukys, and Khitroffs) gave Miloslafsky the presidency of no fewer than eight prikazes of those in which there was most to do.[12] Probably it was Bogdan Matv. Khitroff who first turned the attention of the young tsar Theodore to Yazikoff, and obtained for him the appointment of postelnik, after which he was quite capable of making his way for himself.'

And Solovieff writes: 'The rise of Yazikoff to favour is accounted for at once by his office of postelnik: the same office had given importance to Adasheff under John IV., and to Rtischeff under Alexis Michaelovich. But there is also a story' (here he quotes from Tatischeff) 'that the "two old boyars, the prince Youry Dolgorouky and Bogdan Khitroff, considering

sotnia of the strapchis (ib. viii. p. 174). In A.D. 1676 he was made postelnik (ib. xx. p. 131); and in Sept. of the same year he was set over the *masterskaia* palata or prikaz; in A.D. 1678 he was created a boyar.

[11] When Bogdan Khitroff was sent in A.D. 1657 to Little Russia, after the death of B. Khmielnitsky, he is said, in dealing with the Kozaks and Vigofskoy, to have 'shown himself *khitrey* (sharp or cunning) *ch'y in rasne*,' but '*good*' he certainly was not.

[12] In fact the boyar *Ivan Michaelovich* (as appears from vol. xx. of the *Drev. R. Bibl.*, p. 277-420), *not Ivan Bogdanovich*, as some have written, took and held the following prikazes: In A.D. 1677 the *Noraia Chet.* and the *Novgorodskaia Chetvert*; and in A.D. 1678 six others, viz. the *Bolshaia Kazna*, the *Bolshoi Prichod*, the *Vladimirskaia Chet.*, the *Galitskaia Chet.*, the *Inozemski* prikaz, and the *Reitarski* prikaz. Of these, one, the *Reitarski* prikaz, gave him the command of the paid regiments of cavalry; but the *Streletski* prikaz (and so all the paid regiments of foot soldiers) and the *Pouskkarski* (the artillery) were in A.D. 1677 and 1678 under the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, as was also the *Kazenni*, the business of which was closely connected with the court. Bogdan Khitroff with his nephew or his son held the *Bolshoi Dvoretz*, which was also closely connected with the palace; and Bas. Sim. Volhynsky, who had been the tool of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky to ruin Matveyeff, and who took in A.D. 1677 the *Razboini* prikaz, did not get the *Posolski*, the object of his ambition, till A.D. 1680, only a little before Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky himself lost the tsar Theodore's favour.

that it would not be easy for them, on account of their increasing age, to maintain themselves in such high favour with the young tsar Theodore, and especially as they knew that Ivan Miloslafsky might be able to do them much prejudice in this respect, proposed to put upon Miloslafsky all the *burden* of public affairs: but at the same time, that they might not part with all facilities" (of influencing the tsar and balancing the power of Miloslafsky), "having knowledge of a certain doumni dvorianin, Ivan Yazikoff, that he was very sharp-witted, and of another man, Alexis Likhacheff, that he was good and conscientious, they praised them up to the tsar, and brought them into favour." They call Yazikoff "sharp-witted" and "a *deep* penetrator," before his promotion, of all that was going on among the people of the *ploshchad*,[43] and afterwards of all that went on among the *dvortsovie* (the courtiers *within* the palace): and they call Likhacheff "a man of good conscience, of great intelligence, and of the most religious disposition." The same character is given also of his brother, Michael Tim. Likhacheff.

'For all these persons the most important question was that of the tsar's marriage. A young tsaritska might either destroy or weaken the influence of the tsarevnas, the aunts and sisters of the tsar, and consequently that also of the Miloslafskys; she might introduce into the palace her own relatives. They say that one day, as he was walking in a procession, Theodore saw a young lady with whose appearance he was much taken, and he charged Yazikoff to make inquiries about her. Yazikoff reported that her name was Agathia Semenova Groushetskaia, and that she lived with her aunt, who was the wife of the secretary of the council, Zabourofsky.[44] It was notified to the secretary that he was not to give away his niece in marriage till further order. Miloslafsky, taking it for granted that this was a scheme of Yazikoff and Likhacheff, began to disparage both the young lady herself and her mother. But Yazikoff and

[43] *i.e.* of the landing, on the top of the palace-stair outside, where those stolniks, &c., stood who had not the right of entrance to the *perédovaia* or antechamber.

[44] Simeon Ivan Zabourofsky was made doumni diak in A.D. 1655, and in A.D. 1664 he was made a doumni dvorianin: as such he sat in the *monastirski prikaz* from A.D. 1668 to 1677. In the lists of the reign of Theodore, given by Berch, App. p. 12, 'the *secretary*' does not appear among the doumnie dvorianins, but only a relation, Sergius Matv. Zabourofsky, who, in vol. xx. of *Drevn. R. Bibl.* p. 216, stands second on the list under the tsars John and Peter.

Likhacheff unmasked the calumny. The tsar married Agathia in July A.D. 1680, and *forbade Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky to appear at court;* and though the young tsaritsa generously interceded that he should be pardoned, he *from that time lost all influence.* Yazikoff, in A.D. 1678, was named postelnik *doumni* (*i.e.* he obtained a seat in the council, which did not belong ordinarily to the place of postelnik): in A.D. 1680 he was made an okolnik and oroujnichey,[45] and on the same day Likhacheff succeeded Yazikoff in the office of postelnik. At the end of the reign of Theodore Yazikoff was created a boyar. Thus the very *nearest* persons to the tsar, and the most influential in matters of state, were new and young men, Yazikoff and Likhacheff. But together with these, if not *equally* near to the tsar, yet with a considerable influence, we see also a man of one of the very first ancient families, viz. the boyar prince Basil Bas. Golitsin,[46] whose ancestor of the same name was so distinguished during the troubles which preceded the election of the tsar Michael. Basil Golitsin was for ability the first of all the boyars of his time, and to this he added a degree of cultivation which was then rare. And so, in speaking of the acts of the government of the tsar Theodore, we must keep in view the people who surrounded him, at first the Miloslafskys, and then, especially from the year 1680, Yazikoff, Likhacheff, and Golitsin; though we may not be able to determine the exact share belonging to each of these last three in the measures of the government' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 238-240).

'On the 11th July A.D. 1681, a son was born to the tsar Theodore, and named Elia, but the tsaritsa Agathia died on the 14th, and the child six days after the mother. Those about the tsar began immediately to think of a second marriage; and certainly it was not without the influence of Yazikoff that before the end of that same year he was betrothed to Martha Matveyevna Apraxin, a relative of Yazikoff, and goddaughter, as it is

[45] After the death of Bogdan Khitroff, who died 27th March, in A.D. 1680.

[46] Born about A.D. 1633, and so forty-three years old at the accession of Theodore. In Sept. A.D. 1667 he held the Vladimirski Soudni prikaz. His first wife was Avdotia, daughter of Ivan Theod. Streshneff, and so second cousin to the tsarevna Sophia. (She could not therefore have married him, *as some say she wished to do*, he being related to her through his first marriage in the sixth degree). His second wife Theodosia (daughter of Basil Dolgorouky, and niece to the wife of Nik. Iv. Odoefsky), with his children, went with him into banishment in A.D. 1689. He died in A.D. 1713, aged 80.

said, to Artemon Serg. Matveyeff. The marriage was solemnised on Wednesday, 15th Feb. A.D. 1682, but privately,[47] by the confessor, in the palace church above, on account of the increasing ill-health of the tsar, who died between two and three months later, on the 27th April.'

After this brief relation of the end of Theodore's reign, Solovieff goes back a little, and observes that 'the growth of the tsar to manhood, his displeasure (from the time of his first marriage in July 1680) with Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, and his favour to Yazikoff and the Likhacheffs, and later his connection with the Apraxins, all together had an influence on the lot of two prominent characters of the preceding reign—Nicon and Matveyeff.'

Thus Solovieff couples these two sufferers together; and we will accept this combination, and follow out with his help the parallel observable in their fortunes, from the time of the unjust banishment of Matveyeff and the first persecution of Nicon in A.D. 1676, till the parallel becomes a contrast in their respective ends in A.D. 1681 and 1682.

'We left Nicon in the Kyrilloff monastery of Bielo-ozero, where he was treated much more rigorously than he had been previously at the Therapontoff. But at Moscow, and in the palace itself, he had a powerful friend in the tsar's aunt, Tatiana Michaelovna, who had always been attached to Nicon, and who now, taking advantage of the change of circumstances, when the influence of the Miloslafskys and of Khitroff had been weakened, began to suggest to her nephew how bad it was to persecute and to keep imprisoned a man who had rendered such services to them all at the time of the plague[48] (in A.D. 1654). At her suggestion the tsar began to visit the unfinished monastery of Voskresensk; he was pleased with the beauty of its site, with its magnificent and interesting plan; and he spared no expense for the resumption and completion of the works. He proposed to the patriarch Joachim to let Nicon return to his New Jerusalem. But Joachim

[47] Theodore's first marriage, also in A.D. 1680, Sunday the 18th July, though celebrated in the cathedral of the Assumption by the patriarch Joachim after the liturgy, was *quite private*, with only the two kliuchars and one deacon to assist the patriarch. *Drev. R. Bibl.*, vol. xi. p. 192-194.

[48] She and Simeon of Polotsk told Theodore, no doubt, a little more than this; and there 'was nothing in the nature or memory of her nephew' to make him raise such objections as would occur to the mind of Solovieff.

was very jealous of his own authority; and without insisting on reports, current among contemporaries, that Simeon of Polotsk thought to use Nicon as an instrument against Joachim, one can understand that Joachim would not be willing to bring near to Moscow and to the tsar his own former superior, who still called himself patriarch; and his refusal might be put in a very reasonable form: "Nicon was deposed and degraded, not by us, but by a plenary council, and by the œcumenical patriarchs; we cannot let him return without their concurrence: however, hossoudar, let it be as thou pleasest;" so said Joachim to the tsar. A synod was convoked, but it decided nothing; the president of the synod was adverse, and the rest, it seems, were not partisans of Nicon. All that the tsar could do was to comfort the prisoner by an autograph letter.' This letter we here insert:

['To our father in the Holy Ghost the *patriarch* Nicon: I the sinful tsar Theodore, with my wife, do our obeisance: and I make known to thy honour, *if it please God that this letter reach thee*, that we trust in God that it will not be long before thy honour be brought back to us; and thou shalt dwell with us in New Jerusalem; and *thou shalt receive again thy completeness.* And thereupon I, the sinful tsar Theodore, with my wife, wish to have thy blessing, both at your personal meeting with us, and by writing. Amen.']

'Meanwhile Nicon fell into a state of extreme weakness. The archimandrite of the Kyrilloff informed the patriarch that his prisoner had taken the *schima*, and had been anointed. The archimandrite asked for directions, where was he to be buried? and in what terms was he to be commemorated and prayed for? Joachim ordered that he should be buried as a common monk. But Nicon, even when dying, did not consider himself to be a common monk. In his last letter to the brethren of Voskresensk he still calls himself *patriarch*. In this letter Nicon informs them of his extreme sickness: "There was a gracious intimation," he writes, "from the great hossoudar, that he meant to take me out of my affliction, in compliance with your petition, and he was so good as to write with his own hand; but now that time has passed, and there has been no oukaz from him; I may die at any moment. Have pity on me, my children; remember not my roughness; petition once more for me the great hossoudar; leave me not to die as if from ill-treatment;

the end of my life is drawing near." The monks of Voskresensk presented this letter to the tsar; he showed it to the patriarch and to the other bishops, entreating them to consent to the removal of the dying man. At length they consented. They took Nicon from the Kyrilloff monastery: with the greatest difficulty they conveyed him to the river Shexna: there they put him on board a barge, and carried him down the Shexna to the Volga, and then by the Volga to Yaroslaff. When they had come to the Tolgsky monastery, Nicon, feeling the extremity of weakness, bade them put to shore, and caused himself to be communicated.' In this monastery there was still living in disgrace, under surveillance, and degraded to the state of a common monk, that archimandrite Sergius who had been sent to summon Nicon to the Council in December A.D. 1666, and who afterwards had been placed over him as *pristav*, and had treated him with brutality. He now had just before dreamed that he saw Nicon saying to him, 'Brother Sergius, let us forgive and embrace one another!' and on waking, being told that Nicon was actually there, and that he was dying, he came forth, and fell at Nicon's feet, confessing all his former sin against him, and asking forgiveness. After this the barge was towed out of the Volga into the river Kotorost. Here Nicon died, on the 17th August, A.D 1681, aged seventy-five years. They carried his body to Voskresensk, where it was buried with the utmost solemnity, in presence of the tsar and of all the imperial family, with their suites, the metropolitan of Novgorod officiating, and commemorating him as patriarch, as if he had died in possession of the chair. The streltsi too were there, and now as a guard of honour. Thus Nicon even in this world was owned to have been unhurt by the fire of persecution; and the tsar Theodore called to him, as it were, to come out from the fiery furnace. We may now return to the ex-commander of the streltsi Matveyeff, of whom Solovieff writes as follows:

'Certainly it was not owing to his own lacrymose petitions and well-put justifications of himself, but owing to the changes which had occurred at the court, that the lot of the exiles of Poustozersk also, at the same time with the lot of Nicon (that is in A.D. 1680), was alleviated. The alleviation at first was not very great, to judge by the new complaints of Matveyeff: "Order was given"—so he writes to the tsar—"to remove us

to Mezen, from the place of the Desolate Lake and of bitter tears, from the sea to the same dreary sea, to be still in the same narrow confinement and under the same prison guard: and neither at Mezen is there a soul who can give one anything gratuitously: there is an allowance of 150 rubles, which will be for one day to ourselves and our orphans at the rate of three dengi; and for our clothing thy imperial gracious oukaz makes no provision. But even the adversaries of the Church, who are banished to Mezen, as the wife and children of Abbakoum, have a daily allowance of a grosh (*i.e.* of two kopeks or *four* dengi), and for the children three dengi: but we are not adversaries of the Church, nor of your imperial authority: I lament that, old as I am to grey hairs, and old in labours and service, I am placed on a par for my allowance for maintenance with a child of a year old."

'At the end of A.D. 1681 the tsar Theodore, as has been said above, was betrothed to Martha Matv. Apraxin; and the first thing she did was to petition her future husband for her godfather. So, early in January 1682, there was despatched to Mezen the captain Lishoukoff with an oukaz to notify to Matveyeff and his son that the tsar, considering their innocence and the calumny which there had been against them, and having compassion on them, had ordered that they should be set free from surveillance; that their Moscow house, their estates near Moscow and elsewhere, and their personal property—so much of it, that is, as had not been granted away or sold—should be restored to them; and besides this the tsar granted them a new estate (a *votchina*) in the riding of Souzdal, viz. the selo of Verchni Landech, with its derevnias, 800 dvors of peasants; and he commanded that they should receive a pass and go from Mezen to the town of Louch (in the riding of Kostroma), there to remain till farther order.

'They say that the young wife of the tsar Theodore, Martha Matveyevna, did her utmost (and with success) to bring about a good understanding between her husband and the stepmother and her children. And together with the tsaritsa Martha there now interceded warmly for the tsaritsa Natalia, for the Nariskins, and for Matveyeff, the Apraxins, Yazikoff, and the Likhacheffs. But why, it may be asked, did Yazikoff and the Likhacheffs begin so late to be thus zealous? They might have done

the same long before. The answer is, that before *they* had *no need*: the chief power was in the hands of the Yazikoffs and the Likhacheffs; why should they share it with anybody else? The tsar Theodore was not yet so weak but that they might hope to see issue from him. But all at once the tsaritsa and her newly-born son die; the tsar marries again; but this desperate resource avails nothing: Theodore day by day becomes visibly weaker. Yazikoff, that deep and penetrating observer and calculator, saw then the necessity of providing for the future. After Theodore there would remain as heirs two brothers: John, sickly, half blind, weak of intellect; and Peter, a healthy, lively, talented boy of ten years. If one took the side of John, what was the prospect? It would be *always* necessary that others should govern for him. And who, in point of fact, would govern? The tsarevna Sophia, with the Miloslafskys? If so, Yazikoff and the Likhacheffs must prepare to be sent farther even than to Poustozersk; for Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky was not likely to forget that he had been deprived of power by Yazikoff and the Likhacheffs. On the other hand, to establish friendly relations with the Narishkins and with Matveyeff by promoting their recall was easy; and the more so as there was no ancient enmity standing in the way.

'The major part of the nobility would naturally share the view of Yazikoff and the Likhacheffs. To insist on the right of the incompetent tsarevich John was the same thing as to invite troubles against themselves and the country: and who of the nobility had any wish to be subject to the Miloslafskys, or to those whom the tsarevna Sophia might call in to be her advisers? But Matveyeff had once before blocked the way against the Miloslafskys and Khitroff;[49] and he had always been deferential towards people of note. And it is to be observed that most of the highest nobility—who represented the families of note—consisted at this time of men either altogether superannuated, or unfit for public activity, and so disposed to be content if only they were duly honoured. Two members of the old nobility, the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin and the prince Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, were not in favour of Peter. We may suppose that the prince Basil Golitsin was already in league with

[49] Bogdan Khitroff was now dead. He died in 1680, but his son, the boyar Ivan, remained, and his nephew or cousin Ivan Sebastianovich, and many other relatives who had been advanced by Bogdan's influence.

the tsarevna Sophia, and that if she had triumphed by obtaining the succession for John, he would have come forward to play the first part. The prince Khoviansky, the distinguished commander of the tsar Alexis — distinguished chiefly for his defeats, and for the complaints made against him — was a man energetic and bold, but without discretion, passionate, restless, and haughty, faithfully caricatured by his popular nickname *Tararoma*. A member of a noble family, but one long undistinguished by public services, Khoviansky all the more proudly for that boasted his descent from Hedimine, and spoke out more roughly than others against new people, such as had come up in these last years. A bigot for antiquity, Khoviansky could ill endure the Nashchokins, Matveyeff's, Yazikoffs, Likhacheffs, Narishkins, and Apraxins, and impatiently expected a time when all these odious people should vanish, and he should have a chance of obtaining a sphere of activity worthy of him. Whoever would give him a prospect of this was likely to have his support. From the Narishkins and Matveyeff Khoviansky expected no good for himself, nor consequently for Russia; and *therefore* he was not for Peter.

'Thus the tsarevnas, the daughters of Maria Ilichna Miloslafsky, and their representative Sophia had no prospect of support from the council. And meanwhile their position was desperate. After the accession of Theodore they had taken advantage of their triumph, and had not spared their stepmother nor her relations and adoptive father: what good, then, could they expect now from the triumph of the tsaritsa Natalia, the Narishkins, and Matveyeff? Sophia and the man whose interests were most closely bound up with her interests acted by an instinct of *self-preservation*.[50] As their instruments there come to view young people of no note — the stolniks Alexander Iv. Miloslafsky (son of Ivan Bogd., and so nephew of Ivan Mich.), the two brothers Ivan and Peter Andr. Tolstoy (relatives of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky), two podpolkovniks of streltsi, Ivan Tsikler from the foreigners, and Ivan Ozeroff, and some delegates from the streltsi, Boris Odontsoff, Abrosimus Petroff, and Kouzma Chermni. By means of money and large promises they suc-

[50] They do not seem to have been in any danger of being *murdered* by Matveyeff and the Narishkins, nor even of being *banished*. 'An instinct of self-preservation!'

ceeded in organising a band of people ready to insist on the rights of the elder tsarevich to the throne.

'Such was the state of things at the death of the tsar Theodore. The great nobles, who had determined to proclaim Peter, knew or guessed what Miloslafsky was doing, and in consequence they thought that at this proclamation there might even be daggers drawn. The diadka[51] of the tsarevich Peter, the prince Boris Alex. Golitsin, with his brother Ivan, and four Dolgoroukys, Yakoff, Luke, Boris, and Gregory, when they started to go to the palace for the election of a tsar, put on under their clothes shirts of mail. For that time, however, there was no disturbance. When all had taken leave of the deceased tsar, and had then kissed the hands of both his brothers John and Peter, the patriarch, with the bishops and grandees, went out to the *perelovaia* (the antechamber) and asked: "Which of the two tsareviches is to be tsar?" They were answered: "This question ought to be decided by the people of the Muscovite empire of all orders." The "Muscovite empire," in the more confined sense of the words, commonly meant the capital; so at least the phrase was understood now. The patriarch, with the bishops and grandees, went out on to the stair, desired the people of all orders to assemble on the place below, before the church of the Saviour, and asked them which of the two tsareviches was to reign. Cries arose, "Peter Alexievich!" There were also cries of "John Alexievich!" But these were drowned by the first. The people of all orders decided the matter. The patriarch returned into the palace, and blessed to the empire Peter.

'But who were they, and from what instigations did they act, who cried out for John? A story is related of one of them, a dvorianin named Maxim Soumbouloff, who some years afterwards being asked by Peter, "Why wert thou not for me?" replied: "Judas for thirty pieces of silver betrayed Christ, being his disciple: I, hossoudar, was never thy disciple; is it strange then that I gave thee up, being only a poor dvorianin, for the promise of being made a boyar?"

'Soumbouloff and his fellows did not succeed in crying up John. Peter was proclaimed tsar; that is, the government by

[51] So Soloviéff calls him; but Oustrialoff calls the two Streshneffs *diadkas* and Boris Golitsin *kraichi*.

a recognised custom passed for the present to his mother, the tsaritsa Natalia. "The odious stepmother will be regent!" this thought was enough to choke Sophia: she could not restrain herself.[52] Nor could any dissimulation now avail. On the day of the burial of the tsar Theodore she followed on foot the coffin to the church, contrary to usage, which did not allow the tsarevnas to take part in such public ceremonies. In vain they tried to dissuade her; she would listen to nobody; and she is said to have drawn attention to herself by loud sobbings and lamentations. The bitter distress of Sophia was unfeigned. There was no dissembling either on the other side. The tsaritsa Natalia and the tsar Peter, after having taken their last leave of the deceased, returned to the palace long before the end of the funeral office, and they were followed by some of the grandees. This conduct much displeased the tsarevnas, of whom Anna[53] and Tatiana Michaelevna, as being the aunts of the tsar, were specially respected. They sent some nuns to the tsaritsa Natalia with a message of expostulation: "A good brother! he could not wait to the end of the burial service!" The tsaritsa replied that Peter was as yet only a young boy, and he could not stand through such a long service fasting. But the tsaritsa's brother Ivan Cyrill. Narishkin, who had only recently returned from his exile, said: "As for him

[52] Schebolsky writes that, 'Surrounded by her sisters, over whom she exercised a powerful influence, the tsarevna Sophia with painful anxiety awaited the decision of the question of the succession. As long as the consultations of the boyars and the clergy were going on she did not give up all hope, counting upon her own favour with the people. But when the name of Peter flew to her ears uttered by a thousand voices, losing all command over herself, she exclaimed: "This election is not just! Peter is still young and incompetent, but John is of age: he ought to be tsar!" Not confining herself to this protest, which involuntarily burst out from her, she called to her the patriarch, and desired that he in the name of legality and primogeniture should annul the election made by the people. The hot blood of Sophia boiled, and overclouded her judgment. The patriarch naturally answered that the election was now over, and that to change it was impossible. "At least let both reign!" she exclaimed. "Polyarchy" (*i.e.* to have a number of joint rulers), the patriarch replied, "is ruinous: let there be one tsar: such is the will of God!"' (For this he quotes Krekshin, p. 32).

'But if the passionate temperament of Sophia carried her sometimes too far, her reason was strong enough in the end to prevail. She saw the indiscretion and inutility of her own words, and hastened to do away with their impression by proposing to her sisters to go at once to wish joy to the new tsar' (p. 19).

[53] Irene, the eldest of the three aunts, was now dead: she died Feb. 7 in A.D. 1679.

who is dead, let him lie: but the imperial majesty is not dead; that is alive." At length the funeral ceremony was finished; Sophia returned to the palace; and it was said that, as she was going from the church, and weeping bitterly, she turned to the people with some such words as these: "You see how our brother the tsar Theodore has suddenly left this world; he was poisoned by enemies. Have pity upon us orphans; we have neither father, nor mother, nor brother. Our elder brother Ivan has not been elected to the empire. But if we have incurred any blame in your sight or in that of the boyars, then let us go away, while we are still alive, to foreign lands, to Christian sovereigns." These words are said to have produced a strong impression on the people.

"But however strong was this impression, to reckon upon the peaceable unarmed multitude was out of the question; and therefore they had recourse to the streltsi, who had already been prepared for mutiny, and were quite ready to rise. We know that at that time, when the strong man, invested with authority, sought above all to fatten himself at the expense of the weak man who was under him, and whom he used for his own personal service, complaints came not only from townspeople oppressed by their voivode governors, but also from people in the tsar's service who were oppressed by their voivodes and others; and so it will not surprise us that the *strèltsi* also and the *soldati*, at the end of the reign of Theodore, complained against the oppressions of their polkovniks. For the streltsi these oppressions were very sensible, because when not on duty they lived with their families in separate suburbs (*slobodas*), and followed various employments. Their chief complaint against some of their polkovniks was this, that they employed them on their private work, and so took them away from their own crafts and occupations. The time, too, was then such that the polkovniks might easily take greater license than before, and the streltsi might be more insubordinate. Looking at the general action of the government, we cannot but acknowledge the intelligence and good intentions of Yazikoff and the Likhacheffs; but we see no indications of any special talents, or of that firmness of character which is so necessary for the maintenance of order. Those who extol Yazikoff mention chiefly his address and cunning; but cunning is the arm of the *weak*. Besides,

when the tsar Theodore was visibly sinking, Yazikoff and his colleagues had to think first about themselves. How feeble-spirited were all the rest of the courtiers we shall see from their disgraceful conduct during the mutiny of the streltsi. Then was shown all the weakness of the old system of a band of hereditary soldiers and voivodes making the suite of the prince, and the necessity of a change. The security and tranquillity of the capital depended on the streltsi; and the streletski prikaz was under the direction of the old boyar Youry Alex. Dolgorouky. We have repeatedly had him before us as one of the most conspicuous commanders of the tsar Alexis, and as one of those people who were the very nearest to his person; but now the prince Youry was reduced to a wreck from old age and palsy; his son and colleague in the prikaz, the prince Michael, had not made himself respected; and so the polkovniks oppressed the streltsi, and the streltsi began to be mutinous, not feeling over them any strong hand capable of repressing at once injustice and insubordination.

'The streltsi of the Pijoff regiment presented to the tsar a petition from their whole body against their polkovnik Bogdan Pijoff, alleging that he deducted from them the half of their daily pay. The tsar ordered Yazikoff to make inquest concerning the matter. Yazikoff in making the inquest is said by Medveydeff to have gone only on the representations of the polkovniks. And though the statement of a partisan of Sophia and the Miloslafskys, who would be unfriendly to Yazikoff, may of itself alone seem questionable, still one must consider that for Yazikoff, "the deep penetrator of the intrigues of courtiers," to bring under notice abuses in the streletski prikaz would be the same thing as to offend the president of that prikaz, the prince Dolgorouky, who was such a *pillar!* However this may have been, the petitioning streltsi—some of the best men—were punished, that in future they might not dare to present petitions against their polkovniks: they were knouted and exiled. The polkovniks hereupon began to treat the men still worse than before. On the 23rd of April A.D. 1682 the streltsi presented a fresh petition against another polkovnik, Griboyedeff; but this time, fearing lest they should again seem to be showing disrespect to Dolgorouky, they gave in their petition in the streletski prikaz through a delegate chosen from among them-

selves. The diaks[54] of the prikaz reported to Dolgorouky that the petition had been brought by a drunken streletz, who uttered many abusive words. The boyar ordered that the man should be seized and knouted in front of the muster-house of the polk. But when they brought out the streletz, and read to him his sentence, he cried aloud to his comrades: "Brothers! you know it was by your desire and for you that I gave in the petition; why, then, do you now suffer them to do me such wrong and violence?" The streltsi were all roused; they rushed upon the guards of the prikaz, dispersed them, and rescued their comrade. This was the signal for an agitation in almost all the polks[55] of the streltsi. The *soldati* gave in at the same time a petition against their general Matthew Kravkoff. The streltsi petitioned the tsar against Griboyedeff, and would have mutinied. The government prevented the mutiny by ordering that Griboyedeff should be cashiered, that his lands should be taken away, and he himself banished to Totem.

'Such was the state of things when Theodore died. On the very day of his death, when the oath to Peter was administered, the streltsi of the Karandeyeff prikaz refused to kiss the cross; but an okolnik with a doumni dvorianin and one of the secretaries of the council at length persuaded them, and the streltsi all took the oath to Peter.

'But on the third day there came to the palace a crowd of them, who, in the name of sixteen out of the twenty polks of the *streltsi*, and of one polk of the *soldati* (the Boutirsky), demanded that nine polkovniks (and one "general" of soldati) should be arrested and compelled to refund the money which they had extorted from the streltsi, and also to pay money for the forced labours which they had imposed upon them; else they would right themselves by killing the polkovniks and plundering their houses. "The other traitors too shall come in for it!" they cried: "Are we to suffer oppression from the polkovniks, and to look on, while traitors deceive the tsar's majesty?" About the tsaritsa Natalia there was not at that time a single person with any presence of mind: they were all frightened; they

[54] The head of these was the doumni diak Larion Ivanoff.

[55] Of these, it is said, there were then in Moscow nineteen, forming a body of 14,198 men, giving about 750 actually serving in each polk. There were besides some 'polks' of *regular* soldiers, called '*soldati*,' under commanders called '*generali*.' Act. Arch. Exp. iv. No. 280.

knew not what to do; they determined to arrest the nine polkovniks, and to place them under guard in the *reitarski prikaz*. But the streltsi were not content with this; they demanded that the polkovniks should be given up to them, to be dealt with at their discretion. The government did not consent to this, but promised that it would do full justice. The streltsi were long obstinate, and were hardly at length persuaded by some of the grandees, and by the bishops. It was promised them that their former polkovniks should be made to refund all the money, and that new polkovniks should be appointed. But according to some contemporary accounts[56] the government was so frightened that it consented to give up the polkovniks: the patriarch Joachim alone perceived how fatal such a step would be, and hastened to send about to all the polks ecclesiastics to engage them not to insist on the polkovniks being given up.

'However that was, the polkovniks were required to pay the whole score of the money claimed from them by the streltsi. The streltsi demanded of them 2000 rubles; and they that could not pay were kept for two hours or so *na pravejey* (*i.e.* being beaten to force them to find the money). Besides that, some who were vehemently accused were specially beaten with cudgels; and Karandeyeff and Griboyedeff were knouted; before which, as was customary, the accusations or statements of their crimes were read to them.

'Though the streltsi had not insisted on the polkovniks being given up to them, they flocked in crowds to the place, to witness the exaction of the money and the infliction of punishment; and they directed all. When they cried "Enough!" the beating ceased. But violent displeasure was expressed not only against the polkovniks of the streltsi, but also against all those who had been the favourites in the past reign; and in order to put an end to this discontent, the tsar disgraced and forbade access to himself to the boyar Ivan Max. Yazikoff and his son the chashnik Simeon, to the postelnik Alexis Likhacheff and his brother Michael the treasurer, and to the blijnie stolniks Ivan Yazikoff and Ivan Dashkoff. But this measure produced no effect.

'Having obtained their will against the polkovniks, the

[56] Alluding to Medveydeff, who was no friend either to the patriarch Joachim, and not likely to relate anything to his advantage unless it had been true.

streltsi cast off all restraint, not feeling that there was any power over them. They began every day to hold meetings in great crowds in the izbas of the polks. Their boyars, the princes Dolgorouky, they entirely disregarded, cutting jokes upon them, and threatening them. Still less were they likely to respect their officers of secondary grade; these they simply drove away from the regimental izbas, casting stones and sticks at them, with words of disrespect. But those of their officers who attempted by any severity to restore order they tortured, and—worse than that—they seized them, took them up to the top of the *kalancha* (the tower attached to their regimental izba), and cast them thence headlong to the cry of "Liubo! liubo!" (Good! good!). But after having thus run wild, thanks to the complete weakness of the government, or rather to the absence of any government, the streltsi would feel that their liberty would be at an end whenever the weakness of the government ceased, and that then they might have to pay dear for it. With what avidity then would they not listen to suggestions that there was no reason to respect the government, or to obey it; that it was an usurpation; that to despise such a government and to go against it was not treasonable insurrection, but meritorious service! One contemporary writer says that the intelligence of the movements of the streltsi was for the tsarevna Sophia no less welcome than was for Noah the olive-leaf brought to the ark by the dove. First of all, they say, *Khovianskoy* made up to the streltsi: his words, as those of a veteran commander, produced a powerful impression: "You yourselves see," said Tararoua, first to one man of them and then to another,—"you yourselves see under what a heavy yoke you are with the boyars: now they have elected God knows what kind of a tsar![56] You will see not only will they not give you your money and provisions, but you will be heavily burdened with task-work, as you have been before, and your children will be for ever their slaves; and what is worst of all, they will subject both you and us to servitude under some foreign enemy; they will ruin Moscow, and destroy the Orthodox faith."[57] But

[56] Pointing at the Narishkins as people of low origin, who would now govern in the name of Peter.

[57] Here Khovianskoy shows that while volunteering to play the game of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky and Sophia, he had already an *arrière-pensée* of coming forward eventually himself and heading a revolution in the name of the *raskol;* and so he did; but the streltsi were divided, and he failed.

it was not Khovianskoy only who made such suggestions: Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky from his bed, where he lay feigning sickness, instigated them to conspiracy. To him there used to come by night delegates of the streltsi, Odontsoff, Petroff, and Chermni, who told him of all their movements, together with the Tolstoys, Tsikler, and Ozeroff. The widow of a kozak from Little Russia, named Theodora Semenova Rodimitsa, who was woman of the bedchamber (*postelnitsa*) to the tsarevna Sophia, went with money and large promises from Sophia to the streltsi. The agitation spread to all the polks; only one of them, the Soukharevsky, was kept back by the restraining influence of the *piatisotni* (commander of 500) Bourmistroff, and the piatidesiatnik (commander of 50) Borisoff. The streltsi assembled daily in *rings* after the kozak fashion, stood under arms without any order from the polkovnik, beat their drums, shouted around the baths in the market against the government, with this cry for their burden: "We will not be ruled by the Narishkins and Matveyeff; we will wring all their necks."

'But from these words they did not go on at once to act: for this it was not enough for them to have vague expectations of all manner of evil from the tsaritsa Natalia, and promises of all manner of good from the tsarevna Sophia; there needed yet some more forcible impulse to decide them, and make them all rush to the palace. The conspirators in the palace held back as yet from giving this impulse; they were waiting for the arrival of Matveyeff, whom they destined to be the first to fall under the blows of the streltsi, because he alone could give power to the government of the hated stepmother.

'We have seen,' Schebolsky writes, 'that already, in the time of Theodore, Matveyeff had been removed from Mezen to Louch (which is in the riding of Kostroma, 466 versts from Moscow), there to remain till farther oukaz of the tsar. This farther oukaz[58] came to him only after the death of Theodore, in the name of the tsar Peter, bidding him come to Moscow with all speed. The old man[59] started at once. On the way he was met by the secretary of the council Lopouchin, who notified to

[58] It was dated on the 27th April, the day of Theodore's death and of the election of Peter.

[59] Matveyeff's age was fifty-seven, or possibly fifty-nine, when he was murdered. See the note at p. 815.

him in the name of the tsar his restoration to his former rank of boyar. He was also met by seven streltsi, who went out to advertise him of the agitation going on among their comrades, and of the danger which might await him. This information caused him to make all the more haste: "I will quell the mutiny," he said, "or lay down my life for the Hossoudar." At the monastery of Troitsa and on the way from thence there were fresh meetings to do him honour: and at length, at the selo Bratovtschino, not far from Moscow, one of the brothers of the tsaritsa, Athanasius Cyrillovich Narishkin, met him in her name, and brought for him her own carriage. So the return of Matveyeff (like that of Nicon) from the last place of his exile was a sort of triumph. Seeing the imperial grace lavished upon him, and sincerely respecting him besides, the authorities of those towns through which his road lay and the heads of the monasteries came out to meet him, and to offer him hospitality. The nearer he approached to Moscow, the more demonstrations of public rejoicing and respect marked his progress. It was in the evening of the 12th that he entered the city. It must have been painful to him, no doubt, to find his house—that house in which he had so often received the tsar Alexis—empty and desolate, and its courtyard overgrown with weeds; but that courtyard and those chambers so long untenanted were soon again filled with visitors. Kolimagi, karetti, saddle-horses, with whole squadrons of streltsi of the stremianni polk as escorts, noblemen on horseback and their numerous servants were crowded in the courtyard; while the chambers were thronged by boyars, okolniks, "generals," polkovniks, dvorianins, grandees, and officials of all orders, who in an uninterrupted stream hastened to welcome back him who but a few days before was an exile. Among these people there were not a few who, belonging to the party of the tsarevna, came only to mask their secret designs: many of Matveyeff's known enemies were in the crowd in his rooms. One of them, however, and he the most irreconcilable and the most dangerous of all, Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, spared himself the annoyance of going through such dissimulation by having some time before feigned sickness.' So writes Schebolsky (p. 23). Solovieff more briefly tells his readers, that 'on the next day after his arrival (which should be the 13th) Matveyeff presented himself to the tsar and the tsaritsa, "at which meeting there

was joy unspeakable, such as no pen of man could adequately describe." On the 13th (the same day, that is, after being at the palace) "he rode to pay a visit to the patriarch Joachim, and conversed long with him in his inner cell: he went also to inquire after the health of *his old friend* the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, who was sick, and had a long conversation with him." In the mean time all the nobility were hastening to pay their visits at the house of Matveyeff, in whose hands the government was now to be concentrated. There came also delegates *of the streltsi* from all the polks with bread and salt, and with a request for his intercession, because their services were better known to him than to any one else of the boyars.

'With Miloslafsky and his confederates all was ready, and it was necessary for them now to make haste: Matveyeff was in Moscow; it was necessary to fall upon him at once, unawares, and not give him time to take the government into his hands. The hated old man had not lost at Poustozersk and Mezen anything of his former tact, of his talent for winning people. How well he knew how to receive every one who came to him, and to flatter their *amour propre!* All were delighted; all were won by his words and by his tears, even those who were not before very well disposed towards him. All were hoping that Matveyeff would put down the streltsi; that he would put down also in a certain sense the Narishkins. They were offended at the immoderate exaltation of the brothers of the tsaritsa, quite young people, in whom no one recognised any special merits: "Ivan Cyrillovich, at the age of twenty-three, is made a boyar; and Athanasius Narishkin, aged only twenty, has been made kraichi!" so they exclaimed: and soon after his return reports were in circulation that Matveyeff also disapproved of that rapid exaltation of the Narishkins. All were glad to see him back; and therefore it was necessary for Miloslafsky to make haste.

'The 15th of May was fixed on by the conspirators for their rising. The streltsi had already among them a list of *traitors*[60] to be destroyed. Early in the morning there hurried from one polk of the streltsi to another Alexander Iv. Miloslafsky and Peter Andr. Tolstoy, shouting that the Narishkins have strangled the tsarevich John, and bidding the streltsi to go to the Kremlin

[60] Berch says, 'A list of forty-six names, beginning with those of the Narishkins and Matveyeff.'

for duty. The streltsi forthwith sounded the tocsin, began to beat their drums, and marched towards the palace with colours flying, and bringing with them two cannons. This was on the Monday. It was noon, and Matveyeff had gone down the palace stair to ride home, when just then at the foot of the stair there met him the boyar prince Theodore Sem. Ourousoff, with the information that "the streltsi and soldati have risen in mutiny, have already crossed the Zemliani-gorod, and are now in the Bieli-gorod." Matveyeff returned up the stairs, and reported this to the tsaritsa. Immediately orders were given to the pod-polkovnik of the *stremianni* polk on duty to shut all the gates of the Kremlin. But it was too late; the streltsi of the stremianni polk had been gained for Sophia like the rest, and all the gates were held by a throng of the men, so that there was no possibility of shutting them. Presently some boyars came hurrying in with the news that "the streltsi will soon be here, and they are shouting that the tsarevich John has been made away with by the Narishkins, and that they, the streltsi, are going to extirpate the traitors and destroyers of the imperial race." The sound of the tocsin and beating of drums was now heard all over the Kremlin; shots too were fired; the streltsi killed many of the people of the boyars who were waiting with their horses or carriages, and many of their horses, and others they wounded and maimed. Matveyeff and the other *blijnie*, who were all assembled about the tsaritsa, sent for the *patriarch*[61] Joachim, who came together with those who had been sent for him. Meanwhile it had been proposed to bring forth to the streltsi the tsar and the tsarevich.[62] The tsaritsa, together with the patriarch and the boyars, led out Peter with his brother on to the landing, at the top of the krasnoe kriltso. The crowd was silenced. "How is this?" they thought: "is there not even now

[61] Such a patriarch—though he was not destitute of some good qualities, and though he had sinned in time past only so far as his own interests had required—could not now help them. But if the *true* patriarch had been maintained in power, it would never have come to this: Matveyeff would never have been banished; nor would Sophia have grown up under the same influences; nor would she and Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky or Khovianskoy now have found the same opportunity.

[62] So, too, at Astrachan in 1670, the first pretext had been anticipated and removed by the voivode Ivan Prozorofsky and the metropolitan Joseph; but in both cases there was a deeper and truer cause—a cause too deep to be removed by anything which they could do whose time was come to suffer the punishment due to them.

some deception?" Some of the streltsi set a ladder, went up by it to the stair,[63] to the tsarevich himself, and asked him, Was he really the tsarevich John Alexievich? and who of the boyars wanted to make away with him? "Nobody wants to make away with me, and I have no reason to complain of anybody," was the reply of John.

'That was a terribly critical moment for the conspiracy. The streltsi were disarmed. Were they to retire with disgrace from the Kremlin, it would be difficult to bring them thither again to be fooled in the same way; and in the mean time Matveyeff would be taking his measures. They began with desperation to instigate the crowd to cry out that though the tsarevich *was* alive, his enemies, Matveyeff and the Narishkins, must be given up: they cried that Ivan Narishkin had put on the crown and some other imperial ornaments.[64] Some of the boyars went down to parley with the streltsi, viz. the prince Michael Alegoukovich Cherkassky, the prince Ivan Andr. *Khovanskoy*, Peter Bas. Sheremetieff the elder, and the prince *Basil Bas. Golitsin*. The streltsi demanded of them that the great hossoudar should order a long list of boyars and others, whom they named, to be given up to them (Matveyeff, of course, being one of the first). When they were told that those named were not with the hossoudar, they began to be tumultuous; and from the prince Cherkassky they tore off his kaftan. At this moment Matveyeff went down by the stair to the railing, and began to harangue the streltsi: he reminded them of their former services: in past time they had helped to put down insurrections; but now, by mutinying themselves, they were effacing the merit of all their former services. In vain *Khovanskoy*, as some say, *made signs to the streltsi to fall upon Matveyeff*; they stood still and motionless, and requested Matveyeff to intercede for them with the tsar. Matveyeff, well pleased with the turn things were taking, returned up the stair to the tsaritsa. But the conspirators were not asleep: seeing

[63] The railing in front of it below not having been as yet forced by the rioters.

[64] Berch writes that before this 'the streltsi had feared that the council would decimate them. It was rumoured among them that Ivan Narishkin takes men of note by the beard and puts on the tsar's robes. The tsaritsa Martha and the tsarevna Sophia caught him so robed, and seated on the throne; and when they scolded him, he nearly throttled the tsarevich John.'

that they had no success in front of the palace, they brought a gang of the most desperate of the streltsi from the corridors of the granovitaia palata to the krasnoe kriltso (the main or grand stair): and in the mean time, in front of the palace also, their cause was assisted by a man who would have been the last of all for them to think of as likely to assist them. This was the prince Michael Dolgorouky, of whom nothing had been heard during all the continuance of that terrible mutiny, when he ought to have endeavoured to prevent things coming to their present pitch; but now, when the streltsi were in an awkward position, having come on a false and absurd report into the Kremlin and to the palace, and when they had been calmed by Matveyeff, this was the moment at which the prince Michael came forward to play the man of authority! With scoldings and threats he began to shout to them, ordering them "*instantly*" to "clear out from the Kremlin, and disperse to their respective polks." Nothing could be so certain to enrage the unbridled streltsi as this old tone of command, now assumed, too, by a man whom they neither liked nor respected, on whom they had been used to cut jokes. It drove them mad: they burst through the railing on to the stair, seized Dolgorouky, and cast him down on to the spears held up to receive him, and then those below hacked him to pieces with their halberds. After the first blood, the crowd no longer saw anything distinctly; and just then there ran out from the corridors of the granovitaia palata other streltsi, who rushed upon Matveyeff. The tsaritsa and the prince Michael Aleg. Cherkassky sought to protect him; but the streltsi tore him from them, and flung him down on to the place over against the sobor of the Annunciation: there they cut and hacked him into pieces. According to other accounts, Matveyeff, in order to screen himself, took by the arm the tsar Peter; but the streltsi tore him away. The patriarch Joachim would have gone down to the streltsi below, but they cried out to him, "We need no advice from anybody; it is time now *for us to choose* whom we *want*" [and you may be thankful that we don't want *you*].[65] And with their spears advanced (as for a charge), they rushed into the palace to search for *the other traitors*.'

[65] And Joachim held back. Compare this conduct, however *natural*, with that of Nicon in the insurrection at Novgorod, in A.D. 1650, vol. iv. p. 84.

So Matveyeff was made a parallel to Nicon in his exile and imprisonment during the six years of the reign of Theodore, and a contrast to him in his death and burial.

The funeral of Nicon was attended by the tsar and by all the imperial family, and by all the grandees of their suite, and by all the multitude of the people, who kissed his hand; and the streltsi, too, who formerly, when commanded by Matveyeff, had only escorted or guarded Nicon as a prisoner, and overawed the people, and kept them from him, attended his funeral as a guard of honour, while Matveyeff was still in exile.

But the triumphant return of Matveyeff, unlike that of Nicon, was only the triumphal procession of a victim going to be sacrificed, the prelude to an end more bitter far than all the sufferings of his exile. His mangled remains were dragged through the dust from the place before the palace and the sobors through the Kremlin, by the Nikolsky or by the Spassky gate, to the krasnoi ploshchad, and there left exposed, not only to enemies, but even to dogs and swine. So the bodies of the slain lay in heaps, no one daring to show interest in them. It was only on the evening of the 17th that liberty was proclaimed for every one to seek out the remains of his relatives, and to bury them. If the remains of Matveyeff were removed earlier, and obtained Christian burial, he owed this to an 'arab' or negro slave, named Ivan, who went to the krasnoi ploshchad, while the bodies were still guarded there by a force of streltsi, and sought out the remains of his master; and the streltsi did not interfere with him; and he carried them home: and so, in presence only of a few of his relatives, they were buried privately in the church of St. Nicholas Stolb, in the Pokrovka. And he was the only one of all those slain in the mutiny who had a decent funeral (Schébolsky, p. 38).

If we go back now, and consider as one group those six (or eight) persons whose punishments we have combined together, paralleling them with those six Chaldees, servants of Nebuchadnezzar, whom the flames of the furnace burn or scorch in the play of Simeon of Polotsk (a play got up by *Matveyeff* to amuse the tsar Alexis), we observe first, that in A.D. 1670 and A.D. 1671, when the boyar Ivan Prozorofsky and the metropolitan Joseph were murdered at Astrachan (and in 1672, when Gregory Cherkassky was murdered by his own people), Nicon had been as yet

only three or four years in that furnace of affliction into which they had cast him, and in which he was to be kept fifteen years. But the other four (or five), the boyars Youry Dolgorouky and Peter Soltikoff, the Jew doctor Daniel Von Haden, and the boyar Matveyeff (and Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, if we add him), before the flames of the furnace slew or scorched them, had lived to see, first, the tsar Alexis reconcile himself personally to Nicon, and ask his pardon; and then the tsar Theodore, even after the furnace of Nicon's persecution had been heaped with fresh fuel, disallow by the imperial authority that injustice which had been done by the same imperial authority in the time of his father, and in spite of any remaining hostility of ecclesiastics or boyars, and in spite of official forms, set Nicon at liberty, and honour him as a patriarch after his death. So it was not only spiritually but also visibly true, that their flames did not hurt Nicon; for he saw his prison opened, and his former enemies (as the archimandrite Sergius at Yaroslaff) falling in penitence at his feet, and asking his pardon; and his journey towards Voskre-ensk, so long as he lived, and after his death, resembled a triumphal progress, or the translation of the relics of a saint, as, for instance, the translation of the relics of the metropolitan Philip, which Nicon himself had conducted in part by that same route to Moscow. And he was honoured as a just man, or as a saint, in his death and burial. And all this many of those who had persecuted him, or served the power which persecuted him, were retained in life to see. And as soon as they had seen it, within less than one year, the flames of that furnace which had thus given him up unhurt burned or scorched some of them, while others lived on still, that perfect punishment might not seem to have been inflicted in this world.

Secondly, we observe that in five out of the six cases[66] (the exception being the metropolitan Joseph, who as a monk would not have children), two generations, fathers with their sons, are joined together in the punishment. In A.D. 1670, at Astrachan, after the boyar Ivan Prozorofsky had been mortally wounded and thrown headlong, the *two* younger of his *sons*, aged sixteen and eight years, were torn from the arms of their mother, and

[66] Or in *six* out of the *eight*, if we add Gregory Cherkassky and Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, whose son Andrew was beheaded by Sophia together with his father.

barbarously murdered. In 1682, on the 15th May, it was the *son* of Youry Dolgorouky, the prince Michael, who was the first victim, as the old father, the prince Youry himself, was the last victim of that bloody day. In the case of Peter Mich. Soltikoff it is the *son* who seems to suffer the actual punishment of death instead of the father, who so may seem to be scorched only by the flames, though in truth one can see a special significancy in this, that he lived on to feel the penalty of that *mistake* by which his son was slain, instead of being slain by any such mistake himself. The *son* of the Jew doctor Von Haden, the young stolnik, in whom his pride was gratified, and on whom his hopes were concentrated, was taken first, and the father had the pain of knowing that he had been taken and murdered, before he was taken himself. The *son* of Matveyeff, too, then a youth of seventeen, was proscribed, together with his father, and he escaped from the palace, as out of the jaws of death, through the charity of a page, who dressed him in the clothes of a groom, and went out followed by him through the crowd, without his being discovered, and so took him to a place of safety. And so he was preserved to give to posterity all the details of his father's punishment, and the lamentations and abject petitions written by him during his exile, when the iron already entered into his soul.

Almighty God said to his people in the Old Testament: 'The Lord thy God is a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the *children*.' This, then, we have here observed; but it is added: 'even unto the *third* and *fourth* generation of them that hate me.' This also was exemplified signally in the family of the Dolgoroukys, the members of one branch of which, after being long exiled as state prisoners, were set at liberty, and brought back to Moscow and Petersburg only to be tortured and broken on the wheel, in the reign of the Empress Anna.

In conclusion, let us once more compare those two men whom Soloviеff has paralleled with one another in their last years; Nicon, one of the 'children of the King'—of the true and supreme King,—and Matveyeff, one of the captains of Nebuchadnezzar, one of the servants of the earthly tsar; each of them types or patterns in their way.

Nicon, the citizen of the New Jerusalem, as a man living

by faith and not by sight, is blamed as a mujik who did not know his place: as rough, vehement, severe, plain-spoken, uncompromising, unmannerly; as a man unendurable, who served God first, and the tsar only in the second place, after God: who refused to comply with evil, and insisted upon truth and justice, even to the tsar, without being in the least abashed. The most favourable character to be found given him in the literature of modern Russia is this: that 'he had lived so long alone as an ascetic, in complete solitude, that he had become an *idealist*, a *fanatic*, who took a *one-sided view of things*.' Certainly he sought nothing and expected nothing from men; but was ready to suffer everything, even death itself, repeating those words of Christ: 'Fear not them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do: but I will forewarn you whom to fear: Fear Him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast both body and soul into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear Him' (Matt. x. 28; Luke xii. 4, 5).

On the other hand Matveyeff, the man of the world, is commended for this: that being originally only the son of a diak, from the time that he was first noticed as a boy for his good looks and good behaviour, he was always modest and unpresuming, considerate, gentle, respectful, obsequious, humble, and at the same time intelligent, civilised, of good ability both for military and for civil service, of strict integrity and fidelity, kind, affable, and humane towards inferiors; religious too, only, as for a man of the world would be natural, serving the tsar first, and afterwards showing piety towards the Church and towards God; no vicious and odious or contemptible instrument of absolute power, but such a one as even the worst tyrant would *prefer*, if possible, to have for his servant, because *the compliance and service of men seemingly good and respectable is no slight advantage to impiety and tyranny*.

Nicon, as might have been expected for him from his character, was persecuted, and cast into the furnace. And if he had been killed, like the metropolitan Philip, or had died in his imprisonment, persevering, as he did, to the end, in like manner as St. John Chrysostom died in exile, he would still have been to the eye of faith a conqueror: and not only to the eye of faith, but also for the conscience and common sense of mankind. For truth, justice, patience, and sincerity are superior, even in the

eyes of the world, to falsehood, injustice, tyranny, and hypocrisy: but the proper reward of faith is to be looked for only in the world to come.

Nevertheless, even in this world, the secular power which had persecuted and condemned Nicon eventually condemned itself, and asked his pardon, and set him free: and so, honoured even here as a conqueror in the sight of his enemies, he departed in peace to that supreme Tsar who is able to reward them that suffer for Him.

But how was it with Matveyeff, who served with equal fidelity and zeal the earthly ruler? In the first place, he forfeited all claim to a reward from God for those moral virtues and religious habits by which he was favourably distinguished from so many others. For no man can serve two masters: and as he who serves God first looks to God only for his reward, so he who serves the earthly ruler first must look to the earthly ruler only for his reward. What, then, was it that the earthly ruler did to reward Matveyeff for so great fidelity and devotion, and for so great a sacrifice? a man who might say, 'Behold, hossoudar! I have left all—not earthly expectations only, but even heavenly—to follow and obey thee, even against God and the Church; what, then, shall I have?' Was the tsar Alexis insensible to the merits of Matveyeff, or ungrateful, as sovereigns so often are? or did he, from weakness or inconstancy, fail to support Matveyeff, as he failed others of his friends? By no means: the tsar did for Matveyeff all, and more than all, that Matveyeff sought or expected from him: he did, one may say, even all that he *could* do. What, then, was this? It should be something great, when it is said that the secular ruler of a vast empire did all that he *could* do to reward a servant who had served him with *unlimited* devotion. Open your ears, ye courtiers and time-servers of this world, who, without the virtues of Matveyeff or Nashchokin, are like them in paying unlimited obedience to the secular power, in magnifying it above all, and in hoping for all things from it; open your ears, and you shall hear. The tsar Alexis appreciated Matveyeff, and esteemed him; he kept him closely attached to his own person; he bestowed on him money and lands and offices of trust: he promoted him gradually from one rank to another, until at length the son of a diak of the posolski prikaz had become a blijni boyar, and president of that

same posolski prikaz itself. And, as if this were too little, the tsar made him his own personal and intimate friend; and not only so, but by his second marriage he contracted a sort of affinity with him, and he left by that marriage a son who was eventually to succeed to the throne, to whom Matveyeff would naturally (if he were a minor at his accession) be the guardian and first minister. So he united and bound up with himself and his own fortunes the person and the fortunes of Matveyeff.

This was all that an earthly power, disobedient to the law of God, could do to reward a man, otherwise meritorious, who had followed and served it in its disobedience. And what was the end? It was this: that Matveyeff was by these means made to share in the *punishment* which the earthly rebel tsar drew down upon himself and upon his posterity from the heavenly Tsar, the King of kings.

The tsar Alexis himself, indeed, when it was too late, repented of what he had done, whether moved by conscience or by afflictions and chastisements; and when he came to die he lamented bitterly for the dangers and calamities which threatened his widow and her children, and still more bitterly for himself, looking forward to judgment after death, and not knowing what answer he could make to his Judge. Little was there in this to encourage the servant who, trusting in him, had, as the commander of the streltsi, been the executor of his will against God and the Church; who had even in his zeal volunteered to sweep up the dust shaken off from Nicon's feet against the tsar; who had informed against the Eastern patriarchs, as well as the Russian bishops, when they were not sufficiently clear in confessing the tsar's supremacy. But upon the tsar's death all the earthly rewards accumulated upon him served only to point him out to the ministers of vengeance; and his triumphant return, after six years' of bitter exile, served only to place him for a moment on the pinnacle of power, that he might be torn by his own streltsi from the midst of the imperial family, and hurled down from the palace itself on to that spot where Nicon shook off the dust from his feet, and that there the dust which he was to sweep up for the tsar might be mixed with his blood.

'O put not your trust in princes, ... for there is no help in them! Blessed is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, and whose hope is in the Lord his God!'

CHAPTER II.

OF PUBLIC PUNISHMENTS; AND FIRST OF THOSE WHICH FELL ON THE BOYARS AND OTHER PEOPLE OF THE COUNCIL, OF THE COURT, AND OF THE PRIKAZES.

As regards families or dynasties, classes or orders of men, institutions, cities, and nations, which have a sort of continuous identity and moral character, it is no doubt generally true that when their iniquity has come to the full, then their punishment falls upon them. So it was with the world before the flood, and afterwards with Sodom and Gomorrah, with the Egyptians, with the seven peoples of Canaan, with the ten tribes of Israel, and with Jerusalem, both before its first and before its second destruction; and so it will be at the end of this present world. But this connection of punishment with the culmination of guilt is not always obvious; and not only does the punishment of communities sometimes seem to fall upon another generation than that which committed the sin, but, as has been observed in the preceding chapter, the most signal punishment often falls upon descendants or successors who are less guilty, or not guilty at all, of that sin, which is punished in them, as if it was intended to mark visibly the distinction between merely private and public acts and their consequences. So, in Russia, the tsar Theodore Alexievich was no imitator of the special sin of his father; he even showed quite a contrary spirit and intention; yet he was cut off in youth for the punishment of public sins not his own.

Those who have inherited the new system of modern Russia, who identify themselves with it, and with servility and self-complacency idolise the sovereign who created it, being well pleased to find themselves without beards or kaftans, and in the way of what is called enlightenment, civilisation, and progress, do not attach much importance to the fact, that to old Russia or Muscovy, to the former dynasty, and council of state, and privileged classes of hereditary nobility, and militia, those changes which have made Russia to become what it is were—destruction. But

destruction cannot by any torture of words or thoughts be made into a blessing. It is more natural to regard it as a punishment, if punishment has been deserved. Else, no doubt, to come to an end, and to change is the lot of all human growths and institutions; and it is not necessary that cessation or change should of itself be a punishment, any more than growth and expansion is a reward. But in the present case not only had public punishments been deserved, but they had also been threatened and predicted: 'God shall sweep you all away,' said Nicon, as he shook off the dust from his feet between the cathedral and the palace, 'from the face of the earth.' 'Three separate times,' he wrote to the tsar, when the tsar thought to be privately pardoned without making any public satisfaction—'three separate times have I cursed you above Sodom and Gomorrah.' And it was thrown in his teeth in mockery in the council which condemned him, in Moscow, in the palace of the Kremlin, before the tsar, the two Eastern patriarchs and other Eastern bishops, and all the Muscovite bishops and clergy, and all the boyars of the synclete, and people of the council and the palace and the prikazes, and before the heads of the streltsi, that he had pretended to *prophesy*, and had taken occasion from a certain besom-star to say that God would bring upon the Muscovite empire destruction. 'Let him say,' added the Archbishop of Riazan Hilarion, '*from what sort of spirit* he learned that?' And Nicon answered confidently, before the tsar, and the patriarchs, and the council: 'In the time of the old law also there were such signs; and *upon Moscow* too this *will be fulfilled*. The Lord prophesied on the Mount of Olives of the destruction of Jerusalem, which was to come to pass after an interval of *forty years*.' And elsewhere he mentions how 'the Lord cursed the cities Chorazin, and Bethsaida, and Capernaum above Sodom and Gomorrah; and His curse was accomplished, though not immediately; and now the very sites of those places are a matter of dispute.' Materialists may not be able to see that there was any evil in a materialistic revolution; but Nicon, at any rate, has a right both to feel and to declare that his prediction has been accomplished, and that punishments have fallen upon Muscovy. God *has* 'swept them all away from the face of the earth.'

These reflections premised, we will take first the case of the hereditary nobility—that is, of the boyars, okolniks, and other

people of the council (the *douma*), the blijnie or komnatnie, and others of the court or palata, the voivodes, and with these all the diaks and people of the prikazes in which they presided and committed injustice. We will begin with this class partly because, in treating of particular examples of personal punishment, we have already had occasion to speak of the mutiny of the streltsi in May A.D. 1682, and partly because throughout the conflict between the patriarch Nicon and the civil power, from July A.D. 1658 to December A.D. 1666, though all was done ostensibly by the tsar, who was not merely passive or reluctant, still the *chief* actors were *rather the boyars*. Exercising in the different prikazes, and as military and civil voivodes, all the powers of the crown, and joining together in the same hands the administrative and judicial functions, they were not only full of pride and jealousy towards one another, but also covetous and corrupt, unjust and oppressive towards the people. By these their vices they caused during the reign of Alexis the dangerous risings of A.D. 1648 and 1662; and the same vices were made a pretext for the rebellion of Stenka Razin. It was for his interference with their injustice, more than for anything else, that they so hated Nicon, and were so much afraid of his regaining his influence over the tsar; and it was oppression and injustice of the same kind exercised over the streltsi which caused them, at the end of the reign of Theodore, and after the first election of Peter, to mutiny, and to be ready to murder the boyars and the people of the prikazes with them.

The streltsi had been the executors and instruments of all the injustice and tyranny which the boyars had perpetrated in the name of the crown; and according to the true verse of a heathen poet, there is no law more just than this: that they who devise evil or death for another should perish by their own device: 'Neque enim lex justior ulla est, quam necis artifices arte perire sua;' alluding to the story of Perillus, who was said to have been burned in his own brazen bull, invented for the torture of others. So the captains of Nebuchadnezzar were burned by the same flames which should have burned the three Hebrews; and so the lions, which should have devoured Daniel, devoured with their families those lords of the council who had caused Daniel to be cast into the den. So, too, the streltsi, who had been the ministers of irreligious tyranny and injustice to execute the will

of the boyars of the council and the prikazes, were in the mutiny of A.D. 1682 made to be the ministers of vengeance against the boyars and the people of the prikazes themselves.

And it was in the Kremlin, in the palace itself, the place which had been the scene of their intrigues and of their acts, where the council met, where the blijnie surrounded the tsar, and prevented him from following his own better self, and in the place below, where Nicon had stood when they expelled him from Moscow, and where he had shaken off the dust from his feet against them, that their blood was then shed.

On the 15th of May A.D. 1682, when, after marching into the Kremlin, they had burst through the gilt railing at the palace, and had thrown Michael Dolgorouky and Matveyeff down from the stairs on to the spears of their comrades below, they rushed about the palace, going into the chambers of the tsarevnas, looking under the beds, racing through the corridors, entering the churches, and thrusting their spears under the altars and the tables of prothesis, murdering one man (Theodore Pet. Soltikoff) by mistake, and dragging another (Athanasius Cyr. Narishkin) from under the altar of a church, and killing him in the porch. Ivan Thom. Narishkin they killed in his own house, on the other side of the Moskva. The boyar prince Gregory Greg. Romodanofsky, who had been one of the chief commanders during the two preceding reigns (cousin of the prince Youry Ivanovich who was sent to Nicon with a message of anger and disrespect on the 10th July A.D. 1658), and one of his sons, Andrew Gregorievich, were murdered. The boyar Ivan Max. Yazikoff, who had been the favourite minister of the tsar Theodore, they took from the house of his confessor, where he was hiding, and brought him to the Kremlin, and murdered him before the church of the Archangel. Also they murdered, together with his son, Larion Ivanoff (successor of Almiaz Ivanoff, who had died in A.D. 1669), one of those secretaries of the council of whom Nicon had written that they were 'notorious enemies of God, and barefaced robbers, who, without any manner of fear, in broad daylight, spoil the people of God' (*Replies*, &c. p. 384). Larion Ivanoff was with the princes Youry and Michael Dolgorouky in the streletski prikaz; and a Danish envoy, who narrowly escaped with his life on the 16th May, relates that he had asked him to set a guard at his house for his protection, and Ivanoff had

promised it; but, *not receiving any bribe, he forgot* to keep his word. However, Ivanoff himself was murdered immediately afterwards; and the Dane, whom he had exposed to danger by his covetousness, after having been an eye-witness in the palace itself of the horrors going on there, escaped. Others also they murdered on the same day. All these murders they accompanied by cries of '*Liubo-li?*' (Will you have him killed?) addressed to the surrounding crowd; and it was necessary for all to cry in answer, 'Liubo!' (Yes, yes!), and to wave their caps. If any one did not cry 'Liubo!' or showed signs of compassion, he was killed himself. When they had killed any one they dragged him to the Spassky or the Nikolsky gates of the Kremlin, and so out on to the krasnoi ploshchad. Before the body there went streltsi, as if for honour, in mockery, crying: 'See, here comes the boyar Artemon Sergievich Matveyeff!' 'See, here is the boyar prince Romodanofsky!' 'See, here is Dolgorouky!' 'See, the secretary of the council is coming! clear the way!' How they murdered at his own house the old prince Youry Dolgorouky has been related in the preceding chapter.

During all that day, the 15th, there continued to be shots fired in the palace and in the Kremlin. When it grew dusk there was a terrific storm; and they dispersed most of them to their own slobodas; but they left in the Kremlin, in the Kitai, and in the Bieli-gorod strong watches at all the gates, with orders not to let anybody go into the Kremlin nor out from it.

On the 16th they came again to the palace, with the same beating of drums and the same cries as the day before, and again on the 17th, insisting that Ivan Cyr. Narishkin should be given up to them. At length the tsarevna Sophia said plainly to the tsaritsa Natalia: 'Thy brother cannot escape from the streltsi; but *we* must not *all* perish for him.' The boyars, who were all frightened out of their wits, with tears besought the tsaritsa to give up her brother, and so save them from death. There was nothing to be done; they led Ivan Narishkin out from his hiding-place, and took him to the church of the Saviour behind the gilt railing; here they confessed and communicated him, and anointed him with oil. By the advice of Sophia they gave him to hold an image of the Blessed Virgin; 'Perhaps,' she said, 'they will reverence it.' Then there began a heart-rending scene

of leave-taking between the sister and her brother. This seemed to some to last too long. The boyar prince Yakoff[1] Nik. Odoefsky, *overpowered by fear*, began to hasten the tsaritsa: 'Are you never going, hossoudarina, to think of us? a minute longer, and we shall *all* have to be given up. And thou, Ivan, must go forth, else *we* shall *all* perish through thee.' So he went forth from the church. The streltsi, with a savage cry, rushed upon him; but they did not kill him at once; they took him and the doctor Daniel Von Haden to the chamber of torture and tortured them first, and then dragged them to the krasnoi ploshchad, where they killed them, and cut their bodies to pieces.

The list of those who were slain by the streltsi during those three days is given by Berch thus:

1. Six boyars, viz. the princes Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, Michael Your. Dolgorouky, and Gregory Greg. Romodanofsky; Artemon Serg. Matveyeff, Ivan Max. Yazikoff, and Ivan Cyr. Narishkin.

2. Three *kommatnie* stolniks, viz. the prince Andrew Greg. Romodanofsky, Athanasius Cyr. Narishkin, and Ivan Thom. Narishkin.

3. Three stolniks, viz. Peter Petr. Soltikoff, Basil Lar. Ivanoff, and Michael Dan. Von Haden.

4. Three secretaries of the council (*doumnie diaki*), viz. Daniel Leont. Polianskoy, Larion Ivan. Ivanoff, and Averkius Step. Cyrilloff.

5. Two doctors, viz. Ivan Gutmensch and Daniel Von Haden.

6. Four polkovniks of streltsi, viz. Gregory Goriushkin, Olympias Yourieff, Basil Yourieff, and Andrew Doctoroff.

7. Of under-secretaries (*podiaki*) of different prikazes, *forty persons*.

8. Of *servants* of boyars, *nine* persons.

In all *seventy* persons.

On the 18th the streltsi came again to the palace, but un-

[1] So the contemporary account of Medveydeff has it. Yakoff Nikitich, being the youngest and only survivor of the four sons of Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, might now be about fifty years old, not more. When some call him 'the *aged* prince,' they must be confusing him with his father, who was then about eighty years old, and who lived on to A.D. 1689. But though he was living in A.D. 1682, his age is of itself a sufficient explanation of his absence from the palace on this and on other occasions.

armed, and demanded that the boyar Cyril Pol. Narishkin, the father of the tsaritsa Natalia and grandfather of the young tsar Peter, whose life they had spared the day before, should be tonsured. This was done at once, and he was sent away as the monk Cyprian to the Kyrilloff[2] monastery in the riding of Bielo-ozersk.

On the 19th they demanded, as money which they ought to have received, but had not received, since the year A.D. 1646, a sum of 240,000 rubles, besides a largess given them of ten rubles to each man; and an order was made that this money should be raised for them from the whole empire. Nor was this all; they demanded also that the property of all those whom they had slain should be given to them.

On the 20th they demanded the dismissal from office and the *banishment* of the postelnik Alexis Likhacheff and his brother, the treasurer (*kaznachey*) Michael, the okolnik Paul Yazikoff, the chashnik Simeon Yazikoff, the doumni dvorianin Nikita Akinthieff, the secretaries of the council Bogdanoff and Polianskoy, the spalniks Lovchikoff and all the younger Narishkins and Andrew Matveyeff, the stolniks Lopouchin, Bouchvostoff, and Loutochin; in all *sixteen* persons. So the court was cleared of all those who were obnoxious to Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, and there were no more petitions from the streltsi for condemnations to death or exile.

Peter was still prayed for in the churches; but his mother could not now pretend to act as regent, and Sophia was already in possession of power; it was to her that the streltsi addressed their demands, and it was she who replied and granted them.

On the 23d Khovianskoy announced to the tsarevnas that the streltsi had sent delegates, and that many orders of the Muscovite empire wished that the two brothers (John and Peter) should reign *jointly*; and if this were not done, they threatened to come again in arms. The tsarevnas sent for the boyars and all the people of the council, and at their desire a great council (*sobor*) was called, in which the patriarch, the bishops, and chosen men from the different orders of the Muscovite empire (*i.e.* of Moscow) were present, and, under fear of the streltsi, they found the proposal to be very good and convenient. They

[2] The same monastery in which Nicon had been confined and ill-treated under the guard of strel'si for five years, till a little before his death.

sounded the great bell, and sang a moleben in the cathedral, followed by a polychronion for the most religious tsars John and Peter, so already giving to John precedence over Peter. But it was thought necessary afterwards to express this more distinctly, to lower Peter in comparison of John, in order to lower also the tsaritsa Natalia, and to deprive her of all possibility of claiming the regency. So the delegates of the streltsi appeared once more, with the demand that John should be the *first* tsar and Peter second. The tsarevnas declared that the delegates spoke by an inspiration of God; and on the 26th the council, together with the patriarch and the bishops, determined that so it should be; and this was published to the streltsi and to all the people. They feasted the streltsi in the palace, two polks of them, every day; and on the 29th they notified to the boyars that the regency, in consideration of the *youth of both* the tsars, should be committed to their sister the tsarevna Sophia. Then there was acted the usual farce: all began to entreat Sophia to accept the regency, while she refused; but at length she consented.

The streltsi had now created a government, and had given to it a form of legality, there having been no force at hand, when they began, to oppose to them. But the streltsi, as M. Solovieff observes, were not Russia. They immediately began to be uneasy, from the knowledge or suspicion that people called them insurgents. They felt that they had nothing to hope for now from the boyars, who could never be reconciled to them; at the same time the boyars would still be boyars—that is, everywhere the governors and commanders—and so would have it in their power to take vengeance on the streltsi. Already, during the three days of terror, they had tried to enlist on their side the lowest part of the population by destroying all the registers and certificates of servitude in the *kholopi* prikaz; but this attempt was unsuccessful; the slaves were not ready to accept their emancipation. So a little later they turned to the government which they had created, and which was necessarily favourable to them, with petitions that it should defend them against Russia, should justify them, and declare publicly that they, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of May, had done good and meritorious service.

They gave in then a petition, in which they identified their own cause with that of all the *burdened* classes of Muscovy,

opposing these classes and themselves to the people of rank,[3] to the synclete. They began thus: 'The petition of the streltsi of the Moscow prikazes,[4] of the soldati of all the polks, of the artillery-men and gunners, the gosti, and trading people of the different centuries (*sotni*), the towns-people of all the slobodas, and the carriers and people of the posts (*yamshchiks*): On the 15th of May, by the permission of Almighty God and the most holy Mother of God, there was in the empire of Moscow a slaughter in defence of the house of the most holy Mother of God and in defence of you, the great hossoudars, on account of violence against you, the great hossoudars, and of *intolerable imposts, injuries, and injustice* inflicted upon us by the boyars the princes Youry and Michael Dolgorouky. [And then they name the secretary of the council, Larion Ivanoff, and the other persons of note who were slain, alleging reasons in justification of each murder.] . . . . And we, having slain them, now ask for this grace, that there be erected on the Krasnoi ploshchad a pillar, with an inscription showing the names of all these malefactors, and their crimes, for which they were slain: and that there be given to us, to all the prikazes of the streltsi, to the polks of the soldati, and to the towns-people in all the slobodas, letters patent with the red seal, that never, nor anywhere, are any people, boyars, or okolniks, or people of the council, or of all your synclete, or any man whatsoever, to call us by any reproachful names, as mutineers, insurgents, or traitors, nor exile any one arbitrarily, or beat or put to death any of us because we serve you with all fidelity,' &c. Sophia consented; and the pillar, with the inscription, as desired by the streltsi, was forthwith set up.

Sophia, when to her ambitious mind her position must have seemed desperate, had thrown herself upon the streltsi, and through them had now made herself regent. But there was another person, besides Sophia and Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, who had before been discontented with his own position. This was the boyar Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, or as he was popularly nicknamed *Tsaravona*, one of those members of the council who had taken

[3] To the *znatnie*, i.e. *known*, or distinguished, the hereditary nobility, not of the 'burdened classes,' or classes subject to corvées and imposts.

[4] i.e. '*commands*' or 'polks,' as they are more commonly called, the name '*regiment*,' when introduced, belonging to the troops drilled and organised after the European fashion.

part against Nicon, and had been present in the council which condemned him, and who ultimately came, like other enemies of Nicon, to a bad end, not indeed by the acts of the streltsi, but through his connection with them, and through their want of unanimity in following his suggestions. So we have in him a reason for continuing this account of the revolution of A.D. 1682 to a point somewhat later than the massacre of the nobility on the 15th of May.

Khovianskoy had always courted popularity, allowing his troops in time of war to commit all sorts of excesses, even against those who had voluntarily become the tsar's subjects in Lithuania, and favouring openly the staroviertsi, who stood out against the reforms of Nicon. He had no doubt in the first instance been prompted or encouraged by Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky; but in taking part with Miloslafsky and with Sophia, and in tampering with the streltsi, as if for them, he was thinking also of himself; and he did in fact make for himself such a position, that after the murder of the Dolgoroukys and the establishment of the new government, it was a matter of course that he should take the streletski prikaz: and he thought perhaps that this command, together with his own personal popularity, made him strong enough to bring about another revolution in favour of what was called 'the old faith.'

Already, on the third day after the insurrection, it was proposed in one of the regiments (*polks*) to seek out the old orthodox faith, and to petition that the patriarch and the spiritual authorities (the *vlasti*) should be called upon to answer from the scriptures why they had come to hate the old books and to like the *new Latin-Roman faith*. And not finding among themselves any one capable of writing a petition, or of pleading the cause of the 'old faith' against the bishops, they made inquiry, and through a man from one of the chernie[1] slobodi they found people capable, and they took their petition to Khovianskoy, wishing to obtain that a conference should be held on following Friday (the 23d June), that so it might be before the 25th, the day fixed for the coronation, and 'the tsars might be crowned according to the old faith, and not in their *Latin* faith.' Khovianskoy thought that that could hardly be managed, but he

[1] *i.e.* of the bourgeois who were registered in slobodas or suburbs; the streltsi also and the soldati lived in slobodas of their own.

promised with an oath that the coronation should be according to the old form, as used in the time of the tsar John IV. Basilievich. But they insisted that the liturgy also should be celebrated according to the old books, and that the exhortation addressed to the tsars should require them to maintain not the new but the old faith. To this he could only object, that 'the patriarch cannot take a *bond* from the tsars.' But it was of no use; so he said: 'Let it be as you wish; there shall be a conference on the Friday;' and they went away satisfied.

On the Friday they came to the palace, and Khovianskoy caused them to be admitted into the otvietnaia palata, came out to them with many secretaries, under-secretaries, &c., asked them what they came for, received from them their petition, took it up to the tsars, and presently came back with the answer, that the patriarch had asked the tsars to put it off till the Wednesday following. 'Come,' he said, 'on Wednesday, after the liturgy.' So the coronation on Sunday the 25th intervened, and nothing then took place to favour their views.

If the streltsi had been all, or nearly all, of one mind in favour of Khovianskoy's 'old faith,' as they had been all of one mind against the Narishkins, there would have been another revolt, more boyars would have been murdered, and Khovianskoy would either have got rid of Miloslafsky and Golitsin and forced the regent to follow his 'old faith,' or he would have been raised to the throne himself. But *the streltsi were divided:* ten prikazes or polks only signed the petition, while in the other ten there was violent disputing and contention. Some were for signing, others against. However, a long petition was prepared in the name of 'all Orthodox Christians;' and on the 3d of July delegates from the streltsi went to Khovianskoy to ask when the *fathers* (that is, the raskolniks Nikîta ex-protopope of Souzdal, Sergius, and Salbatius) were to come for the conference. But he had already heard that the streltsi were not all agreed; so he went out to the delegates, and asked, in the name of the tsars: 'Do ye all, that is, all the polks, desire to stand up together for the Orthodox faith?' The delegates replied: 'All the polks and the people of the chernie slobodi are zealous to stand up for the Orthodox Christian faith.' A second and a third time Khovianskoy repeated his question, and received for answer: 'Yes; not only are we ready to stand up but also to die for the faith of Christ!' Then

he went up to the tsars (*i.e.* to the tsarevna Sophia), and reported their answer. It was determined that he should go with them to the patriarch. They went: Khovianskoy went in first alone, and then came out and took them in with himself to the patriarch, who received them in the krestovaia. The result of this interview was, that a conference was appointed to be held on Wednesday the 5th of July.

On the day appointed they came to the Kremlin, and set a naloi near the sobor of the Archangel, and placed on it the cross, the gospel, and icons, and lighted candles. The delegates of the streltsi went up into the palace, to Khovianskoy, to ask when the conference was to be. He went to the patriarch, who said: 'Let them go to the granovitaia palata, as the tsaritsa and the tsarevnas mean to be present, which they cannot be in the place below, among the crowd.' When this answer was carried back to the *fathers* and to the crowd, the crowd would have dissuaded the fathers from going to the granovitaia palata, saying that the tsarevnas had nothing to do with the matter: and they demanded that the tsars should come down into the place, instead of the tsarevnas. The delegates reported this to Khovianskoy, who did his best to persuade Sophia to consent: but Sophia knew better than to send the patriarch and the clergy down into the crowd. Then Khovianskoy began to urge that if it was to be in the granovitaia, none of the members of the imperial family should be present: he attempted to frighten them by the prospect of a fresh mutiny of the streltsi, and said plainly that if the tsars were to be in the granovitaia with the patriarch, they would not escape with their lives. But Sophia had herself also relations with the streltsi, and she was well assured that they had no thought of insurrection, and so she answered quietly that she meant to be present. Then Khovianskoy began to say to the boyars: 'For God's sake entreat the tsarevna not to go to the granovitaia! if she will go, then besides them we too shall all of us be killed.' The boyars in alarm hurried to beg Sophia not to go, but she did not listen to them any more than to Khovianskoy; and she sent to tell the patriarch to come with the heads of the clergy to the granovitaia, only *not* to come by the great stair (the *krasnoe kriltso*), where they might be in danger, but by the stair of the church of the Riz-polojenie. He went *weeping*, and not expecting to return alive, ordering at the same time that they

should carry up into the palace certain old Greek and Slavonian books in the sight of all by the great stair. Sophia was accompanied by the tsaritsa Natalia and the tsarevnas Tatiana Michaelovna and Maria Alexievna; and Khovianskoy, after a consultation, was sent to invite the fathers to come up, but only to read their petition, since to hold the council or conference would be too long a business for that day; and he guaranteed their security. They were unwilling to go alone, without the people; they knew, they said, that none would be allowed to enter with them. 'All can go in,' Khovianskoy replied aloud; 'whoever likes, let him go!' Khovianskoy made them a sign to wait for him, and going up once more he tried to frighten Sophia, and to prevent her being present together with the patriarch in the granovitaia; but Joachim declared that he would not go alone, without the imperial family, and Sophia was determined not to abandon the patriarch. Then Khovianskoy sent the delegates to the fathers, to bid them come up; and they came, Khovianskoy ordering those who were with them to be admitted freely, but not the Orthodox priests and laymen, except a few whom he allowed at the request of the bishops to pass. Hence there was some confusion on the stair, and blows were struck, when the Orthodox who had been turned back met the raskolniks going up; and the raskolnik fathers stopped, and would not go on, till Khovianskoy came and reassured them.

They entered with a disorderly noise, and set their naloi and candles, as they had set it on the place below; and when they looked about them, they found themselves in the presence, not of the two tsars, but only of four ladies of the imperial family, Sophia and her aunt Tatiana Michaelovna occupying the *double* throne, while below them there sat in arm-chairs the tsaritsa Natalia and the tsarevna Maria Alexievna. The patriarch Joachim with the bishops were on the right side, and the secular grandees and courtiers and the delegates of the streltsi on the left. The patriarch asked why they had come, and what they wanted, and spoke as he had spoken before to the delegates when he received them in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate; he justified also the correction of the Church books. The ex-protopope Nikita having entered upon some of their usual points, the bishop of Kholmogori, Athanasius, who was regarded as one of the most able and eloquent, was beginning to answer him; but Nikita

rushed upon him, with his arm uplifted, crying out: 'What dost thou, who art only the foot, mean by putting thyself above the head? I am not speaking with thee, but with the patriarch!' The delegates of the streltsi hastened to interpose themselves between him and the bishop. Here Sophia rose and said: 'Do you see what Nikita does? before our face he strikes a bishop, and but for us he would long ago have killed him!' Voices were heard saying, 'No, hossoudarina, he did not strike him; he only put him aside with his hand.' But Sophia continued: 'Is it for thee, Nikita, to speak with the most holy patriarch? Thou oughtest not, for decency, to have appeared before our face. Hast thou forgotten how thou didst confess thyself guilty before our father and the patriarch and all the synod, and bound thyself by a great oath never again to present any petition about the faith? and now thou hast done it again.' 'I do not deny,' he replied, 'that, from fear of the sword or of being burned alive, I made such a confession; but my petition which I then gave in to the synod was not answered by any of the bishops. Simeon of Polotsk composed against me a book called the *Staff*; but in that book not so much as a fifth part of the whole is against my petition: I am now ready to make answer against that *Staff*; and if I be found to be in the wrong, then do with me what you please.' 'It is not fit for thee to speak to us, or to be in our sight,' said Sophia; and she ordered that their petition should be read. When they came to the place where it was said that the heretic monk Arsenius together with Nicon unsettled the soul of the tsar Alexis, Sophia again interposed, and leaving her place, said, with tears in her eyes: 'If they (Arsenius and Nicon) were heretics, then our father and our brother were equally heretics; .... we will not listen to such railings, but will all go away out of the empire;' and so saying she left her place, and stood below. Khovianskoy and all the boyars and the delegates of the streltsi began to weep: 'Why should the hossoudars the tsars go away? we are all ready to lay down our lives for them.' But there were also some among the streltsi who said: 'Thou oughtest, hossoudarina, to have been in a convent long ago; thou hast troubled the empire enough: we wish health to the tsars, but we could get on without thee.'

But these partial utterances could not weaken the effect produced on the delegates by the words of Sophia: 'All this,'

she said to them, 'is because everybody fears you: it is because they hope to have your support that these raskolnik mujiks have so boldly come hither. What do you see? Is it good that such ignorant clowns should come rioting to us, insulting us all, and shouting? Have you, then, who were the faithful servants of our grandfather, father, and brother, gone over to the raskolniks? You call yourselves, too, *our* faithful servants: why, then, do you let in upon us such an ignorant rabble? If we are to be in such slavery, it will be impossible for the tsars and for us to live here any longer; we shall go away to other cities, and let all the people know what insubordination and mischief there is here.'

Nothing could be more alarming for the streltsi than the threat that the tsars would leave Moscow. They had a lively consciousness that their proceedings on the 15th of May had excited a strong feeling against them in the influential classes; that the boyars hated them as mutineers and murderers; and that the armed forces which could be raised by the nobility, which had no love for them before, would now fall on them unsparingly on the first signal from the government. That they were safe hitherto and feared by the peaceable population of Moscow was only because the government protected them; but if the government were to separate from them, and to leave Moscow, how would it be then? The delegates answered: 'We are glad and ready to serve faithfully the great hossoudars and you, hossoudarinas; we are ready, for the Orthodox faith, for the Church, and for your imperial majesty, to lay down our lives, and to do in all things according to your commands. But ye yourselves, hossoudarinas, see that the people is excited, and that in your palace there is now a great crowd: if we can only in some way or other get through this day without mischief from them, all will be well. But that the great hossoudars and you, hossoudarinas, should go away from the capital, God forbid! why should that be?'

Sophia returned to her place. The petition was read through to the end, not without some more interruptions from her; and at length the raskolniks were dismissed from the granovitaia. They went out from the Kremlin, and announced to the people that they had been victorious. The delegates of the streltsi however, who had been present, did not think much of the

success of Nikita and his brethren; they remembered only the alarming words of the tsarevna the regent, about quitting Moscow, and throwing all the blame on the streltsi, as defenders of the raskol. 'Do not betray us and all the Russian empire,' she had said, 'for half a dozen monks; do not give up to insult the patriarch and all the sacred synod.' So said Sophia to the delegates; and they answered her: 'We have nothing to do with the Old Faith (*Staraia Viera*); that concerns the patriarch and all the sacred synod.' The delegates were liberally rewarded and entertained for such intelligent sentiments. The common men were turbulent, but they could not stand out against the imperial cellars, when they measured a gallon and a half (an oushata) to every ten men. They gave promises under their hands that thenceforth they would not interfere for the Old Faith; and they began to beat the raskolniks, crying out: 'You rioters! you have disturbed the whole empire!' They all fled helter-skelter: the '*fathers*' were taken: Nikita, as the most audacious of their ringleaders, and as having broken his own oath, was (a few days later) beheaded: Khoviansky could not save him: but he succeeded in saving from like punishment Sergius, who was banished to the Spassky monastery at Yaroslaff, and some others.

But if they were obliged to yield thus far to Khoviansky, they were all the more incensed against him. The hypocritical dealing of Tararoua with the raskolniks and his relations with them were no secret; they showed plainly that he had the intention of giving a triumph to the *raskol*, and destroying the patriarch and the most distinguished men of the clergy. But to touch Khoviansky, to take away from him the presidency of the streletski prikaz was impossible; he had succeeded in gaining the goodwill of the 'foot-guards of the court.' At the beginning, from a wish to raise himself to play one of the first parts, to become powerful through the armed force which kept in fear Moscow and the government, Khoviansky had courted the streltsi, satisfying all their demands; and now that there was a rupture between him and the court, in consequence of his conduct on the 5th of July, he had need to keep himself in popularity with the streltsi from a motive of self-preservation. Before the tsars and the boyars he represented his own conduct as the most judicious that could be: 'When I am gone,' he said,

they will wade in Moscow up to their knees in blood.' The streltsi, seeing that they were allowed to have their own way in everything, and that all were afraid of them, behaved as conquerors, and desired to fatten themselves upon the spoils of the conquered. On the other hand, they were conscious of the aversion and anger which they had inspired. And so they were in a constant state of excitement, oscillating between outbreaks of violence and fear of punishment. On the 12th of July a crowd of them went to the tsars with the demand that they should give up to them *all the boyars*. Why? Why, because the boyars wish to make away with all the streltsi. All through the summer there was agitation. On the 16th of Aug. Khovianskoy brought to the palace a petition from the streltsi, that for those streltsi who had been taken from crown liberties (*volosts*) there should be collected from the same volosts assistance-money at the rate of twenty-five rubles a man. The boyars opposed this preposterous demand. They reported to the regent that Khovianskoy had gone out to the streltsi, and had said to them: 'My children! you must know that now the boyars threaten me too, because I wish well to you; I can do nothing; do as you please and as you can for yourselves.'

We must say guardedly 'they reported to the regent' that Khovianskoy so said, because the mention of this occurs in a work (that of Sylvester Medveydeff) written with a manifest intention of fixing guilt on Khovianskoy: we must, however, at the same time observe that these words suit well the character and the position of Tararoua. But did Khovianskoy really speak these words, and in such manner as is related of him? Whether he did or not matters little. But there was a report in the palace that he had spoken words directly suggestive of mutiny; and the streltsi were in agitation—they were wilful, exceeded all bounds in their demands, and kept the government and the city of Moscow in continual alarm. Sophia and Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky through the streltsi had got possession of the government, but now Khovianskoy came in their way; he was master of the streltsi, courted them to himself, and was ready to use them against Sophia and Miloslafsky. Sophia and Miloslafsky, from their own experience, knew well all the force of that temptation which must be suggested to Khovianskoy by his position. Would he go back? would he stand on one side, in

order to give way to them? In the palace they would naturally believe all reports about the designs of Khovianskoy: they would believe that he who boasted his own descent from Hedimine, had a design to get possession of the throne; and that, in order to connect himself with the Russian dynasty, he meant to marry his son to the tsarevna Ekaterina Alexievna. That in the palace they believed all this is proved by the conduct of Miloslafsky, who, fearing to be the first victim of a fresh rising of the streltsi in favour of Khovianskoy, as Matveyeff had been the first victim of their rising in his, Miloslafsky's, own favour, actually went away out of Moscow, and hid himself, going from one suburban place to another, 'like a mole that lives underground,' not ceasing, meanwhile, to undermine Khovianskoy, and to urge Sophia to take decided measures against him.

Sophia on her side did not need much urging. She found herself placed by the streltsi and Khovianskoy in a position of intolerable *subjection*, and so was forced to execute that threat by which she had alarmed the delegates of the streltsi on the 5th July—that is, to go away from Moscow, and make known to the people the insubordination and the mischief which existed there. Reports of the designs of Khovianskoy and the streltsi and the actual conduct of Tararoua troubled her.

On the 19th Aug. there was a procession from the cathedral of the Assumption to the Donskoy Monastery. The tsars ought to have gone in it; but a report was spread that the streltsi would take that opportunity to kill them. The tsars did not go in the procession; and on the next day, the 20th, all the imperial family went out to Kolomensk. The streltsi were alarmed. On the 23d there came to Kolomensk delegates from all the polks, with a petition setting forth that reports had been circulated as if they meant to rise again against all the boyars and all the people about the tsars (all the *blijnie liudi*); and in consequence they, the hossoudars, had left Moscow: but there was no truth whatever in such reports: and they prayed them to return to Moscow. The answer was, that the tsars knew nothing of any such reports; they had come out for their own pleasure; and such expeditions to Kolomensk were no novelty. So they were dismissed; and as the imperial family stayed on quietly at Kolomensk without going farther, the alarm of the streltsi subsided. The truth was, that the imperial family were waiting till the

usual time should be come for more distant pilgrimages, which then would not seem to be anything extraordinary. In the name of the elder tsar, Sophia, on the 29th of August, forwarded to Khovianskoy an order to send to Kolomensk the stremianni polk; but Khovianskoy feared this regiment: it was very *near* to the sovereigns; it was more than the other polks under the influence of the regent; to send it to Kolomensk was the same thing as to give it up into her hands, and to enable her through it to work also upon the rest. He disobeyed the order, and *did not send* the regiment; though some time before, without any order, he had projected to send that same regiment, *of himself*, to Kieff! It was necessary to repeat the order several times, and then at last Khovianskoy determined to send the stremianni polk. Again, he disobeyed an order sent to him to attend the ceremony of the New Year on the 1st of September, and the court was represented at it only by a single okolnik.

On the 2d Sept. the tsars went to Vorobievo; on the 4th to Paulovsk; and on the 6th to the Sabbine monastery, where they kept the festival of the Saint on the 10th; and on the same day they went to the selo Paulovskoe, and thence on the 12th to Khliabovo, and on the 13th to Vozdvijensko, for the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, from which the place is named. And on the 14th, after the liturgy, the tsars made an order that for their imperial affairs, and for the reception of Simeon the son of the hetman of the Kozaks, there should come to them to the selo Vozdvijensko from Moscow all the boyars, okolniks, people of the council, stolniks, strapchis, dvorianins of Moscow, and jiltsi, for the 18th Sept. On the 16th the son of the hetman was received by the tsars. On the 17th, the names-day of the tsarevna Sophia, Vozdvijensko was already filled by a multitude of the nobles and courtiers; and they learned that Khovianskoy also, with his son Andrew, had left Moscow to come thither. After the liturgy Sophia in honour of her names-day gave brandy to all the boyars and other people of the council. But after the brandy, there was held by the tsars and their sister with the boyars, &c., a *session* about a momentous affair: the secretary of the council submitted that it had become known to the Great Hossoudars that the boyar prince Ivan Khovianskoy, being in the prikaz of the foot-guards of the palace, and his son the boyar prince Andrew, in the judicial (soudni) prikaz, did

many things arbitrarily, without order from the tsars, and disobeyed orders, &c. And on the 2d of Sept. an anonymous letter was stuck up on the gates at Kolomensk, informing against the princes Khovianskoy of their tampering with the foot-guards, with the design to obtain for themselves the empire, and to extirpate the imperial family as children of heresy, killing both the tsars, the tsaritsa Natalia, the tsarevna Sophia, the patriarch, and the vlasti. One tsarevna was to be married to his son the prince Andrew, the rest tonsured and sent to distant monasteries. And of the boyars there were to be killed, three Odoefskys, two Cherkasskys, three Golitsins, Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, two Sheremetieffs, and many other persons, who were enemies of the old faith and introducers of the new. And then they were to send out over all the empire to bid the townspeople in the towns kill the voivodes and the people of the prikazes, and to instigate the peasants to kill their boyars and lords, and the people of the boyars. And when the empire should thus be thrown into confusion, they were to elect him, the prince Ivan, to be tsar, and to make a new patriarch and new vlasts chosen by the people from such as are devout towards the old books.

The tsars and their sister made oukaz and the boyars gave sentence that, 'after exact inquest, &c., the offenders were to be punished with death.' Immediately the boyar prince Likoff was sent with a strong detachment to go along the Moscow road, and to arrest the princes Khovianskoy as soon as they should meet them. This was done: and when they had been brought to Vozdvijensko, they were stopped before the first gates of the imperial villa to hear their sentence of death read to them. For this the boyars, okolniks, and people of the council went out from the imperial dvor, and sat on benches in front of the gates. The secretary of the council, Shaklovitoy, read the charges on which they were condemned. [These were numerous; but the only one of them which had any gravity in itself was that of disobedience to express orders.] And after these he read also the anonymous letter of information.[a]

The Khovianskoys did not hear in silence the accusations read out against them. They spoke to justify themselves, and with tears begged the boyars to hear all: who had been the real

[a] Probably composed on purpose to be stuck up, as it was, by Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky.

movers from the beginning of the mutiny of the streltsi; by whom it was devised; and that they would propose to the tsars' majesties to let them be confronted with the same persons, and not punish them with death precipitately, without a trial, when they were innocent. But Miloslafsky, it is said, gave a hint to the tsarevna, and she sent out an order that the sentence should be executed immediately. A private of the stremianni polk, in the absence of an executioner, *beheaded* the Khovianskoys on the open space by the side of the great Moscow road. A younger son of Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, the prince Ivan Ivanovich, who was before at Vozdvijensko, escaped to Moscow, and told the streltsi that the people of the boyars had taken his father and brother and had put them to death without any oukaz from the tsars; and a report was spread that the Odoefskys and Golitsins, having collected a great force, were coming to Moscow to exterminate the foot-guards of the palace; and thereupon these latter hastily determined to assume an attitude of hostility, or at least of defence. But Sophia sent out letters to the nearest towns to assemble forces, and to send them with all haste to the monastery of Troitsa, whither she herself with all the imperial family removed on the 19th, and where the chief command was given to the boyar prince Basil Bas. Golitsin. And the streltsi at length, when they knew how things stood, applied to the patriarch to intercede for them, and completely submitted themselves, sending out to Troitsa on the 24th Sept., as required of them, twenty delegates from each polk to ask for pardon; and this, after a severe rebuke, was granted by Sophia, but only on certain conditions, one of which was, that the name of 'foot-guards of the palace' should be suppressed, and their old name of streltsi restored. These conditions, on the 8th Oct., they all swore in the cathedral before the patriarch to observe, and they gave up Ivan Khovianskoy, who was sent to Troitsa, and was made to lay his head on the block; but his sentence was commuted to banishment. The streltsi were moved to make a farther and last act of repentance, by acknowledging that it was by their sins that the boyars and other people of the council and of all orders had been slaughtered on the 15th of May on the Krasnoi ploshchad; and by the instigation of the raskolnik Aleshka Youdin, and of him whom they had called their *Batushka*, the boyar prince Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, and his son

Andrew, they had asked that letters should be given them forbidding that any man should call them bandits or rioters, and that a pillar should be set up on the Krasnoi ploshchad with an inscription: but now they petitioned that that pillar should be taken down, that it may not be a disgrace in the eyes of foreigners.

The pillar was demolished; and new letters (instead of the former) were given to the streltsi and soldati, in which it was written that the slaughter of boyars and others made on the 15th of May had been owing to the wicked plots of the princes Khovianskoy and the raskolnik Youdin, and that *for this* they had on the 17th Sept. been capitally punished; and the tsars, in consideration of the humble confession and tears of the streltsi, had pardoned their crime, and now forbade that any man should call them insurgents or traitors.

Then only, on the 6th Nov., the court returned to Moscow (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 365). And in December the secretary of the council (who was before in the posolski prikaz), Theodore Leont. Shaklovitoy, a man entirely in the interest of Ivan Miloslafsky and Sophia, was appointed to the streletski prikaz.

We have now seen the streltsi, first, by their united action under the impulsion of Ivan Miloslafsky and Khovianskoy, murdering many of the boyars and people of the prikazes; and then, again, by their disunion and only partial support of Khovianskoy and the raskol, causing indirectly the decapitation of Khovianskoy and his son. Or, again, we may say that we have seen one of the two boyars (both of them in time past among the enemies of Nicon) who instigated the streltsi to the massacre of May 15th in A.D. 1682, viz. Khovianskoy, trapped by the superior cunning of his accomplice, and added to the number of those enemies of Nicon who came to an evil end. And the place at which the Khovianskoys were beheaded is to be noticed; for it was there that Nicon, in A.D. 1652, made his last halt with the relics of St. Philip, when he was bringing them from Solovetsky to Moscow. The tsar, to do honour to that translation, had sent with Nicon a numerous suite, who showed by their conduct how little the Muscovite nobility resembled the saints whom they were instructed to honour. Of these one, a secretary of the council named Leontieff, who had been associated with Nikita Odoefsky

in the fraudulent compilation of the Code of A.D. 1649, was drowned, his vessel foundering with all on board in a storm from which Nicon was saved by the power of the Cross. Of another, a prince Ivan Nik. Khoviansky, a near relative of Ivan Andreyevich, it is mentioned that he, in the name of his family and of his order, complained that 'never before had such dishonour been done to the nobility: the tsar has given us up'—so he wrote—'to the metropolitan of Novgorod, who would force us to be religious; but nobody can be forced to be religious.' And now, after thirty years, at the spot where Nicon with the relics of the metropolitan Philip had halted and erected the cross from which Vozdvijensko was named, fire goes out from their furnace and consumes two of those Khoviansky, servants of the modern Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Later on we shall have two more of those who had been diaks in the prikazes in the time of Nicon—two diaks of the posolski prikaz—Theodore Shaklovitoy and Sylvester Medveydeff, tortured and put to death; and another, who had been a secretary of the council, Larion Sem. Lopouchin, long after he had become a monk, knouted and banished. We shall have Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, who, together with Khoviansky, and more than Khoviansky, had stirred up, in A.D. 1682, the streltsi to murder so many, and who seemed to have escaped (dying in his bed in A.D. 1684), dug up after five years in order that the blood of his accomplices might flow upon his putrid corpse. Another enemy of Nicon, Youry Romodanofsky, who escaped personally in A.D. 1682, when his cousin Gregory Gregorievich with his son Andrew were murdered, left a son, Theodore Yourievich, who was to be the tsar Peter's chief representative and instrument for those savage tortures and executions by which the guilt of the old Muscovites of all orders was punished.

If the streltsi were used in A.D. 1682 as instruments of punishment, slaughtering many of the boyars and people of the council and of the prikazes, and terrifying the rest, this was only a beginning: the threat of Nicon, that God should sweep them all away from the face of the earth, was to have its full accomplishment, but in another way. An instrument of vengeance and annihilation was preparing—a *besom*, composed of many rods bound together, such as the following:

1. The pride and vanity and ambition of Alexis;

2. His weakness of will, and his envious jealousy of the personal superiority of Nicon;

3. His association of himself with unjust, covetous, and profligate men, and his submission of himself to their influence;

4. His breach of his oath and promise, and his abandonment and persecution of Nicon;

5. The loss of Nicon's presence and support both during his life, and still more after his death;

6. The jealousy and malice of the Miloslafskys;

7. The banishment in A.D. 1676, and in A.D. 1682 the absence, of Matveyeff;

8. The wicked and murderous ambition of his daughter the tsarevna Sophia;

9. The moral and spiritual murder of Peter by Sophia;

10. The influence of an irreligious and profligate foreigner;

11. The beer, tobacco, immorality, and profane jesting of *Nalivaiki* or *Koukou;*

12. An ignorant admiration of merely material civilisation;

13. A heathen idea of patriotism;

14. A great natural genius, without a suitable education;

15. Violent natural passions, without religious and moral training and discipline;

16. A strong will, with no law but its own impulses;

17. Despotic power, partly inherited partly obtained through the creation of a new military force dependent on its creator alone, and entirely devoted to him.

Such were the influences which, as a bundle of twigs, were combined and bound together into a *besom*, with which to sweep away from the face of the earth both the council and the people of the council, the prikazes and the people of the prikazes, the boyars, the okolniks, and the stolniks, the voivodes civil and military, the dvorianins, the jiltsi, the diaks, and the dieti boyarskie, the gosti and the sotni, the hereditary right to civil and military offices, the union of administration and jurisdiction in the same hands, the command of bodies of armed retainers: all this system was entirely swept away by Peter, and a new system introduced, based upon the following principles:

1. The abolition of all hereditary rank, and of the power of landowners to arm and command their own retainers, and the indiscriminate enslavement to the crown for service of all the

landowners and upper classes, including the clergy, as before all the peasants had been enslaved under the landowners.

2. The creation of a regularly-disciplined standing army, raised and recruited by conscription, and absolutely at the command of the tsar, all other armed forces being gradually abolished.

3. The creation of a centralised bureaucracy for all civil and judicial administration, with a similar and parallel system for the administration of the Church.

4. The creation (A.D. 1722) of a new classification of fourteen civil, military, and ecclesiastical ranks, with German names, the first eight giving admission to a new kind of nobility (*dvoriánstvo*), all subordinate to the mere personal will of the autocrat, with an humiliating disregard of former national customs and rights and privileges, ecclesiastial as well as civil.

Before the end of the seventeenth century, after his first return from abroad, Peter had already ceased to make promotions and to conduct public affairs according to the ancient forms, though the old titles and distinctions of rank were not taken away from such as possessed them. The mere names were left gradually to die out: and it is mentioned as an exceptional act, probably the last of its kind, that Peter, in A.D. 1711, being then at Elbing, promoted from the stolniks to be an *okolnik*[7] Alexis Alexandr. Youshkoff: and again it is mentioned that the last surviving *boyar*, the prince Ivan Your. Troubetskoy, died in A.D. 1750 (*Drevn. Russ. Bibl.* vol. xx. p. 201 and p. 139).

God has swept them all away from the face of the earth.

[7] In A.D. 1705 there were still remaining eighteen okolniks.

CHAPTER III.

PUBLIC PUNISHMENTS: EXTERMINATION OF THE STRELTSI.

THE streltsi—the janizzaries of Muscovy—were a force originally organised in the reign of John IV. Basilievich to increase the power of the tsar, which was thus rendered superior to the armed retinues of the nobles, and to any forces which they could raise from the people on their estates: and so far as the power of the crown was at any time abused, the streltsi were the instruments and executors of the tsar's tyranny and injustice. But so far as the hereditary nobility exercised, through the council of state, through the prikazes, and through the civil and military commands of the voivodes, the power of the crown, the streltsi were also the instruments and executors of all the injustice and oppression of which the great nobles and other officers of the crown might be guilty. In the revolution of May A.D. 1682 they became the instruments of punishment to a certain extent against the crown itself, and still more against the boyars and the hereditary nobility, the people of the council and of the tsar's chamber, of the court, and of the prikazes, who had used the power of the crown under the tsar Alexis against the patriarch Nicon and the Church. The streltsi began against the privileged classes, by a bloody massacre, that punishment which was to be completed afterwards by Peter in their utter enslavement and extermination.

But since, as the ministers of covetousness, injustice, tyranny, and impiety, they had also had themselves some share of guilt, they also, like the nobility, were to be punished; and their punishment, like that of the nobility, was to be begun by a horrible massacre or butchery, and to be completed by suppression and extermination. For if any innocent persons had been apprehended and imprisoned for obeying Nicon, or for visiting him and showing attachment to him, this was done by a golova and detachment of streltsi; if lands belonging *to his monastery of Voskresensk* were to be forcibly taken away under decree of the monastirski prikaz, and given to a sacrilegious robber, or if

clerks were to be dragged before a secular tribunal, this was done by commissioners attended by streltsi; if Nicon was to be prevented from reëntering the gates of Móscow, or to be expelled when he had actually returned: if the people were to be prevented from detaining him, or from approaching him to show their affection; if he was to be taken into exile, and to be guarded as a state prisoner, all this was done by streltsi, under their golovas and polkovniks, of whom the most prominent was Matveyeff—and of his end and personal punishment we have treated already. The streltsi had been the satellites and instruments not only in a general way of covetousness and injustice oppressing the poor and defenceless, but also more particularly of secular pride and tyranny enslaving the Church; they had been the very claws and teeth, as it were, of that wild beast which had raged against the New Jerusalem, against the Lamb and the Lamb's Wife: and they also, after being first defeated under the walls of *Voskresensk*, and after being kept as prisoners, many of them, in that monastery in which in 1663 they had ill-treated and imprisoned Nicon, were to be taken thence to be tortured and butchered at Moscow; and their whole force, like the boyars and the privileged classes, and by the same *besom*, as had been predicted to them by Nicon, was to be swept away from the face of the earth.

The tsar Peter had left Moscow on the 10th March A.D. 1697, in the suite of his own Great Embassy; and after having been in Germany, Holland, and England, had reached Vienna, and he was about to go on to Venice, when, in July A.D. 1698, he received from Moscow, from the prince Theodore Your. Romodanofsky, letters informing him that four polks of the streltsi (about 2200 men) who were under his relative Michael Greg. Romodanofsky on the Lithuanian frontier, had mutinied, and were marching upon Moscow. This news changed the tsar's plans; and on the 19th July he left Vienna to return to Russia, accompanied only by Lefort and Golovin.

We have seen—Solovieff writes—that in A.D. 1689 (when Peter deposed Sophia from the regency) there were only a very few of the streltsi who were parties to the designs of Sophia and Shaklovitoy. The great majority of them had from the first abstained from meddling in the dispute between the brother and the sister, and afterwards openly sided with Peter, and so com-

pelled Sophia to give up to him Shaklovitoy. Apparently such conduct on their part ought to have established a perfectly good understanding between the new government (of Peter and John, without Sophia) and the streltsi. But it turned out just the contrary. Already, before A.D. 1689, there had been formed the two potieshnie regiments (the Preobrajensky and the Semenofsky) which grew out of the nucleus of Peter's former playfellow-soldiers, and which, together with the older soldati, stood in opposition to the streltsi: they had been used to think thus, that the potieshnie were the armed force of Peter, the streltsi the armed force of Sophia. To establish friendly relations between the potieshnie and the streltsi was impossible not only for this reason. The potieshnie were the representatives of new ideas; the streltsi were the representatives of old ideas and customs. The new ideas triumphed by the triumph of Peter over Sophia, and in consequence the streltsi would have to be changed into soldati. This change was for them intolerable: they would never consent to it. With such a state of things, causes of provocation could not be wanting. Let us only think of Peter's sham-fights for amusement (*potiechi*): two armies are formed to fight one another: the *Russian* army, with which is the tsar himself, consists of the potieshnie, regularly-trained soldiers; the *enemy*, who are commanded by 'the King of Poland,' are the streltsi: these latter are beaten, and so show their inferiority and insufficiency in comparison of the force disciplined in the new fashion. There were causes for provocation also on the other side. What people who were near to the tsar thought of the streltsi and of their relations to the government appears clearly from a letter of Vinius to Peter, in which Vinius tells him, that on receipt of some unfavourable news of the army then besieging Azoff, there was rejoicing in the slobodas of the streltsi (*i.e.* among the families and connections even of those streltsi who were serving in the army before Azoff). The two campaigns against Azoff were very great hardships for the streltsi. For two years successively they were forced to go to such a distance, to leave their families, and their gainful employments at Moscow. The tsar was not satisfied with them: he found fault with them. But with whom did the fault lie? Why, of course, with the foreigners, and above all with him who was the nearest of all to the tsar, that is, Lefort: and so there arose among the streltsi

a strong feeling of displeasure against Lefort. Circumstances became worse and worse for the streltsi after the capture of Azoff: first, they kept them there to garrison the place; then they made them work to repair the fortifications. People who were discontented with the tsar, who wished to rid themselves of him in any way which might be possible, turned to the streltsi as the most discontented of all, as being destined to destruction.[a]

The streltsi at Azoff were tormented by a longing to be back at Moscow, a longing for their former undisciplined easy life with their families in the capital. There was still a hope that their service at Azoff would soon be over, and that they would then be marched back to Moscow: but all at once there came an oukaz to move four of the polks of the streltsi, viz. those of Choubaroff, Kolzakoff, Cherni, and Hundertmark, from Azoff to the Lithuanian frontier, to join there the army of the prince Michael Greg. Romodanofsky, who, with the polks of the dvorianins, the reitari, and the soldati, was watching the issue of the struggle between the Saxon and the French parties in Poland. The streltsi marched from Azoff to Veliki Louki. To take their place at Azoff there were sent six other polks of the streltsi: and all the remaining polks of them were stationed along the south-western frontier: Moscow had been cleared of them altogether, and there were left there only soldati. The most aggrieved of all were those four polks which, instead of returning to Moscow, were actually to march *past Moscow* to Veliki Louki. Many of the men of these four polks resolved that, cost what it might, they would get to Moscow. In the month of March more than a hundred and fifty of them deserted, and appeared at Moscow as petitioners. To the question why they had left their polks, they replied that many of their comrades were forced to desert from absolute starvation. A time was fixed for them, the 3d April, by which they were required to leave Moscow, and at the same time an order was made to give them provision-money in full for a month. But these deserters, learned in Moscow some interesting facts.

The people in Russia had lived through such a time as there had never been seen before, and many asked, 'Is not this the last time? are we not close upon the end of the world?' The

[a] Here he alludes to the conspiracy of Tsikler Socovnin and Poushkin in A.D. 1697, the details of which will be given in another chapter farther on.

tsar had plainly joined himself to the Germans (the Niemtsi), and had gone away across the frontier to them. What had become of him there no one could tell. The deserters of the streltsi met on the Ivanofsky ploshchad in the Kremlin some acquaintances—streltsi like themselves—who were sitting as public writers (as podiaks) of the ploshchad. A conversation was struck up. The first word was, 'Our hossoudar has flown away over the frontier to the foreigners.' 'Well then! the hossoudar is with the foreigners; but in his absence what is doing here?' The podiaks said, 'The boyars want to make away with the tsarevich: the boyar Tichon Nik. Streshneff wants to be ruler at Moscow himself. But *you* ought to have been at Moscow before now.'

One can imagine how the streltsi would take those last words. 'In some way or other we must contrive to get to Moscow'—this had been the thought and word of them all; and now here there was an invitation. The ex-regent, the tsarevna Sophia, was living in confinement in the Novodivichy Monastery: her sisters, daughters of the same Miloslafsky mother, were at large in the palace: but for them too—for all of them—it had been a bad time since the change of A.D. 1689. When Sophia was regent they had all in a sense governed with her: if they wanted money, they had only to send for it to such or such a prikaz; but now they were in a manner in disgrace. They had—one may well suppose—a strong wish that things should change, even though it should be the streltsi who were to help them again. With them was the central point of all intrigues, of all reports unfavourable to the government: between them and the Novodivichy Monastery there passed private communications: there were discontented women of the families of the streltsi who were quite ready to serve the discontented tsarevnas. The streltsi who had run away to Moscow would naturally betake themselves to the tsarevnas, who being by themselves in the palace, at large, could take interest in them, and who could not fail to express the wish, or to echo a wish expressed by others to see the tsarevna Sophia again in power. Though the tsarevnas during that unsettled time were kept closely confined to the palace, the streltsi found means to enter into relations with them: two of the deserters, Proskouriakoff and Touma, drew up a petition about the necessities of the streltsi, and gave it to

a woman of a streletz family who was in the habit of going into the palace, to give to some one of the tsarevnas. That one of them all who had most energy was the tsarevna Martha, and it was to her that the petition of the streltsi found its way; and her bed-chamber woman (*postelnitsa*) gave a note in reply to the streletz woman to take to Touma. Martha said to her postelnitsa about that note: 'See, I trust thee; but if a word is said about it, they will examine thee on the rack, while I shall be in no danger of anything worse than a convent.' She also told her to say to the streletz woman: 'With us in the palace there are now but few people; the boyars would be glad to make away with the tsarevich: it would be well if the streltsi were to come.' At the Arbata (the Smolensk gates), outside the precinct of the church of St. Nicholas Yavlenni, there stood a crowd of streltsi, while one of them, Basil Touma, read out (so it was said) a letter from the Novodivichy Monastery, from the tsarevna Sophia, calling upon all the four polks to come to Moscow, and suggesting that they should encamp near the Novodivichy Monastery, and petition her to come out and to take the government as before.

If all are to come to Moscow, why should all the petitioners leave? one or two to carry the message are enough. Such was their thought; and when the 3d of April came a crowd of them went to the house of the president of the streletski prikaz, the prince Ivan Bor. Troekouroff, and when he would not listen to the demands of their four delegates to be allowed to stay on, but ordered them to return at once to their polks, they flatly refused. He then ordered them to be arrested and taken to prison, but on the way their comrades rescued them. The news of this alarmed the boyars, who well remembered[9] the mutiny of A.D. 1682. Their anxiety was farther increased by the circumstance that it was now long since they had heard from abroad, from the tsar. Against the streltsi it was necessary to prepare another armed force of soldati: so the prince Theodore Your. Romodanofsky sent for general Gordon, and told him how matters stood. Gordon thought that the prince exaggerated the danger, and he observed to him that the matter was not very

[9] But Moscow had been emptied of the streltsi; all the polks of them were now at a distance. It is difficult to understand such fear, unless they had misgivings about the soldati.

serious: the streltsi were but few in number, and had no leaders. From Romodanofsky Gordon went to Boutirki, where his soldati lived, to prepare for anything that might happen; and he was confirmed in his opinion that there was no danger by finding that all his men were present in the sloboda, except such as were posted elsewhere on duty. The next day the streltsi deserters stayed on still in Moscow, but quietly; only two, who were in liquor, were riotous in the streletski prikaz. Meanwhile the boyars sat in council in the palace, consulting what to do. They decided to send a detachment of soldati to expel the streltsi by force from Moscow. In the afternoon a company of the Semenofsky regiment, with the assistance of the city militia (the *posadskie*), expelled the uninvited guests, and escorted them beyond the barriers, only two of them resisting: one of these two they beat so that he soon died; the other, with those two who had rioted the day before in the streletski prikaz, was sent to Siberia.

By a letter dated April 8th, Theodore Romodanofsky informed Peter how those streltsi had come to Moscow, and how they had been sent away escorted by soldati. Peter received this letter at Amsterdam, as he was about to leave for Vienna, and he answered: 'We are very glad' [that the mutiny of those streltsi has been put down by *your government*, and by the faithful service of the soldati]; 'only I am much annoyed and displeased with you, that you did not make an inquest into that matter. Why was that? God will judge you for that!'

The matter was in reality serious. The boyars drove the streltsi out of Moscow; and the streltsi carried with them to Toropetz, where their four polks now were with Michael Greg. Romodanofsky, various pieces of news, and amongst the rest, that of the invitation from the Novodivichy Monastery. On the road they had been followed and overtaken by the streletz woman, who gave them a fresh note—so it was said—from the tsarevna Sophia: 'Now you are ill enough off,' the note said, 'but soon it will be much worse: come to Moscow: why have you been so long? Of the hossoudar nothing is heard.' In proof that the streltsi were to be soon still worse off, there came an oukaz from Moscow of the 28th May: Romodanofsky was to send to their homes the men *of his own polks*, both foot and cavalry, and he was himself to come to Moscow; but the streltsi

were to remain till farther orders in the towns of Viazma, Biela-Rjeva, Vladimir, and Dorogobouge: those streltsi who had run away to Moscow, 155 in all, were to be sent to the towns of Chernigoff, Pereyaslaff, and Novogrodok, in Little Russia, to remain there in perpetuity, with their wives and families: while the piatidesiatniks, desiatniks, and privates who had not left their duty, for their faithful service, and for this that they had not consented to those bandits, but had given against them a petition under their hands, were to be commended in the tsar's name. So the podiaks were right when they said on the Ivanofsky ploshchad that the streltsi were never again to see Moscow! When this oukaz, sent in the tsar's name, was made known, the polkovniks Choubaroff, Cherni, Tichon, and Hundertmark brought to Romodanofsky, of those who had run away from their polks, fifty men; and Romodanofsky ordered them to be taken into the fortress (the *gorod*) and given up to the voivodes of Toropetz; but the esaouls who escorted them met on the way gangs of the streltsi, who rescued their comrades, pursued the esaouls, and threw sticks at them. Romodanofsky would have sent against them the Novgorod streltsi, but these were too few in number to oppose to the mutineers. Then Romodanofsky, at the request of the polkovniks, sent the oukaz itself, to be read out in the muster-houses of the polks separately; but he did not order the Moscow streltsi to be summoned to the headquarters of the whole corps, for the particular requisitions of the oukaz, on account of their mutinous agitation, for fear of mischief ensuing from them. In the polks of Choubaroff and Kolzakoff the streltsi heard the letter; and those of the Kolzakoff polk petitioned for grace, and said that as for the bandits, if they were to be found, they would not defend them; but the streltsi of Choubaroff's polk said that they had among them no bandits, and those who had gone to Moscow went because they were starving. Kolzakoff brought from his polk fifteen men to the razriadnaia tent (*i.e.* to headquarters), and thence he took them to Toropetz, and delivered them to the voivode: but the streltsi assembled and took them away from the voivode by force, and they ran after the polkovnik Kolzakoff, and flung sticks at him. But the streltsi of the polks of Cherni and Hundertmark did not go to hear the tsar's letter read in their muster-houses; but in the streets near the razriadnaia

tent and the house where Romodanofsky was, they began to break down the wooden fences, and assembling, stood in great groups. Romodanofsky, alarmed at this, with the cavalry polks of the dvorianins, went out of the town into the open country, and took up a position on the Moscow road; Choubaroff, Hundertmark, and Kolzakoff were with him. The prince ordered them to ride to their polks and bring them out separately from the suburbs into the open country, and then to march them to the towns named for them in the oukaz. Choubaroff's polk came out, and marched obliquely past the squadrons and polks of the cavalry. Romodanofsky, riding up to it, ordered it to halt, and began to harangue the men, to make them give up those who had run away to Moscow. The streltsi replied that they did not stand up for those runaways; only take them themselves and give them up they could not. Romodanofsky said to them in reply: 'The runaways are only a few men, but you are 500 and more!' The streltsi went back to their polk: an hour passed; Romodanofsky sent to say that they must give those men up without more delay. He received the same answer as before: 'It is not in our power!' After this the polk marched on, but the runaways separated from it, and returned to Toropetz. Romodanofsky sent lancers and reitars to take them, and they were about to do so, when suddenly there came out from Toropetz the polk of Hundertmark, and the fugitives disappeared into it, making their way to it through some marshy and bushy ground. The polkovnik and the superior officers cried out not to admit those brigands into the polk; but the common men of the streltsi did not mind them, and they were ready to fight the cavalry which were pursuing the fugitives. They cried out, 'We have in the polks no brigands; they went to Moscow only from necessity, because they were starving.' All the streltsi marched towards the towns to which they were by the oukaz ordered to go, and Romodanofsky sent to them pay for two months, that there might be no pretence for a continuance of the agitation.

But the streltsi wanted not only pay, they wanted Moscow, whither they were not allowed to go. Besides that, they had now already begun—they had disobeyed the tsar's oukaz, and had not given up the runaways. For this punishment in some form or other would be the only answer. Of course, the runaways, by

an instinct of self-preservation, tried with all their might to instigate the rest to mutiny. The streltsi marched slowly, as against their will, not more than five versts a day; and on the 6th of June, on the bank of the Dvina, the mutiny broke out. Mounted up in a teleyga in front of the four polks, there stood a streletz named Masloff, who read to them a letter of invitation (said to be) from the tsarevna Sophia: 'I have learned,' she wrote, 'that a few streltsi from your polks came to Moscow: it were well if all your four polks were to come and to encamp near the Novodiviehy Monastery, and petition me to go to Moscow, to take the government as before: and if the soldati who are stationed at the monastery should not let me go to Moscow, you can settle the matter with them, kill them, and so enter Moscow: and whoever either with his own people or with soldati attempts to prevent my going, you should fight them.'

The groups were all in agitation: they would go to Moscow; they would sack the German sloboda, and kill the Germans, because through them Orthodoxy is perishing: they would kill the boyars, and they, the streltsi, would live in their houses: they would send, too, to the other polks, and bid them also come to Moscow, because the streltsi are being destroyed by the boyars and the foreigners, and are never again to be allowed to return to Moscow: assuredly they would go to Moscow, though it were to cost them their lives, and they would put a stop to the present state of things: they would send a notice also to the kozaks of the Don. If the tsarevna does not undertake the government, we might, till such time as the tsarevich shall be grown up, put forward the prince Basil Golitsin: he was good to the streltsi in the Crimean campaigns, and at Moscow: but so long as the tsar is alive and well we shall not see Moscow: we must not let the tsar into Moscow; we must kill him, because he has begun to trust only the Germans, and has made himself as one of them. All the tsarevnas wish to see the streltsi at Moscow: the tsarevna Sophia has given the kozaks at Toropetz a poltina each to engage them to go to Moscow. Rings were formed: they discarded their former polkovniks and captains, chose others instead, and set forth on their march towards Moscow.

But at Moscow there were soldati; and the streltsi agreed amongst themselves by the way that they would send on some one ahead of themselves to make a visit to Boutirki, and to find

out there from the soldati what was going on among them. A streletz named Pouzan was sent to Boutirki, to some of the soldati of Salemnikoff with whom he was acquainted, and he saw one of them: but the man refused to have anything to do with him: 'We have strict orders about you,' he said, 'and we will not join you; we have nothing to do with you; do ye as ye please.' Among the streltsi there was another proposal, that they should not fight the soldati, being too few (only 2200), but should go round Moscow, and post themselves in Serpoutchoff or Toula, and write thence to Bielgorod, Azoff, Sievsk, and other towns, to the streltsi there, to come to them with all speed; and so they would all together go to Moscow and kill the boyars.

A panic fell upon the inhabitants of Moscow when they heard of the approach of the streltsi. People who were well off began to go out of the city, with all their property, to their estates at a distance. Among the boyars there were discussions as to the measures to be adopted. At length the opinion of the prince Boris Alex. Golitsin prevailed, and it was decided to send out against the mutineers the boyar Sheyn with the generals Gordon and the prince Koltsoff-Masalskoy, the force under whom was about 4000 men, with 25 guns.

On the 17th of June the tsar's troops met the streltsi as they were crossing the little river Istra, forty versts from Moscow, *close to Nicon's monastery of Voskresensk*. The streltsi sent to Sheyn a letter, in which they complained that at Azoff they suffered all kinds of hardships; through winter and summer they had to labour on the fortifications of the town: then from Azoff they passed to the force under the prince Romodanofsky, and suffered cold and hunger and all manner of privations: as many as 150 men of them were put into one dvor: their allowance of provision-money for a month was not enough even for a fortnight: those who straggled for forage were beaten with cudgels: from Toropetz Romodanofsky ordered them to be marched by different roads, one polk at a time, and to be deprived of their arms, of their standards, and of all the treasure of the polk; and he ordered the cavalry to surround them and to fall upon them. In alarm at this they had not gone to the towns to which they had been ordered by oukaz to go, but were going to Moscow, that they might not die

of ill-usage, not with any intention of mutiny. Let them only be allowed to see, for a short time, their wives and children, and then, when there shall be occasion, they would be ready to go again on service.

Sheyn sent Gordon to the encampment of the streltsi to let them know that if they would turn, and march to the places to which they had been ordered to go, and would give up those who had run away to Moscow, and the instigators of the present mutiny, the hossoudar would pardon them, and their allowance should be given them at the places named in the oukaz according to the local prices. Gordon in vain exhausted, as he says of himself, 'all his *rhetoric*' in reasoning with the streltsi: they replied that they would either die or get to Moscow, though it were only for a short time; but after that they would be ready to go wherever the great hossoudar should order them. To the continuation of Gordon's rhetoric they replied that they 'would stop his mouth for him.' The foreigner had had no success: Sheyn sent off a Russian, the prince Koltsoff-Masalskoy, to talk them over. To him there came out one of the leaders, the desiatnik Zorin, with the unfinished draft of a petition, in which they said:

'The Moscow polks of streltsi with great distress and with tears petition: They have served, and before them their ancestors and grandfathers and fathers have served the great hossoudars in all customary Christian faith, and they have promised to the end of their lives to keep piety, as it is held by the holy Apostolic Church. And in the year 7198 (A.D. 1682) they of their care for piety stemmed the torrent of disorder; and by the oukaz of the great hossoudars, in the revolution of that time, it was forbidden to call them traitors or mutineers; and according to their promise made by kissing the cross they still serve unchangeably according to piety. And in the year 7203 (A.D. 1695) they received orders to serve in different towns for a year at a time. And in that same year, when they were before Azoff, by the device of the heretic foreigner Francis Lefort, that he might cause great mischief to Orthodoxy, he, Frantzko, led a body of them—the Moscow streltsi—under the walls at an unfit time; and he posted them at the most dangerous places, and a great multitude of them were slain. And by his suggestion there was bored a mine under their entrenchments, and by that mine he killed as many

as 300 men of them or more. And by his device, at the assault of Azoff, there was given as a largess at the rate of ten rubles to a private, and whoever deserved it was to be promoted; and at that assault, on the side on which they were, there were slain a very great multitude of their best men: but when they, of zeal for him, the great hossoudar, and for all Christendom, said that they would take Azoff by assault, he gave up that plan: and not wishing to see anything good for Christianity, he kept the very last of them under Azoff till the 3d of October: and from Cherkask he went on the 14th by the steppe, that he might destroy them all utterly: and as they went they ate dead carcases, and a very great number of them perished. And in A.M. 7204 (A.D. 1696) they took Azoff by assault; and they were left there to fortify the place: and they worked day and night during a whole year with excessive toil. And from Azoff they were ordered to go to Moscow. And in the mean time they were in Zmiev, in Izium, in Tsar-Borisoff, and in Moiak, in extreme destitution: and from those places they were ordered to go and join the army that was with the boyar and voivode the prince Michael Greg. Romodanofsky, to Poustova Rejeva, for the winter, without passing through Moscow. And they, of zeal for him, the great hossoudar, marched to that army day and night, suffering the cruellest hardships from having to march at that time of the autumn, and they arrived barely alive: and when they were on the Polish frontier, in the winter time, in the forests, in the most embarrassing places, in wet and mud, and in all manner of privations, they served, still hoping for the grace of the great hossoudar: and by oukaz it was ordered to separate and disperse all the polks of the Novgorod corps (*razriad*). And the boyar and the voivode Romodanofsky, having drawn out separately their polks from Toropetz, gave an order to cut them down, for what cause they knew not. But they had heard that at Moscow there is great alarm, and that on this account they close the city gates early, and open them only at the second or third hour of the day, and so all the people are in difficulty. They had heard, too, that the Germans are coming to Moscow, and that is, no doubt, *in order to impose the shaving of the beard* and the smoking of tobacco, for the complete destruction of piety.'

Zorin demanded that the petition should be read before all the tsar's troops. This, of course, was not done. And Sheyn

could clearly see from the petition what was the upshot of the matter, when on the one side what was put forward was Orthodoxy, and on the other the heretic Frantzko Lefort. Under the modest title of a petition, this was a malicious invective against the tsar, only dissembled by being nominally directed against his favourite. Sheyn could clearly see that conferences and admonitions only increased the audacity of the streltsi, whereas if he attacked them at once there could be no doubt of success. They were an undisciplined multitude, without a leader, and without any sufficient artillery. They began to prepare for action: on both sides they sang a moleben: the streltsi confessed, and swore to die for one another without fail. For the last time a message was sent to them to bid them lay down their arms and confess their guilt towards the great hossoudar, else the guns would begin to fire upon them. The streltsi answered: 'We are not afraid of that; we have seen guns before, and better guns than those.' But Sheyn still delayed taking the final step. Seeing that the conferences in words, exhortations, and threats had no effect, he tried to frighten them in another way, and ordered some guns to be fired, but so that the balls should pass over their heads. This only the more emboldened them: they began to unfold their colours, and to throw up their caps, and prepared to engage. But then there came another discharge, and the ranks of the streltsi were thinned, though some cried, 'Let us charge the chief polk and break through them, and though we have to die for it let us get to Moscow.' Two more discharges, and only a few of them still held their ground among the baggage, which was immediately taken, and the ground occupied by the tsar's forces. The fighting lasted scarcely one hour. In the tsar's army there were only wounded four men, one of them mortally; of the streltsi eighteen were killed and thirty-seven wounded, the greater part mortally. They who fled in different directions from the baggage were pursued and taken. Sheyn sorted them, examining who of them were 'bandits' and who honest men, and who had set the mutiny a-going in Moscow: and after this there were strict inquests, and severe tortures were inflicted on those streltsi: and after those inquests many were punished capitally, and were hanged along the roadside: the rest were sent in different directions to prisons and monasteries (*especially to the monastery of Voskresensk*, which was close at hand) under guard.

Under torture they confessed themselves guilty as to what was done at Toropetz, and, after they had gone thence, on the Dvina; but no one said a word of any letter from the tsarevna.

After receiving from Theodore Your. Romodanofsky (nicknamed by Peter 'King of Presburg' and 'Kaisar') the information of the mutiny of the streltsi, and of their marching towards Moscow, Peter replied to him: 'You write that the *seed of Ivan Miloslafsky is sprouting*; wherefore I beseech you to act strongly; for there is no other way by which this fire can be quenched. Although I am very sorry to have to break off from my present useful work (his journey to Venice), still, for this reason, I mean to be with you sooner than you think of.' Romodanofsky writes about the mutinous agitation of the streltsi, but Peter's imagination sees only the seed sown by Ivan Miloslafsky sprouting up. The remaining words, that 'it is only by strong measures that this fire can be put out,' show already the violent feeling of resentment which suggested the conviction of the necessity of extreme measures for the extirpation of the evil. To strike with terror the opponents, to drown opposition in blood—this thought commonly comes into the head of revolutionary actors in the heat of their conflict, in conjunction with violent exasperation owing to the opposition met with, and with fear for their own future fate, and for that of the principle which they have been advocating. This most resentful answer made by Peter to Romodanofsky promised to Moscow—*terror*.

On his road from Vienna to Russia Peter received news of the suppression of the mutiny by the victory of Sheyn. Among other things Vinius wrote, 'Not one escaped.'

On the 26th of August there was in Moscow a report that the tsar had arrived the night before; and so it was. He passed the evening in the house of Lefort, and went out to sleep at Preobrajensk. During that evening or night the matter was determined which soon was to strike Moscow with horror.

Peter returned to Moscow in violent anger: the seed of Ivan Miloslafsky—the streltsi—had again come across his way. Before he went abroad from Russia there had been the plot of Socovnin and Tsikler, in which some streltsi had been engaged; he had scarcely breathed freely abroad, and had engaged himself in those matters which he loved, when again the streltsi interrupt him, and prevent him from continuing his travels. But the streltsi

—they are only the advanced skirmishers; they are only the armed force behind which stands the mass of the people opposed to change, opposed to all that with which Peter had leagued himself irrevocably, without which he could not exist. He knew well how all these people looked on his activity: he will not renounce, to satisfy them, this activity: on the contrary, he redoubles it, and thereby he excites against himself still stronger hatred, still more hardened opposition. The consciousness of this hardened antipathy in others hardened terribly Peter himself: he was ready for a struggle of life and death; he was excited; he boiled over; he would be the first himself to mount the breach; he rushed upon the standard of his opponents, tore it from them, and trampled it under his feet. This standard was the *beard*; this standard was the old long *kaftan*.

Beyond a doubt the first act of Peter on his arrival at Moscow was to call for the minutes of the inquest held about the streltsi; and one can imagine with what a feeling he would read their petition, full of malicious outbreaks against Frantzko Lefort (that is, against Peter himself) and against the Germans, who are for shaving the beard. 'Well,' thought Peter, 'now then for your beards!'.

On the morning of the 26th Aug. a crowd filled the wooden palace at Preobrajensk; and Peter, while he conversed with the nobles, with his own hand shaved off their beards, beginning with Sheyn and Romodanofsky. The rest guessed what was meant, and began to shave: to such as did not guess a farther hint was given, on the 1st of Sept., when, at a great dinner given by Sheyn, the tsar's jester went about cutting off beards. Whoever after this would not shave was made to pay a tax.

The business was begun; the glove was thrown down to all those who had proclaimed shaving the beard to be a lewd heretical novelty. But Peter did not give them time to recover themselves after this blow; he struck them with a new horror by beginning a bloody inquest against the streltsi who had dared with arms in their hands to go against the Germans who followed the custom of shaving. By the middle of September there had been brought in to Moscow, *from Voskresensk* and from other places, 341 prisoners of the streltsi who had been left alive after the first inquest made by Sheyn, and they filled with them the surrounding monasteries and villages: others followed: in

all there were 1714 men. (There should have been 1823, but 109 of those taken by Sheyn had fled and escaped.) They were brought to Preobrajensk in parties of 180 or more as called for, and examined there in fourteen chambers of torture by fourteen boyars and others every day for a month, except Sundays, the inquest going on for six or eight hours, and sixteen or eighteen prisoners being examined on each day. They began on the 17th Sept. (the names-day of the tsarevna Sophia) with the three regimental ex-priests; and there were above thirty fires for purposes of torture kept burning daily. The tortures were distinguished by unheard-of severity. A confession was obtained that the streltsi meant to encamp near the Novodivichy Monastery, and to invite Sophia to assume the government. At last one streletz, when he was put to the fire for the third time, confessed that there had been sent to them from the tsarevna Sophia a letter, which Tomma brought from Moscow to Veliki Louki. The same was said also by some other streltsi. The inquest was extended to the streletz women who were implicated in the transmission of the letter, to the women who lived with Sophia in the monastery, and with her sister Martha. These women were tortured, and they revealed what the reader has seen already related above about the relations of the two sisters, and about the transmission of the letter to the streletz. The examinations of the first batch were finished on the 22d Sept., but there were reëxaminations of many of them, which lasted a week longer.

Meanwhile there were horrible preparations making for executions. They erected gibbets all round the Bieli-gorod and the Zemlianni-gorod, at the city gates, near to the Novodivichy monastery, and at the four muster-houses of the four polks which had mutinied.

Peter himself examined both his sisters who were implicated in the matter, Martha and Sophia. Martha acknowledged that she had spoken to Sophia of the coming of the streltsi, and of their wish to see her, Sophia, in possession of the empire. Sophia denied that any letter had been sent from her to the streltsi.

On the 30th of Sept. all that first batch of 341 which had been examined since the 17th were sentenced, and those that were to be put to death at once were executed. A hundred of them

who were aged under twenty years were only knouted, branded on the cheek, and banished to Siberia; forty others of full age were reserved for the present, to be made use of during the continuance of the inquest. The rest, 201 in number, were drawn in carts from Preobrajensk to the Pokrovsky gates. In each teleyga there sat two, each holding in his hand a lighted candle. After the carts there ran the wives, mothers, and children of the condemned men with pitiful screams and cries. At the Pokrovsky gates, in presence of the tsar himself, the minute of the charge and of the sentence was read: 'In the examination and under torture they all said that they were intending to go to Moscow, and at Moscow to make an insurrection, to kill the boyars, and sack the German sloboda, and kill the Germans, and stir up the mob: this was the design of all the four polks, and of all the men in them: and for that your brigandage the great hossoudar has sentenced you to be punished with death.' After this sentence had been read, they took the condemned men away in different directions, to hang them at the places appointed. 'Five,' it is said in the act, 'were *beheaded* at Preobrajensk.' Witnesses, whose testimony is to be believed, explain this: the fact was, that Peter himself, with his own hands, cut off the heads of these five streltsi.

Of 865 streltsi who were examined from the 3d to the 18th Oct., 93, as being under age, were not executed; 14 were reserved for use in future inquests; and the remaining 772 were hanged, broken on the wheel, or beheaded. On the 11th Oct. there were hanged 144; on the next day, 205; on the 13th Oct., 141; on the 17th Oct., 109; on the 18th Oct., 65; on the 19th Oct., 106; on the 21st Oct., 2. Of these, 195 were hanged near the Novodiviehy Monastery, in front of the windows of the tsarevna Sophia. Three of them were hanged close to the windows themselves, holding in their hands written petitions, 'and in those petitions there was written [an invitation to Sophia to take the government] according to the tenor of their confession.' At Preobrajensk there were bloody doings. There, on the 17th Oct., the near favourites of the tsar (the people of the palace) cut off the heads of 109 streltsi. Gordon writes: 'Oct. 17, a hundred and ten streltsi executed *by divers hands*.' The prince Theodore Your. Romodanofsky cut off four heads. Boris Golitsin, from his clumsiness in beheading,

increased the sufferings of the wretched victim who was allotted to him. Peter's favourite, 'Alexashka' (Menshikoff), boasted that he had beheaded twenty men. The polkovnik of the Preobrajensky polk Blumberg, and Lefort, excused themselves from this employment, saying that in their countries it was *not the sort of thing* for them to do. Peter looked on, sitting on his horse, and was angry when he observed of some of the boyars that when they set to work their hands trembled. Thus the streltsi having been first used in A.D. 1682 to begin the destruction of the boyars, the boyars were now used to begin the destruction of the streltsi, it remaining for Peter to complete the destruction and abolition of both. 'The worst of the brigands and the ringleaders had their arms and legs broken on wheels.'[10] Those wheels were set up on the Krasnoi ploshchad attached to posts, and the streltsi for their brigandage were broken alive. They were put on to those wheels, and remained alive on them nearly twenty-four hours, groaning and screaming; and by order of the great hossoudar one of them was shot with a musket. He was shot by the sergeant of the Preobrajensky polk Alexander Menshikoff. But of the popes who were with those streltsi in their polks, one was hanged before the *tiounskaia izba*, and the other had his head cut off and set up upon a stake, and his body was put upon the wheel.'

After the executions of Sept. and Oct. there still remained 508 men. In the beginning of A.D. 1699 (23d to 27th Jan.) these were examined in ten chambers of torture: 285 who were under age were knouted and sent to the galleys, 137 were executed on the 3d Feb. on the Krasnoi ploshchad and Bolota, and 86 were left to be used in farther inquests. At the end of Feb. 1068 bodies were collected and thrown in heaps outside the gates, and some were put upon wheels: and there were from 85 to 99 bodies exposed on twelve roads till the middle of March. For five whole months the frozen bodies were not removed from the places of execution; for five whole months the three dead streltsi remained holding their petitions to the windows of Sophia. The end of all was not till A.D. 1707, when on the 24th April Masloff was beheaded.

Besides the inquest respecting the streltsi who had been

[10] '*Four* were broken on the Krasnoi ploshchad on the 18th and 21st Oct., and many beheaded there; the rest were hanged.'

taken under the walls of the monastery of Voskresensk, there followed another bloody inquest respecting certain signs of insubordination or disloyalty shown by those stationed at Azoff. When these latter heard of what had occurred near the Voskresensky monastery, they began to say: 'They have killed our fathers and brothers and relations, and we who are here at Azoff will pay them off; we will kill the people in command.' A streletz named Bougaeff said: 'There is no living for the streltsi either at Moscow or at Azoff: not at Moscow, on account of the boyars, who have taken away their allowances without any oukaz; nor at Azoff, on account of the Germans, who beat them while they are working, and force them to work at unreasonable hours.' Also from Zmieff there was information which caused yet a third similar inquest. The streltsi there talked about the disaster which had befallen them, and proposed that all their polks stationed in Little Russia should unite and march to Moscow, and kill the boyars. Those streltsi who were found to have mutinied or shown a disposition to mutiny were all executed, and some others were sent to Siberia. All the remaining sixteen polks of the Moscow streltsi were suppressed. By an oukaz of June A.D. 1699, issued at Azoff, it was ordered that the men who had belonged to them should, after being disarmed, be reduced to the condition of posadskie liudi, and sent with their wives and children to such towns as they themselves preferred; but it was forbidden to receive them among the soldati; nor were any of them nor their wives and children allowed to live at Moscow. By an oukaz of 23d June A.D. 1701, the former streletski prikaz was renamed the police prikaz (*zemskich diel*). The streltsi of the *towns*, as distinguished from the *Moscow streltsi*, had never shared in the mutinies of these latter, and so they remained, and they are mentioned repeatedly during the first years of the Swedish war. But after the Astrachan mutiny the streltsi of the towns also were all soon changed into soldati. For the twenty suppressed polks of the Moscow streltsi Peter in A.D. 1699 substituted a regularly-disciplined standing army, to be recruited by conscription; and before the victory of Poltava the very name of the streltsi—even of the streltsi of the towns—had disappeared from the face of the earth (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 243-269; and Oustrialoff, vol. iii. ch. viii.).

CHAPTER IV.

OF PUBLIC PUNISHMENTS WHICH FELL UPON THE CROWN; AND FIRST OF THOSE WHICH CAME CHIEFLY FROM WITHOUT, BY THE WILL OF GOD, UPON THE PERSON AND FAMILY AND DYNASTY OF THE TSAR ALEXIS.

If one thinks of the *persons* who acted against Nicon and against the rights of the Church in Russia, and of their guilt, the first place belongs, as has been said above, to the hereditary nobility, and the second only to the tsar; so that there may seem to be some incongruity when the tsar Alexis, in the play of the *Three Hebrews*, is made by us to act *personally* the part of Nebuchadnezzar. The third place is that of the higher clergy; and the fourth and last place of all, with the least share of guilt, is that of the streltsi, who as a class were only the instruments, not the counsellors, of injustice. But if we think not of the persons acting, but of the public acts done, then, since all was done in the name of the crown, and it was to the crown, not to the boyars as a class, that the Church was enslaved, the main guilt also was with the crown, and the most signal punishments might be expected to fall upon it. 'If thou hadst only feared God,' said Nicon to the tsar in the council after that explosion which had been obtained by the reading of a certain passage from his letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, 'thou wouldst not have acted by me *thus*.' And again in the stolovaia of the palace on that same day, as he went out from before the council, he stood in the midst, and turning himself to the tsar, shook off, for the third and last time, the dust from his feet, saying these words: 'My blood, *and the sin of all*, be upon *thy* head!'

But what can be more signal and appalling, it may be asked, than bloody massacres, such as those which came upon the nobles and upon the streltsi in A.D. 1682 and 1698, as beginnings of punishment, to be followed afterwards by annihilation? Certainly those massacres were striking and appalling enough: but we shall see something yet more terrible than these—something not inferior to the old heathen tragedies of Pelops, Atreus, and

Thyestes, which were fabled to have made the sun shroud his light for horror. Yet modern historians relate these tragedies as if they were only the accidents of a transformation and progress worthy of being set up as an idol for national pride and self-complacency to worship!

That the streltsi who had been the executors of injustice against the Church for the crown and the nobles should be used as an instrument of vengeance to begin the punishment of the nobility, and that in turn the nobles should be employed to help the tsar himself in torturing and butchering the streltsi, previously to the annihilation of both the streltsi and the nobility, is only one of innumerable instances in which those who had been sharers in crime have been made the instruments of punishment against one another.

But when we come to consider the guilt of the crown, this was not punished in the same way; that is, not by any revolt of the boyars and clergy, or of the streltsi: nor has the crown in Russia hitherto been trampled under foot by any popular rebellion. But it was punished, first, by certain reverses, calamities, and afflictions which fell upon it *from without*, or by the direct visitation of God; and these were only the beginning and the least part of its punishment: and then farther—and this it is which is so tragical and terrible—the pride of secular power was made to lacerate and torment itself, and after completing the punishment and destruction of the boyars and the streltsi, and the punishment of the clergy, last of all even to destroy itself by an unexampled suicide, being so made like to those venomous reptiles which are said in their agony to turn their stings upon themselves, and to sting themselves to death.

In the present chapter we shall consider only those punishments which came upon the tsar Alexis and his family and dynasty *from without*, or from the direct judgments of God.

And first, as regards all those disappointments, reverses, and humiliations, public calamities, and domestic afflictions which befell the tsar Alexis after he had broken his vow to God and his promise to the patriarch Nicon: they have a double character, answering to the double character, personal and public, of the tsar himself. And on the one hand, since the tsar Alexis personally, as a man, when it was too late, condemned himself, and regretted what he had done as sovereign, and asked Nicon's

pardon and absolution, those calamities which in the mean time had befallen him are not so much to be dwelt upon as punishments for him personally, but they are to be regarded rather as chastisements, which may have contributed to his repentance.

But since the tsar Alexis never publicly reversed or atoned for the wrong which he had publicly done to Nicon and to the Church, so that Nicon might rightly give him at his death a formal and public writing of absolution, all that befell him of evil after he had sinned retains still in relation to his public acts a character of punishment and vengeance, rather than of chastisement for correction.

And this appears of itself when we proceed to observe that the punishments which fell heavily upon Alexis personally did not end with him, but were continued and increased upon his children and his house after his death, even to the third and fourth generation, even to the utter extinction of his dynasty; whereas if the public sin had been publicly repented of, and due satisfaction made for it, it might have been expected that his children would inherit not a curse but a blessing.

Many of the punishments which fell upon Alexis before his death having been mentioned already in the preceding volumes in connection with the times at which they occurred, it will be enough now to recapitulate the chief of them[1] without much repetition of details.

1. The first in order of time, after his breach of charity towards Nicon, was the loss of his second daughter, Anna, a little girl of four years old—god-daughter to the patriarch—who died on the 8th of May A.D. 1659 (see above, vol. iv. p. 170). While she was sick, the tsar sent for a monk, who was also an *astrologer* (a man *censured by Nicon* but *befriended by Bogdan Khitroff*), to tell him whether his daughter was *fated* to die or to recover; and he told him—rightly as it turned out—that she was to die: after which the tsar bade that monk live in the Choudoff at Moscow, that he might be near at hand.

2. The second, after his assumption of spiritual supremacy, was in the same year 1659, on the eve of the festival of the holy apostles Peter and Paul (June 28), when at Konotop the flower of the Muscovite cavalry were taken by the Tatars and butchered

[1] 'He was tied up,' one may say in the language of his own age, 'and received twenty-one blows of the (spiritual) knout' from the angels of punishment.

like sheep, and the renown of the tsar's chief commander, Troubetskoy, turned to reproach and shame (ib. p. 171).

3. The third, after his convocation of a pseudo-synod in A.D. 1660, may be seen in the defeats suffered by his troops in Lithuania under Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy and Youry and Peter Dolgorouky, especially on the 18th June and the 10th October of that year (ib. p. 287).

4. The fourth, the surrender of the whole Muscovite army under the boyar Basil Bas. Sheremetieff to the Poles and Tatars at Choudnovo in Volhynia, on the 23d of October in the same year 1660 (ib.).

5. The fifth, the disappointment of those ambitious hopes with which, in A.D. 1656, the tsar had proclaimed war against Sweden (expecting then to obtain also by agreement the succession to the crowns of Poland and Lithuania), when he found himself obliged to restore everything which he had taken from the Swedes, in order to obtain peace (the peace of Kardis, June 21, A.D. 1661), the exhausting and now unsuccessful war with Poland still continuing (vol. ii. p. 481).

6. The sixth, after the consecration of Methodius to invade the patriarchate of Constantinople, and to be guardian for the tsar of the see of Kieff, a fresh defeat of Khovianskoy and Nashchokin at Koushliki in the autumn of A.D. 1661, the loss of Grodno, Mohileff, and other towns, and of Vilna itself; so that by the end of that year the tsar's forces had been obliged to evacuate the whole of Lithuania, except Bikoff (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xi. p. 160).

7. The seventh, after the tsar had received without canonical letters Paisius Ligarides in the spring of A.D. 1662, that alarming disturbance which broke out at Moscow (July 20, 25, and 26) in consequence of the depreciation of the copper coin or tokens, and of the covetousness, corruption, and oppression of the boyars, especially of Elia Dan. and his nephew Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky (vol. ii. p. 481).

8. The eighth, after he had brought the two patriarchs and other Eastern bishops to Moscow to degrade Nicon, the disappointment of having to give up all the Kozak country west of the Dnieper, and all Lithuania, in order to obtain peace with Poland (the truce of thirteen years and a half concluded at Androussoff, 20th Jan. A.D. 1667).

9. The ninth—also soon after the degradation and imprisonment of Nicon—repeated conflagrations in Moscow, about which the Polish ambassadors, who returned to Warsaw at the end of A.D. 1668, reported thus: 'In Moscow there had been another great fire, which had consumed many thousands of houses; and the inhabitants having observed that there had been frequent fires in the same city since the Grand Duke had deposed and exiled their patriarch, they hence concluded that those fires were a consequence of the maledictions fulminated by the said patriarch, and on that account they murmured against the Grand Duke,' &c. (vol. iii. p. 519).

10. The tenth, as a consequence of the terms of the peace or truce made with Poland, and as a farther disappointment, the defection to the Turkish Sultan not only of the Kozaks west of the Dnieper, who had been ceded to Poland, but also of those east of the Dnieper. By this treason of the hetman Briuchovetsky (though he lost his own life by it) in A.D. 1668 the Muscovites suffered an immense loss in guns, ammunition, treasure, munitions of war, and army-stores of provisions, as well as in men. This disaster also was reported at Warsaw at the end of A.D. 1668 by the Polish ambassadors who have been just mentioned: 'Also,' they said, 'news had been received there of a most cruel defeat inflicted on the Muscovites by the Tatars, with a loss to the former of 15,000 men killed and as many more taken prisoners, among whom were above 300 of their best officers. On the receipt of this news there was a public mourning in the city for three successive days, such as they are used to make on occasion of the greatest disasters; and its effect on the Grand Duke was such that he was unwell and prostrated for eight days afterwards' (ib.).

Paisius Ligarides, too, in a letter dated on the 25th Sept. A.D. 1668, alludes to the same defection of the Kozak hetman Briuchovetsky and to the irruption of the Tatars, who came to swear the Kozaks to fidelity to the Sultan. He alludes at the same time to the recent conflagrations, writing of 'sharp wars *suddenly breaking out*, and continually more and more *spreading*' —that is, threatening to bring on a Turkish war against both the Muscovites and the Poles—and of 'terrible fires and conflagrations which have suddenly come upon this great city' (ib. p. 517).

11. The eleventh, the disappointment of his hopes to obtain the succession to the crowns of Poland and Lithuania either for himself or for one of his sons. Three times, since his heart began to be lifted up, this hope presented itself: first in A.D. 1656, secondly in A.D. 1667 and 1668, and thirdly in A.D. 1674; and three times it was disappointed. In A.D. 1668, after the abdication on the 6th Sept. of the King John Casimir, Nashchokin wrote from Courland to the Palatine of Vilna that the tsar his master had then no longer any desire to obtain the crown of Poland, either for himself or for any one of his sons (ib. p. 549). The tsar only a little before that had been in hopes that the Poles would *offer* it. Nashchokin, however, was against the idea; and he showed the tsar a Polish draft of proposals, which made the matter seem impracticable and undesirable. And after the disastrous turn things had taken in the South since the conclusion of the truce with Poland, he might well think that he had enough already on his hands. Still the same temptation attracted him yet once more, after the death of the tsarevich Alexis, when Theodore was the eldest surviving son—viz. in A.D. 1673, after the death of Michael Vishnevetsky and until the election in 1674 of John Sobiesky.

12. The twelfth, after he had reconciled himself personally to Nicon, but without attempting to undo what, together with the boyars, he had done unjustly against him, the death of the tsaritsa Maria Ilichna, on the 3d-4th March A.D. 1669, four days after her infant daughter Eudoxia, who was born on the 26th and died on the 28th of February.

13. The thirteenth, the death of his third son then living, the tsarevich Simeon, a boy four years old, on the 18th-19th of June A.D. 1669. The tsar mentioned afterwards that the patriarch Paisius of Alexandria was then still at Moscow, and that he was present at the funeral in the church of the Archangel. The patriarch Dositheus of Jerusalem, too, writing to the tsar in the autumn of A.D. 1669, *in answer to the tsar's request for the absolution of Paisius Ligarides*, mentions that he had heard how it had pleased God to take from him the tsaritsa and two of his children, and condoles with him on those losses (vol. iii. p. 550).

14. The fourteenth, the death of his eldest son and heir, the tsarevich Alexis Alexievich, who was born Feb 5th A.D. 1654, and whose preservation during the plague of that year the tsar

had always ascribed under God to the prayers and care of the patriarch Nicon, who was also his godfather. He died on the 17th Jan. A.D. 1670, just as he was on the point of attaining the age of sixteen, the age of his legal majority. After this the tsar had only two sons left—Theodore, a sickly boy of eight; and John, still more sickly and otherwise deficient, then aged under four years.

15. The fifteenth, the dangerous rebellion of Stenka Razin (A.D. 1667-1671), in which the two voivodes Ivan Sim. Prozorofsky and Simeon Lvoff, and the metropolitan Joseph, were murdered at Astrachan in A.D. 1670 and 1671. In this rebellion, besides great numbers of the rebels who were killed or executed, there perished in the provinces adjoining the Volga, according to Medovikoff, above 100,000 of the inhabitants (Medovikoff, p. 116; and above, p. 788-798).

16. The sixteenth, the alarm and disappointment caused by the capture in A.D. 1672 of Kamenetz Podolsk by the Turks, and by the conclusion afterwards of a peace by which Poland (which Alexis had before thought to unite to Muscovy as a step towards a war with Turkey) became tributary to the Sultan, and even bound to assist the infidels as auxiliaries against Russia (though this peace did not take effect).

17. The seventeenth, the wide spread of the raskol, and the rebellion of the Solovetsky monastery, the estates of which were confiscated by an oukaz of the 27th Dec. A.D. 1667, but which was not finally reduced by the tsar's troops till just at the time of his death in A.D. 1676 (vol. ii. p. 439).

18. The eighteenth, the disappointments and anxieties caused by the repeated defections of the Kozak hetmans and of Little Russia, of Vigovskoy in A.D. 1658, of Youry Khmielnitsky in A.D. 1660, and of Briuchovetsky in A.D. 1667.

19. The nineteenth. 'God is known in his heavy visitations; in the works of his own hands he takes the sinner' (*Replies*, &c. p. 566). He who sins is made to punish himself. Certainly this was most signally exemplified in the tsar Alexis: for of pride and vanity and jealousy, as well as through irreligious weakness, he deprived himself of exactly that support and assistance which he most needed. Those qualities in which he was himself deficient as a ruler were abundantly supplied and made up to him by Nicon: and if only he had been willing to do his duty, according to his own promise and vow, in spiritual things towards

God and towards the Church, he had in Nicon for all secular needs a friend and a servant of unexampled efficiency; a man for genius and strength of will and character no less gifted by nature than that 'bogatir' of M. Solovieff' (that hero-savage, as we may paraphrase the word) who was to be the executor of a curse in the next generation: a man equally capable of grappling with the roughness of his age, equally disposed to innovation and reform and enlightenment, only starting from principles of Christian faith and charity, not from those of materialism and heathen patriotism. And as long as Alexis leaned upon Nicon all went well with him: and, without enlarging upon other details, it is enough to observe that the possession of such a friend in whom he could repose unlimited trust enabled him, in the campaigns of A.D. 1654, 1655, and 1656, to leave Moscow with security, and to take the personal command of his army, and so to obviate to a greater extent than could have been done otherwise the pernicious effects of the miestnichestvo—a legalised system of hereditary claims to precedence in all civil and military offices and appointments; a system which led to endless disputes and feuds, and which of itself alone was enough to paralyse both the civil and the military service, and to multiply all sorts of disorders and failures:[2] but when the tsar was personally present his orders were to be executed without reference to any rights of precedence, and such obedience caused no prejudice to any one for the future. And Solovieff (though he throws the blame of this upon Nicon) observes that 'nothing was more disadvantageous for Alexis than this, that his rupture with the patriarch divided his attention just at the time when foreign affairs required all his attention and activity, and made it impossible for him to leave Moscow.' No doubt it would be disagreeable to a ruler not personally incapable to see himself eclipsed by the superior ability and strength of character of one of his servants; and if there had been a man of Nicon's character and ability among the boyars, it would have been difficult for the tsar to make of him a personal friend, or to use his services so freely as Alexis during three years used those of Nicon. But the circumstance that Nicon was an ecclesiastic, and the primate,

[2] In the Act of Nov. A.D. 1681 for the suppression of the miestnichestvo the military disasters of the reign of Alexis, especially those of Konotop and Choudnovo, are expressly ascribed to this cause.

made all the difference: and so long as he did not arrogate to himself secular honour or power or functions, which he never did, the tsar might use the advice or service of one who by age and office was like a father, without having any reason to be envious or jealous of his superior ability.

20. And if Alexis during the last eighteen years of his life must often have felt how much he had been his own enemy by depriving himself of the services of Nicon for the affairs of his family, his court, and his government, much more must this thought have presented itself when he came unexpectedly, before he had completed his forty-seventh year, to be struck with mortal sickness.

Then, when he reflected that his successor was a sickly youth, who, though he had been (Sept. 1, A.D. 1674) publicly shown and presented to the people, had not yet completed his fifteenth year, and who would have to govern at first under the tutelage of the boyars; even if this 'undesirable minority' had been all, he must have thought with regret how different would have been the prospect if his spiritual father and his friend, who had taken such care of his wife and his children in the dangerous time of A.D. 1654 and 1655, were still in the same rank and power: he would not then, we think, if the past could have been recalled by a wish, have grudged giving Nicon again even the title of Great Hossoudar!

21. But this was *not* all. Alexis had also before him the prospect of leaving a young widow[3] (younger than the eldest of the six living daughters of his first marriage) with three quite young children. 'Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow! let there be no man to succour them, nor to have compassion upon his fatherless children!' And it was so. The curse —though Nicon had involuntarily uttered it against him, meaning it rather for another—had too surely come upon him. He foresaw now with keen apprehension the difficulty and danger threatening the tsaritsa Natalia and her children, exposed as they would be to all the jealousy of the elder children of his

[3] Natalia Cyrillovna Narishkin, who was born 22 Aug. A.D. 1651, was between 19 and 20 years of age at her marriage (22 Jan. A.D. 1671), and between 24 and 25 at the death of Alexis; while of her stepdaughters, the tsarevna Eudocia was then nearly 26, and Martha between 23 and 24; Sophia, the third then living, was between 18 and 19, Ekaterina within two months of 18, Maria just 16, and Theodosia under 14.

first marriage, already hostile to their young stepmother, and—still worse—to that of the cousin of his first wife Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky; a jealousy which would be sharpened by their sense of the physical weakness of Theodore, and the manifest incapacity of his younger brother John, the only other surviving son of the tsar's first marriage. What would it not have been to him now if the patriarch Nicon had remained through those eighteen preceding years firmly established in power? And if that had been so, how many things would have been otherwise than they were? And some persons also would have been in other places, or with less power of doing harm: Nashchokin, perhaps, would have been still in the tsar's service; and Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky and Basil Sem. Volhynsky would have been in more danger than Matveyeff of being exiled to Poustozersk.

When dying in Jan. A.D. 1676, the tsar Alexis may have remembered those different occasions in past years when he turned a deaf ear to admonitions of Nicon, such as are contained in the following passages written before the end of A.D. 1663:

Admonitions unheeded:

Before the tsar many voices say, 'Thou, hossoudar, art a god upon earth!' And the hossoudar forbids none of them to say this to himself, or to others. And the patriarch Nicon spoke to the hossoudar, both when he was at Moscow in the chair and (by writing) after he had left Moscow, that he should forbid for the future such fools to call him a god. But he was silent. . . . But what is a tsar? 'He is a king to-day, and to-morrow he dies; and when a man dies, he is the inheritance of creeping things, of beasts, *and of worms*. The beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and when his heart is turned away from his Maker. For pride is the beginning of sin, and from him that hath it there shall issue forth abomination. For this cause the Lord disgraces him by *bringing upon him evils*, and *destroys them altogether*' (Ecclus. x. 12-17). And after mention of the pride of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, who made himself as God (Is. xiv. 13, 14), and of the punishment and humiliation which followed, Nicon quotes also from Ezekiel the words addressed to the prince of Tyre: 'Because thy heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a god; yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou hast set thy heart as the heart of

God; therefore thus saith the Lord God: Because thou hast set thy heart, &c.; behold, . . . they shall defile thy brightness, to destruction. . . . Wilt thou yet say *before him that slayeth thee*, I am a god? but thou shalt be a man, and no god, in the hand of him that slayeth thee' (Ezek. xxviii. 1-9). And then he relates from the Acts of the Apostles the end of Herod; how Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat on his throne and made an oration with pride: 'And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man! And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost' (Acts xii. 21-23). And he quotes from St. Paul words about that *apostasy* which was to come in the latter days, about 'the man of sin who exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God—in the Church—showing himself that he is God' (2 Thess. ii. 3). And he asks, 'Has not the man of sin even now been manifested?' (*Replies*, &c. p. 401-407).

And again, in another place, Nicon writes: 'And for those proud men who now have transgressed greatly, and appropriating to themselves the honour and glory of God, have put under their own feet and under the feet of their horse and their eagle[1] the prophetical mysteries and *the city of the Great King* (*i.e.* the Church), "God is known in his *heavy visitations!* the Lord is known in the execution of judgments: *in the works of his own hands* he takes the sinner!" He would not understand! No, he would not understand! . . . . He shall be known, who now distends himself with both the ecclesiastical and the secular dignities, *when he shall have* not to exercise jurisdiction, but *to answer for* himself, and that to the terrible Judge whom he has offended' (ib. p. 566).

Copy of the Will of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, in Jan. A.D. 1676.

'A marvel it is in truth how human things, high and low alike, have no consistency: as the Psalmist says: High and low, rich and poor, all together and alike they are brought low: for through me too this is exemplified. O woe! a perpetual

[1] Alluding to the frontispiece prefixed to the Ostrog Bible as reprinted at Moscow in A.D. 1663. See *Replies*, &c. p. 555 and 559-565.

source of lamentation is man's life: all is vanity, as it is written: in this present life there is no beauty nor durability. *Woe is me! woe is me! What affliction in the shortening of my days do I come to?* And my country—against her will—*is soon to have a minority!* But when I was on the sceptred throne of my empire, ruling, and incensed with glory, I was exalted, so that, as I think, the whole universe was not ignorant of our glorious imperial title, and ten thousand times tens of thousands with fear and reverence as slaves served us, and in all things *thought of me as if I were immortal. But now* I feel within myself not sweetness refreshing me, nor the smell of sweet odours, but it is *great bitterness and inconsolable sorrow* that fills me. For I am by a cruel disease nailed as it were with a spear to my bed, and the sword of death is looking for my last hour, in which to take away my life; and I shall have in like manner with the poor to be buried in the earth; and hungry *worms are ready* unscrupulously *to mangle me*, and to reduce me to nothing.

'*O woe is me! woe is me!* When I am so great a tsar I am afraid of the smallest worms. Woe is me! for the wretchedness of human life, that there is no happiness; for *all my joy is turned to mourning.*

'Only I have one joy remaining, that I have believed undoubtingly in the holy Trinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and I am ready to believe till I breathe out my last breath.

'After my departure I commit my soul to His glory for ever; and my body I would have to be buried according to our custom in the church of the great Archangel Michael, the captain of the heavenly powers, at the head of the tomb of our relative the tsarevich Demetrius the wonder-worker, and at the feet of my father the tsar Michael Theodorovich of all Russia. And that which belongs to my heavenly Father I surrender to be in the power of all the creatures of the earth, that they may enjoy his good things for ever (*i.e.* may feed upon my body), while I henceforth am to become *nothing.*

'The sceptre of my empire I commit to my son the tsar and grand prince Theodore Alexievich, autocrat of all Russia. Let him reign, following in the steps of the reign of my father; and let him wage war with the enemies, trusting in Christ the King of immortal glory.

'Let my sons the tsarevich and grand prince John Alexievich and the tsarevich and grand prince Peter Alexievich serve in all things and obey their brother the tsar and grand prince Theodore Alexievich, autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia.

'But for her who stands by my bed and weeps much and cries out for sorrow, my consort the tsaritsa and grand princess Natalia Cyrillovna, nothing else remains but perpetual weeping and inconsolable groaning. She will never again see joy, for *there are now coming upon her days of adversity. O woe! If I had foreseen* that my life was to be thus short, *I would not have taken upon myself double tears.* Woe is me, my most dearly beloved! for my soul is pierced through by thy tearful words, and I see standing on thy face a sea of tears which melts my soul. It was a bitter and tearful time for me when I was parted from my first tsaritsa Maria Ilichna; but my pain is still more cruel and beyond words to express, and I think it will even follow me after death, that thou shouldest be parted from me, and *be left in distressing widowhood.* Who would not lament for this cruel separation? For already I see not the light of beauty beaming from thy face, but I see it swollen, and blood running from thine eyes, and thine arms tearing thy hair and beating thy breast, so as to disfigure thy beauty; and I hear thy frequent groans, as in the day of childbirth. It were better for me that there had been one and the same grave for us both: but this is not in my power, but in the power of God our Creator.

'But rouse thyself up, rouse thyself up at any rate a little from crying, and from incessant weeping; for thou wilt not be at all benefited by tears. Dost thou not hear my words? For the Creator of my soul knows that *it is I who* have *double* reason every way *to lament:* for I am going the way of mourning; and something, I know not what, *alarms* me: and I *know not what answer I shall receive from my Creator:* for *my great unhappiness weighs upon me* (upon my conscience), and *I know not what to say,* or *how to escape eternal torments.*

'But cease, and take the writing which I commit to thee. It is my will that thou be independent after my death in my empire, and that thou live according to thine own will free, wearing black for the term of thy life, since thou must die like the rest.

'It is my *will* that my son *and thine*, the tsar and grand prince Theodore Alexievich, autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, have *no sort of power over thee*. But if he does to thee anything whatever unsuitable or disagreeable, he shall be far from my blessing. But I enjoin on him that he constantly show thee dutiful obedience, as if to the very mother who bore him. Farther, I lay my injunction on thee that no one is to become thy lord; but subdue thy flesh with fasting and with all temperance. But into the monastic state be not hasty to enter; but assure thyself first of thy power to bear their rules; for it is a fierce war that the enemy wages against monks and nuns. Thy rich apparel sell, and give clothing to the poor, and adorn many of the churches of God.

'But let not excessive mourning become a habit to thee; for it is a shame for Christians to sorrow above measure for the dead, even though the bond of nature forces us for such a cause to weep much; but we should comfort ourselves against the grief by the joy; for we know that no one else is partaker of those joys. Farther, my soul knows this also, that the griefs and lamentation of others are not exactly for thee.

'Finally, I ask *forgiveness* and absolution *from the Church of God* and from her ministers: [first] from my spiritual father the *Great Hospodin, the most holy hierarch and blessed pastor Nicon, though he be not now in this chair*, God having so allowed it to be.

'Likewise I ask absolution from the most holy Joachim patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and of the right reverend metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and of my spiritual father the protopope Andrew Sabinovich, and of all the sacred synod, and of all the monastic order.

'But to the servants of our majesty, the boyars, okolniks, people of the council, and of the chamber (blijnie), stolniks, strapchis, dvorianins of Moscow, and to the people of all ranks may peace be multiplied. Let them grant me, their tsar, their forgiveness; since I am going *to inevitable calamity against my will: and I see a fearful thing*, the terrible angel of death threatening me; *and my mind is all dissolved*.

'But yet once more come, my most sweet consort, thou most dear to me above all this creation! and receive on thy arms all my failing body, that I may pray my last prayer to my Saviour Christ, and sink into everlasting sleep while supported by thy hands.

Prayer.

'O God great and wonderful! God strong and immortal! God high and unsearchable! look down from the height of thy glory on thy sinful servant, and reject me not for ever from the vision of thy glory, nor destroy me with my sins. For thou art the God of penitents. Show to me also thy goodness in the gates of death; receive me who repent, and add me to the fellowship of thy good ones, and separate me not from the choir of thine elect, but grant me together with thine angels and all thy saints to hymn thee for ever: and let not the hand of the prince of darkness snatch me to the searching-places (the *mitarstva*, in Greek τελώνια) of the air, nor tear me away from thy everlasting glory! For I am thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid, and I glorify thee in the days of my life: for thou art my God, and do thou into thy hands receive my spirit: and thine is the glory and the kingdom now and ever, and world without end. Amen.' (Platon, *History of the Russian Church*, vol. ii. ch. lxix. p. 216-222, ed. Moscow, 1829.)

'May God forgive him!' So said Nicon: and with that wish and prayer every one must sympathise. And if at times in going through his previous history there has been enough of injustice and hypocrisy to seem utterly revolting, we have Nicon's own words to modify such impressions: for when rebuking him most sternly for his transgressions against God and the Church, he added, as if recalling him regretfully to the better dispositions of his youth: 'Thou hast *still* about thee *much that is good*.' And after all the chastisements which came upon him, we may hope that the bad pride and vanity had diminished, and that the good still remaining had increased: indeed, the very fact that he should have desired Nicon's pardon and absolution, and that he should write a will expressing so much religious feeling as that given above, seems to show that it was so. Still, religious feelings—and these in Alexis had always been strong—are not of themselves alone enough. It is not enough for a king to act as a candle-lighter or kanonarch, to join in singing offices, or to have merited in youth the nickname of the 'young monk.' John the Terrible also had strong religious feelings, and imitated the habits of monks, though he lived like a demon. It is necessary further to keep the Ten Commandments, and not some only of them, but all.

'Behold,' the prophet said to Saul, when God rejected him and his posterity, 'to *obey* is better than sacrifice!' And this is what the King of heaven and earth requires of thee, not to abound in feelings, which without acts are hypocrisy, nor in rhetorical or poetical or ceremonious verbiage, but 'to do justice, to avoid iniquity, and to *walk humbly with thy God*.'

Alexis in his will, in the midst of his cries of 'Woe is me! woe is me!' comforts himself a little, saying, 'Only I have one *joy* remaining, that I have believed undoubtingly in the Holy Trinity, and I trust to believe to my last breath.' '*Joy*' is a strong expression, and it calls forth the reflection that belief in God is not a matter of joy nor of hope, unless one also obeys the known will of God. But as Christ said to the Jews, 'If ye had believed in God, ye would have believed also in me;' so now, too, if any man, be he a king or any other, believes truly in the Son of God, he believes also the Church, which is the Body of Christ, and the visible kingdom of God upon earth. But if any king says that he believes in Christ the Son of God, and yet sets at nought the Church of Christ,—and knowing well that he himself has *not* been *sent* to teach and discipline the nations, makes as if he were, and even tries to force all those who are really sent to obey him,—such a king deceives himself, and is worse than an infidel: for the infidel may be ignorant, or, at worst, he is openly proud and impious; but the king who says, 'I believe,' and acts as if he believed not, adds hypocrisy to his impiety and rebellion.

However, in palliation of his sin, it may be said that in the age of Alexis in Russia—and perhaps not only in his age and country—there were many who, partly from ignorance, and partly from other motives or instincts of the nature of which they were not themselves conscious, neither saw, nor felt, nor confessed that necessary connection which exists between belief in God and belief of the Church, nor that duty of respecting and obeying the Church which follows from the belief in God. This is illustrated by Alexis not only in the passage now quoted from his will, but also by a question addressed by him to Nicon when Nicon stood before the council in Dec. A.D. 1666. For then the tsar asked him: 'Wert thou standing up for any *doctrines* of the Church?' as if his difference with Nicon had not involved any question of *faith*. So, too, the patriarch Joachim

said to the raskolniks in July A.D. 1682, that 'if Nicon had been condemned, it was *not* for any question of *faith*, but for his *disorderliness*, or disobedience.' But what did Nicon himself reply to the tsar? He replied: 'I *was* standing up in defence of *doctrines* of the Church'—that is, of doctrines which are necessary to the integrity of the *faith* (vol. iii. p. 420).

If we go on now from the death of Alexis, and observe what befell his family and dynasty, not by acts or faults of their own, but by the will of God, we have first to notice the six years' reign of the tsar Theodore, who, in a weak body and with bad health, showed, according to the testimony of all, intelligence joined with virtuous and religious dispositions. But, unhappily, he was at first too young and too weak to govern personally; and so those bad men, whom his father had been obliged to leave in power, and whose yoke he had imposed upon himself in preference to the help and friendship and blessing of Nicon, such as Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, the Odoefskys, the Dolgoroukys, and the Khitroffs—and the patriarch Joachim could not act independently of these his patrons and masters—alienated the young tsar Theodore by their calumnies from his stepmother and from her relations and connections, and by the banishment of Matveyeff caused those tragedies which followed after Theodore's death.

However, before he died he emancipated himself from those sinister influences, and did acts which showed plainly that if he had lived he would have been a blessing to Russia. For instance, in A.D. 1680 that unbecoming form of words by which petitioners to the tsar prayed him 'to show mercy as God' was forbidden; and instead of it they were ordered to write, 'for the sake of the festival' of the time, whatever it might be, or 'for thy imperial health for many years.' And in the same year a patriarchal oukaz was issued (in conjunction with one of the tsar) that in the prikazes confessors were to be questioned only about testamentary dispositions verbally made in their presence, but not about the sins of their penitents (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 294).

He began, too, to interest himself in behalf of the patriarch Nicon before he had as yet sufficient power to enforce his own will, as we have seen above from the autograph letter which he

wrote to Nicon in A.D. 1680, not feeling confident at the time that the letter would even reach its destination, but manifestly disallowing all that had been done against Nicon as unjust, and intending that before long he should recover, as he expressed it, his 'completeness,' or plenitude.

He was zealous to promote learning and enlightenment of a good kind, founding at Moscow an Academy, for the study of the Greek, the Latin, and the Slavonian languages, and endowing it with the gift of his own library. He was a lover of the improved church-singing in parts introduced by Nicon, and often sang himself in the choir with his singers, and acted as kanonarch in his own palace church.[5]

And without destroying the privileges of the Muscovite nobility, he showed remarkable decision in suppressing, in Nov. A.D. 1681 and Jan. A.D. 1682, that system of hereditary rights to places and precedence called *miestnichestvo*, which had been before most ruinous to the public service, and a source of endless jealousies and feuds.

But since Russia had inherited a curse and not a blessing, and since the family of Alexis was not to flourish, as soon as the virtues of Theodore had begun to show themselves, he was cut off by death, and translated to a better kingdom; his first wife, who was of Polish origin, and an infant son having already died before him.

> 'Ostendunt terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
> Esse sinunt :'

'He lived'—all said of him—'for the common joy of all the people; he has died to the common and great sorrow of all' (Berch, p. 114).

In the church of the Archangel in the Kremlin at Moscow, opposite the tomb of the tsar Theodore Alexievich, there is painted on wood a full length portrait of him: and on the same surface, in four places on either side of the portrait, there is the following inscription:

'This most religious Great Hossoudar, tsar, and grand prince, whose portrait and tomb we here see, Theodore Alexievich, autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, who, after his father of glorious memory, &c., succeeded to the sceptre and

[5] 'He had a much greater inclination,' writes the Lutheran Berch, 'towards every thing spiritual (*i.e.* ecclesiastical) *than befitted a monarch*' (p. 100).

throne of the Russian empire in the fifteenth year of his age, was chosen by the Supreme Tsar, who reigns over all, the God of heaven, as His beloved servant after His own heart, being gifted with unvacillating true Christian piety, alacrity for the service of God, and a patience and readiness to sympathise which was wonderful: and, in brief, we may say that this prince was a throne of wisdom, a treasury of good counsel, a safeguard and support of general and local laws and customs, the decider of disputes, the support of the Russian empire. Again summarily we may say, that it was the wish of his heart that our mother the Orthodox Church should be gladdened by peace:[6] he promoted quietness and great prosperity among the people; and during all the time that he lived on the throne, there was no moment at which he was not doing some work memorable for all Orthodoxy and profitable for the Church. Besides this, he was to the enemies of the Russian empire formidable, by victories successful, for the people beloved. He, after wars of many years with the surrounding states, effected for the Russian empire a satisfactory peace. From the darkness of Mahometanism and idolatry he brought multitudes, not by force, but by pious Christian prudence, to the light of the Orthodox faith. He freed a multitude of villages and hamlets of Orthodox Christians, who had been subjects of the Mahometans, from their subjection, and ransomed a vast number of Orthodox Christians who had been suffering for many years from their captivity among the infidels. He adorned admirably many churches of God with all sorts of magnificence. He was ever labouring for the teaching of the liberal sciences to the Russian people; and having destined to that purpose the Spasski monastery in the Kitai-gorod, he wrote an admirable and very laudable imperial letter of confirmation, with all careful authentication, for that institution of learning. He built stone almshouses for the reception of the helpless and poor, with sufficient provision for their maintenance, and otherwise relieved them. He remitted to the people many thousands of rubles of imperial revenues which had been in arrear for many years; and for the future he lightened their imposts. The disputes about precedence

[6] Here there is perhaps an allusion to his efforts, ultimately successful, to procure the liberation of Nicon, and the rehabilitation of his memory by the Eastern patriarchs.

for places, hateful to God and causing enmities and feuds, he put an end to. His imperial palace and the cities of the Kremlin and the Kitai-gorod he restored splendidly. He changed the former expensive dresses of the people (of those employed in the tsar's service). And having done many other praiseworthy and memorable acts, and having prepared things in a wonderful way with a view to all that might be profitable and advantageous for the people, after having made all salutary Christian preparation for the departure of his soul, he ended his life. The reign of this pious and tender-hearted tsar was six years, two months, and twenty-eight days: he lived in all from his birth twenty-one years, three months, and twenty-eight days; and was translated from the temporal kingdom to the abiding, and to everlasting bliss, amid the mourning and lamentation and abundant tears of all the people, in A.M. 7190, A.D. 1682, Apr. 27, in the first quarter of the thirteenth hour of the day.'[7]

John Alexievich, whose mental and physical incapacity was one cause—the innocent cause—of the tragedies which followed after the death of his brother Theodore, died Jan. 29, A.D. 1696, aged between 29 and 30, leaving no male issue, and was buried in the church of the Archangel at Moscow.

At the same left pier, at the tomb of Peter II. the grandnephew of the tsars Theodore and John, there is another inscription, thus:

'The most religious and most autocratic Hossoudar Peter the Second, Emperor of all Russia, born A.D. 1715, Oct. 12. He took the throne and dominion of his ancestors in A.D. 1727, May 7; and was crowned and anointed A.D. 1728, Feb. 25.

'Having in a short time inspired his subjects with the hope and expectation of great blessings, by the will of God he was translated to the heavenly kingdom in the year 1730, Jan. 18 (aged 14 years, 3 months, and 6 days).

'The joy of our hearts has ceased; our dance is turned into mourning; the crown has fallen from our head: *Woe unto us, because we have sinned.*'[8] (Jer. Lam. v. 15, 16.)

With Peter II. ended the male posterity of Alexis: his dynasty had ended earlier, for Peter II., as will appear farther on,

[7] So he would be 20 years of age and 11 months at his death, having been born on the 30th May A.D. 1661.

[8] These epitaphs of the tsar Theodore and the emperor Peter II. are printed in the *Drevn. Russ. Bibl.* vol. xi. Moscow 1789, p. 228-231.

did not reign by virtue of any fixed right of dynastic succession: and this is the last of the tombs of the grand princes and tsars of Muscovy to be seen in their burial-place, the church of the Archangel in the Kremlin.

So in the third generation his '*name*' was '*clean put out.*'

But thus far the punishment is only of a negative character, consisting in the withdrawal of what was good or had the promise of good; and we contemplate the ends of the two young sovereigns Theodore and Peter II. with a sort of peaceful melancholy and regret. But in joining them thus together, as they are joined in the church of the Archangel, we have omitted all that part of the history of the family of Alexis which intervenes between these two, where the punishment is of a very different kind, calculated not to inspire calm sympathy and regret, but to thrill the mind with amazement and horror, and with awe at the inscrutable judgments of God.

CHAPTER V.

OF PUBLIC PUNISHMENTS WHICH CAME UPON THE CROWN FROM ITSELF: THE AMBITIOUS AND UNNATURAL DAUGHTER.

PARTLY from the weakness of his character and partly from other faults, Alexis had maintained in power bad and unjust men, most of whom had owed their advancement originally to Morozoff; and to these he had sacrificed the patriarch Nicon, and to a certain extent also his own conscience. Morozoff himself, after narrowly escaping in A.D. 1648 with his life, showed a wholesome fear of incurring fresh unpopularity; and the strength of that evil which surrounded Alexis lay with the tsar's father-in-law, Elia Dan. Miloslafsky, supported as he was by the influence of his daughter, the tsaritsa Maria Ilichna. Of Elia, Collins writes that 'he is a very able active man, with muscles like a Hercules, but covetous, unjust, and immoral, and feared rather than loved by the tsar,' who, however, at one time (after the disturbances of July A.D. 1662 caused by the corrupt and oppressive practices of Elia and others) is said to have shown a long-continued displeasure against him. A similar character is given of his nephews Ivan Michaelovich and Ivan Bogdanovich. Of none of the men of that family does Solovieff find anything good to relate. After the death of Elia in A.D. 1668, the chief representative of their connection at the Court was Ivan Michaelovich, then an okolnik, who was displeased and disappointed both by the tsar's second marriage in A.D. 1671, and by his own appointment to be voivode at Astrachan, which, however otherwise honourable, removed him for a time from Moscow.

Alexis, when dying in A.D. 1676, had reason enough to be apprehensive of danger: he knew the characters of those whom he left in power: he knew that there was already an hostile feeling on the part of his first family and their relatives against the young stepmother and her children and connections: he would think of the dark malicious nature of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky; he would think of the Odoefskys, the Dolgoroukys, and

the Khitroffs, as not to be depended upon to do justice to the tsaritsa Natalia and the Narishkins: he would think of these latter, and of his own young children of the second family, and of Matveyeff; and he would fear for Matveyeff, that he might be isolated and displaced. But he would scarcely guess in what form or from what quarter the most cruel shame and punishment of his family was to arise.

That wickedness and injustice which Alexis had maintained in power, in the persons of Elia Dan. Miloslafsky and others leagued with him against Nicon, was now, in the persons of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky and others leagued with him, to be turned, first by a treacherous intrigue, and then by a bloody massacre, against the widow and second family of Alexis. In this feud of the Miloslafskys against the Narishkins, or rather against Alexis himself in the Narishkins, there is already a terrible retribution. But this is only the least part of the matter.

To lose a son or a daughter by death, to have a child maimed, or deformed, or blind, or deaf and dumb, or an idiot, or mad, is an affliction, and in some cases it may be also a punishment; much more to have a son or a daughter undutiful, immoral, wicked, unworthy of the blessing of parents, and reflecting on them dishonour and shame. Much more still if the sin and shame of the child should be a reproduction and exaggeration of the same fault in the parent. This is a double unhappiness. A father has been in his youth undutiful and disobedient, and he has a son who is still more undutiful and disobedient to himself: a father has lived intemperately, and his son is a drunkard: a father has been guilty of some immorality, and the son disgraces himself in the same way more flagrantly, and more publicly. In such cases it is impossible not to feel that the parent is punished in the child: the more so, if there should be anything strange and contrary to nature or to general custom and expectation; as, for instance, if a father has been intemperate, and it was not a son but a *daughter* who disgraced herself and her family by drunkenness.

Born about the time when her father's heart was lifted up with pride and ambition, and when he first began to use 'unseemly words' when thwarted or reproved by the patriarch Nicon, the tsarevna Sophia, the *third* of six daughters by the first wife then living, was between 18 and 19 years old when Alexis

died. Extremely intelligent, though not handsome,[1] she seems to have imbibed, in the first instance from Simeon of Polotsk, the preceptor of her brother Theodore, and from others with whom she became acquainted, a thirst for literary cultivation: but, though passionate and vehement when she had no motive for dissembling, she had a proud, hard, selfish, ambitious heart, capable of entering into close relations with such a man as her relative Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky. During the reign of her brother Theodore (A.D. 1676-1682) she had no doubt already begun to interest herself in political as well as literary matters; and if Theodore were to die, and John, as she thought was his right, succeeded, she reckoned upon governing in his name. But when on Theodore's death it was felt that John was incompetent, and the idea of a permanent regency under Ivan Miloslafsky and the *third* daughter of Alexis' first marriage could scarcely be even suggested—and the patriarch and the council and the people of all orders concurred in setting aside John[2] (with John's own consent) and called his younger half-brother Peter to the throne, the regency so falling, according to established precedent, to Peter's mother the tsaritsa Natalia, Sophia's disappointed ambition and her hatred of her stepmother and the Narishkins moved her to plot with Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky to bring about a revolution which should give her the regency.

On the very day of the funeral, the day after Theodore's death and Peter's election, there was already a hint given publicly that the Miloslafskys resented the election of Peter, and did not acquiesce in it. For when the body was borne out, they

[1] Contrary to the common opinion, Sophia was not beautiful, nor graceful; she was too stout, had a wild or fierce cast of countenance, and looked some years older than she really was. The French envoy De la Neuville, in A.D. 1689, when Sophia's real age was 32, describes her as a person 'dont l'esprit et les merites ne tiennent rien de la difformité de son corps, étant d'une grosseur monstrueuse, avec une tête large comme un boisseau, du poil au visage, des loups aux jambes, et au moins 40 ans.' Even Medveydeff, in his verses written under her portrait in A.D. 1682, says not a word of *beauty*.

[2] Perhaps John's life was regarded as more precarious than it really was, and no one thought of his marriage; else it would have been more *equitable* if a reservation had been made of the rights of any male issue he might have. If Nicon had lived and died in possession of his chair, Matveyeff might have governed for Peter and his mother till Peter was of age to take the life-sovereignty or regency yielded to him by John, and on John's death in A.D. 1696 (even supposing him to have married as he did) the absolute right of inheritance would have fallen to Peter.

caused the tsarevich John to remain in his apartment, plainly for no other reason than this, that he might not appear in public as the subject of the tsar Peter; while Sophia, contrary to all precedent, went on foot after the bier, as if claiming to represent the rights of her absent brother. And the Narishkins, on the other hand, fully understanding what was meant, retaliated with a want of good feeling, and with manifest indiscretion, by causing the tsaritsa Natalia and her son to leave the church without staying through the liturgy and the funeral service.[3]

'Sophia acted,' Solovieff writes, 'from an instinct of self-preservation.' He should rather have said from discontent with the place allotted her by Divine Providence, by her sex, and by the customs of her country, from envy and hatred, from ambition involving murder, and not one murder only but a massacre, and eventually fratricide. These were the motives from which she acted. In that *enlightened* and talented but unamiable female form the unhappy pride and ambition of Alexis of the year 1657, which had made him join in fellowship with bad men, now reappeared as if embodied, and began, like the scorpion, to turn upon itself, and to sting itself to death.

We say 'began;' for Sophia's part in that intrigue and massacre which gave her the regency, though unnatural and horrible enough, was only the prelude to something else even more horrible, or at any rate more terrible in its consequences, which was to follow.

But if she had been a good and virtuous and religious daughter, if she had been bred up under such influences as would have predominated around her if Nicon had been maintained in the patriarchate and had still been 'Great Hossoudar' during the reign of her brother Theodore, what a blessing might she not have been to her family? At any rate things would not have gone as they did.

That Sophia would have annulled Peter's first election and dethroned him altogether, if she could, is clear. Then she would have recovered the prospect which she had lost of governing simply in John's name. But this could not be done: all had already sworn allegiance to Peter: so it was necessary for her to be content with associating John as tsar, with giving to him as the elder precedence, and with causing the regency rendered

[3] See above, p. 839.

necessary by Peter's minority, and by John's weak health, to be given distinctly to herself. But this assured to her the regency only for a few years, unless Peter were to die or to be made away with, and then she might go on reigning in John's name, as long as he lived.

Sophia, from whatever reason, did not at once attempt the life of her brother—she did attempt it eventually when such an attempt seemed to her to have become necessary—but she did from the first something else which was even worse: she murdered his mind and his soul by withholding from him, for her own ends, a suitable education.

Soon after his return with the rest of the imperial family (after the Khovianskoys had been put to death) from Troitsa on the 6th of Nov. A.D. 1682, Peter with his mother and his sister and their personal suite went away from the Kremlin to the suburban palace or villa of Preobrajensk,[1] such being the will of Sophia; while John, remaining in the palace of the Kremlin (together with all the tsarevnas, the sisters of Alexis and his daughters by his first marriage, and the tsaritsa Martha, the widow of Theodore), left all the power in the hands of Sophia. Peter came into Moscow only on certain occasions when both the tsars appeared together in public, as on great religious festivals, and for the reception of ambassadors: for there had been made after the establishment of the joint reign a partition of functions, according to which the internal government of the empire was to belong to the elder brother, that is to Sophia, but the command of the army abroad (which Sophia could not well undertake) to the younger; and with this duty of commanding the army abroad, the joint reception of foreign ambassadors would naturally be connected. It might seem,

[1] Dr. Samuel Collins (A.D. 1659-1668) writes of the imperial villa of Preobrajensk thus: 'Every year towards the end of May the tsar goes about three miles out of Moscow (seven versts from the Kremlin) to a pleasure-palace which is called Preobrajensk, because the church in it is dedicated to the Transfiguration; and in agreement with the text, "Let us make here three tabernacles," the tsar has there three magnificent pavilions. His own pavilion is made all of gilded materials, and hung with sables; that of the tsaritsa of silvered materials: those of the princes correspond to their degrees. The pavilions of the tsar, the tsaritsa, their eleven children [ten only out of twelve that had been born were living between Aug. 27, A.D. 1666, and March 3, A.D. 1669], and their five [three] sisters form a circle, the centre of which is occupied by the pavilion of the church. The view of them is so magnificent that I know of nothing that I have ever seen to compare with it of the same kind.'

therefore, that Peter was to be permanently excluded from the civil government so long as John lived, and was to give a passive adherence to the acts of his brother or his brother's advisers, though, on the other hand, Sophia's legal regency was based only or chiefly on the ground of Peter's present minority. But mere verbal securities, even if they had been stronger than they were, would be of little force: and since the names of the two tsars were to be joined in all public acts, it would be difficult, when Peter attained his majority (*i.e.* the age of 16), to prevent him, if he had the capacity and inclination, from substituting himself for Sophia as the adviser of his half-brother, whose *age* had never required a regency, and whose imbecility had not been mentioned, and could not well be mentioned by Sophia: for that was the very ground on which Peter had originally been preferred. Sophia, of course, could not foresee how soon Peter would begin, and to what purpose, to prepare himself for that part of the joint sovereignty which had been allotted to him: that was for her an unlucky accident, occasioned in part by the boy's peculiar genius and in part by those very circumstances of his removal to Preobrajensk and his comparative isolation, which had been intended to unfit him for reigning. Sophia could not expect that a boy of ten, left to himself, without proper instructors, would develop any great capacity either for civil or military command. Not one boy in a thousand would: boys are naturally idle, and fond of pleasure: and if left to themselves, they will grow up ignorant and unfit for any work that requires training: probably also, especially if they are of the higher classes and have money at their command, they will be immoral. It is said that Sophia at first encouraged Peter's passion for playing at soldiers, as only one form of idleness, preventing him from employing his time in serious studies: it is said, too, that she even sought, as he grew older, to throw in his way temptations to intemperance and profligacy.

Another thing she did, the purpose of which is plain: on the 9th of Jan. A.D. 1684, when he was between 17 and 18 years old, she married her own brother John to Prascovia Theod.[5] Soltikoff, a grand-daughter of Peter Michaelovich, who seems then to have been dead. If there had been male issue from this

[5] Daughter of Alexander Petrovich, who when his daughter was betrothed to the tsar John changed his name to Theodore.

marriage Sophia might have claimed to retain the regency even though John himself were to die. John, however, lived on, dying only in A.D. 1696; but there was no male issue from his marriage, nor any issue at all till A.D. 1689, the year in which Sophia was deposed from the regency.

Sophia's civil government was good and successful: she encouraged learning; and, through her minister the boyar prince Basil Bas. Golitsin (who had under Theodore proposed the suppression of the *miestnichestvo*), she in A.D. 1686 converted the truce existing with Poland into a permanent peace, on the basis of the convention of Andrussoff. But her hope to obtain glory and popularity by the two campaigns of A.D. 1687 and 1689 against the Tatars of the Crimea, and so to give stability to her regency, was disappointed.

An event to be noticed in connection with the regency of Sophia is the death in A.D. 1684 of her relative Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, when Peter was twelve years old. For if Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky had lived on only three years longer, to A.D. 1687, he would probably have foreseen before it arose that danger which Sophia and Shaklovitoy prepared to meet only when it had shown itself in full force; and Peter's life would probably have been aimed at before Peter himself had any thought or power of setting aside Sophia. But when at length Sophia was forced to feel that she must either voluntarily give up the regency[6] or rid herself of Peter, her attempts to rid herself of him were too late to be successful.

Sophia, when she saw that a struggle with Peter was inevitable, acted as if an insurrection of the streltsi could always be obtained when wished for. But she had herself, after putting to death the Khovianskoys, caused a numerous body of the streltsi, who had risen on first hearing of the death of their 'Batushka,' to come out to her to Troitsa with ropes round their necks, and even to acknowledge as a crime all the disorders and murders of the preceding month of May. And after that she had banished the most turbulent of them: and of their twenty polks she had sent away and dispersed all but seven, to

[6] Her friend and minister Basil Golitsin, who seems both in A.D. 1682 and in A.D. 1689 to have kept aloof from murder, but not from murderers and murderesses, is said to have advised her to resign, and to leave Russia; advice which her proud and ambitious spirit would not listen to.

serve on the frontiers and in Little Russia: and the seven polks which were still in Moscow, though under the command of Shaklovitoy they had become used to her regency, and obeyed orders, had no interest of their own in any difference between her and Peter, nor any strong hostility as yet against the two regiments of *potieshnie* with which (from the spring of A.D. 1687) he had surrounded himself. On the contrary, seeing his frank popular manners, his military tastes, and his youthful energy, his acknowledged title of tsar, and the fact that after May 30, A.D. 1698, he was no longer a minor, it was only natural if the greater part of the streltsi were more inclined to side with Peter than with Sophia, whose regency might seem now to have come to its natural end.

His occupations with Timmerman, his amusements on land and on the water, the training of his two regiments formed from his earlier *potieshnie* and from volunteers, the erection of his fort of 'Presburg' on the bank of the Yaouza, and the building of vessels on the lake of Pereyaslaff, engrossed all the attention of Peter, who had no grudge nor quarrel to pick with any one. His mother begs him to come from Pereyaslaff to Moscow for a pannychid for the soul of his brother Theodore: he replies that he is 'ready to do so, only yea, yea, there is work to be done here.' His head is occupied by only one thing—about one thing only he gives positive assurances to his mother: 'About the vessels I again assure you that they are very good, all of them.' But sailing was not at that time in the mind of the tsaritsa Natalia. The silent struggle had not ceased between her and her step-daughter, whose position at this time was not enviable. After the death of Theodore she had used desperate means, had excited the streltsi, had wrested the regency out of the hands of her stepmother, and had made the elder incompetent brother tsar. But would it be for long? The son of the Narishkin mother remained still tsar; he was growing up to manhood. The position of Sophia was like that of the people in some legends who have made a bargain with the devil for a certain term, but on the expiration of the term are to become his prey. One can understand that she must have been put upon thinking of means to secure her power, and that other people too should have spoken to her of the same thing, people whom she had advanced to be her tools, and who would lose everything by her fall.

Sophia was regent, thanks to the incompetency of one brother and the minority of the other: the latter was growing up to manhood, and the regency ought to cease; there was need of something fresh to be contrived that it might not cease. . . But meanwhile the dreaded term has drawn near: Peter has grown up, and at the same time the hopes of the stepmother have grown too, and her words have become bolder. When Sophia added her own name in oukazes to the names of her brothers, the tsaritsa asked plainly of the tsarevnas, the daughters of the tsars Michael and Alexis, 'Why has she begun to write herself together with the great hossoudars? we have people on our side, who will not let that pass.' The two bed-chamber women of Natalia reported to Sophia all that was said to her disadvantage, and with a hostile feeling, by the stepmother or by those around her: they reported that those who spoke against her the most strongly of all were the brother of the tsaritsa Leo Cyr. Narishkin and the prince Boris Alex. Golitsin.

Leo Narishkin and the prince Boris Golitsin were the two persons nearest of all to the tsaritsa Natalia; the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin and Shaklovitoy were the two persons nearest of all to the tsarevna Sophia. The prince Basil was personally unqualified for criminal bloody measures; but we have seen in what a difficult position he had placed himself in relation to Sophia. In this position there must have occurred to him dreadful thoughts, that it were well if something were done, only by others, not by him; and he even said out on one occasion: 'It is a pity that in the insurrection of the streltsi they did not make away with the tsaritsa Natalia together with her brothers: in that case there would have been no difficulty now.' Quite different was the nature of Shaklovitoy: he shrunk not from any means: he did not content himself with fruitless regrets about the past: owing everything to Sophia, he would be ruined by her fall: he, a low-born podiak, raised only by the favour of the tsarevna to be an okolnik, would have no prestige of distinguished birth nor influence of high-born relations to save him; the duty of being faithful to his benefactress was highly coloured by considerations of self-interest. Sophia was it to be, or Natalia? Shaklovitoy uttered his mind in plain terms: 'Rather than that thou, hossoudarina, shouldst be no longer what thou art, it would be better to make away with the tsaritsa.'

One can understand that Shaklovitoy hastened to lay his hand on whom he could of those who had proclaimed their devotion to Peter: he put to the question and sent out of Moscow the stolnik Yazikoff, who had said discontentedly that the tsar Peter Alexievich was tsar only in name; nobody dared to petition him for anything. But to arrest and banish this man or that for an unguarded word profited nothing. 'We have people,' said the tsaritsa Natalia: and in truth the tsar Peter *had* people who, in case of need, would not confine themselves to mere words: the tsar Peter had his own armed force, 'those odious *potieshnie grooms, and insolent fellows*,' as Sophia was fond of calling them. Against them the only security was in the streltsi: it was necessary again to have recourse to the streltsi, as in A.D. 1682. But had not this weapon been blunted since A.D. 1682? and had not Sophia herself with Shaklovitoy contributed to blunt it, when they snatched it out of the hands of Khovianskoy? The boldest of the streltsi had, on the proposal of Shaklovitoy, been sent away from Moscow; and of those that were left the majority were quiet people, who were content with their condition, and whom it was difficult to excite. And by what were they to be excited, and to do what? In August A.D. 1687 Shaklovitoy all at once proposed to the officers commanding the streltsi to draw up a petition that Sophia should be crowned with the imperial crown. 'We don't know how to draw up a petition,' was their answer. 'The petition shall be drawn up for you,' Shaklovitoy said again. 'The petition may be drawn up, but to whom is it to be presented? To the tsars?' Of the elder tsar no one thought, all would turn upon the younger: 'Will the tsar Peter Alex. listen to us?' asked the streltsi. 'If he does not, go to the palace (to Preobrajensk), and seize the boyar Leo Cyrillovich and the kravchi Boris Alexievich; then he will receive the petition.' 'But the patriarch, and the boyars?' again asked the streltsi. 'The patriarch *can be changed;* and the boyars are a rotten tree that has fallen; unless there may be still standing for a time one of them, the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin.'

So this is the upshot! in order that the tsarevna and Shaklovitoy may have their wish, the streltsi must go as insurgents to the palace, must seize the two persons nearest of all to the tsar, and change the patriarch! Before, in A.D. 1682, the streltsi had been previously prepared for mutiny by provocations,

and by the license allowed them; and even then the majority were excited by the falsehood that the Narishkins had strangled the tsarevich John: but now they were bidden to rise and mutiny in order to bring about a thing strange and unprecedented; and that, too, after all means had been used to damp the courage of the streltsi for mutiny, and to make them fearful of attempting it.

They gave to the officers of the streltsi five rubles each, with instructions to broach the matter with their comrades in the different polks. But in the polks the proposal was equally received with coldness; and Sophia hastened herself to disclaim it.

It was necessary at least to rekindle the devotion of the streltsi, to secure for themselves their support in every case, to set before them the danger by which Sophia was threatened. The regent called to her by night some of them, and began to tell them that 'the tsaritsa Natalia with her brothers and Boris Golitsin were stirring up an insurrection; that the patriarch was against her—instead of making peace, he only made things worse.' Shaklovitoy, as if addressing himself to the tsarevna, and advising her, gave the streltsi a hint what means must be resorted to in order to set Sophia at rest. 'Why should not the prince Boris and Leo Narishkin be *taken?* And the tsaritsa might be taken too. Thou knowest, hossoudarina, what her birth was, and how at Smolensk she used to go about in *laptia*.'[7] Sophia replied: 'I am sorry for them, and *but for that*, God would have slain them.'[8] The streltsi answered in very indefinite terms: 'As thou pleasest, hossoudarina; as thou pleasest, so do.'

With those vague indefinite words the streltsi replied to vague indefinite demands and complaints. *What* insurrection is being got up by the tsaritsa? One can understand how it was that Shaklovitoy could find among the streltsi only five men who were ready for anything and for everything. These five were—Petroff, Strijeff, Kondratieff, Chermni, and Gladki, whose interests, like his own, were closely bound up with those of Sophia. Shaklovitoy said to Chermni: 'They want to remove

[7] Bands of bass (the inner filaments of the bark of the lime-tree) with which the peasants swathed their legs, instead of stockings.

[8] As if her pity had saved them in A.D. 1682 from perishing 'by the judgments of *God*.'

us: it is the tsaritsa who disturbs everything: they want to put me out of the prikaz, and to send away all of you who have to do with me to different towns.' And thereupon Chermni, in order to escape the mischief that threatens him, begins to say to his comrades: 'How is one to get on, though you kill all, if you leave the root? the tsaritsa must be turned out, the *she-bear*.' They objected to him that the tsar Peter would defend his mother. Chermni was not silenced: 'Why should he be allowed? What would be the good of that?' Gladki said: 'They blocked up the doors of the tsar John with logs of firewood, and broke the imperial crown; but he whose crown ought to be broken is on their side.'

The streltsi remained cool as before while they heard these stories: 'They blocked up his doors with logs of firewood; they broke the crown! Before it was said, that they strangled him altogether; but what came out?' They devised something stronger. By night in two places there rode up to some streltsi who were on duty keeping the watch an armed troop, and seized the desiatnik; and the leader of the troop gave orders to beat him to death; and they had began to beat the poor man unmercifully, when a voice was heard from the crowd: 'Leo Cyrillovich! why beat him to death? it is the life of a Christian man!' Afterwards it became known that the pretended Narishkin was a podiak of the prikaz of the Bolshaia Kazna named Shoshin, a man in the confidence of the regent.

Neither did this stratagem provoke them. Nor were they tempted by the prospect of plunder, when Gladki suggested that the streltsi would be able to plunder the houses of the boyars and the merchants, and to divide a rich booty. Gladki, a man in the confidence of Shaklovitoy, and so also of Medveydeff, touched besides the chord of religion, and accused the patriarch of doctrinal innovation in forbidding to make an act of adoration when they sing *Amen* (after the words '*Take, eat*,' &c.); but the streltsi heard with coldness the charges brought against the patriarch: they remembered the 5th of July in A.D. 1682. Nor were they touched by the words of Gladki when he set before them the contrast presented by the conduct of Sophia and Peter: 'Our hossoudarina still prays to God, but there (at Preobrajensk) they only play on organs and violins.'

The streltsi were not touched; and in the mean time, in A.D.

1689, there began to be outbursts of displeasure on the part of Peter against Sophia. In these there was in truth nothing very serious. Peter was as yet young, and absorbed by his vessels: all the same, Sophia could not but feel provoked and disturbed at the beginning of a difference at the end of which there was in prospect for her a cloister.

On the 8th of July, the festival of our Lady of Kazan,[9] Peter said in the cathedral to his sister, that she had no business to go publicly in the procession. Sophia did not listen to him, but took an icon and went. Peter was displeased, and instead of going in the procession himself, mounted his horse and rode off to Preobrajensk. On his side all was over with this ebullition. But the position of Sophia was such that she thought it necessary to prepare to defend herself against the *potieshnie grooms*, who might come to wrest the power out of her hands. On the 25th of July, when they expected Peter to come to Moscow for the names-day[10] of his aunt Anna Michaelovna, fifty streltsi were secretly posted at the krasnoe kriltso, with orders to be on the watch; and if they heard the tocsin, to understand that some attempt was being made against the hossoudarina.

No attempt whatever was made; but on the side of Peter there was a fresh sally of displeasure which extremely provoked Sophia, for it touched the glory of her government, and the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin. Peter at first refused to consent to the grant of rewards to Golitsin and his colleagues and officers in the second Crimean campaign: afterwards he allowed himself to be persuaded: but he wounded her to the heart by not admitting to his presence Golitsin and the other voivodes and generals to thank him. This was on the 27th of July. On that same day, in the evening, Sophia went for the vigil service of the festival to the Novodivichy monastery, escorted by the piatisotni and the piatidesiatniks; and after the service she began to complain to them against the tsaritsa Natalia, that she was again bringing about mischief. 'If you wish to have us,' said Sophia, 'then stand by us; but if you don't wish to have us, then we will leave the empire.' The streltsi answered, that they were

[9] The day on which in A.D. 1658 the father of Sophia and Peter would not go in the same procession on account of his unjust anger against the patriarch Nicon.

[10] In connection with which names-day Nicon had in A.D. 1658 written to the father of Sophia and Peter about *charity*.

ready to execute her will. Sophia told them to be ready for the appeal that might be made to them. But the majority of the streltsi were not willing to set to work on the signal of the toesin: if in reality mischief threatened any one of the members of the imperial family, then let the matter take its course according to law and custom: let the secretary of the council announce by an imperial oukaz whom we are to arrest, and we will arrest him: but without an oukaz we will do nothing, however much they may sound the toesin: we ought to petition that there be made an inquest. In vain the agents of Shaklovitoy endeavoured to counteract such dispositions of the majority: in vain Strijeff said that from an inquest nothing would come out; the plotters of evil are known to the tsarevna: the thing to be done is to take them! And without the tsarevna it will be a bad look-out for the streltsi. Peter sent for Strijeff, but Shaklovitoy did not give him up. Peter ordered Shaklovitoy himself to be arrested at Izmaeloff, but soon released him. On Peter's side they acted timidly and undecidedly, but all the same they acted, and that was enough for the other side, to cause it violent disquiet and agitation.

On the 7th August it was the talk in the palace that they had found an anonymous letter: that the *potieshnie grooms* were to come from Preobrajensk to kill the tsar John and all his sisters. In the evening Shaklovitoy took his measures (as if for precaution); he ordered a force of 400 streltsi to be brought together into the Kremlin with loaded muskets and ammunition, and 300 more to be posted on the Loubianka; and he sent three of his denshchiks[11] to Preobrajensk, to see in what direction the tsar Peter would go. But his dispositions were but imperfectly executed: the denshchiks did not go to Preobrajensk to the places they were ordered to go to; on the Loubianka there were no troops assembled; in the Kremlin Gladki and Chermni threw themselves into a great agitation, but their excitement did not infect the others: no one knew why they were brought together, to defend, or to attack; in either case there was a civil war, in which they had no desire to take part. During that time of anxious and excitable expectation, there rode into the Kremlin, from Preobrajensk, a spalnik of the tsar Peter named Pleshcheyeff. Gladki, who had been long seeking an opportunity to

[11] Lit. soldiers on duty of attendance for the day.

make a beginning, rushed upon Pleshcheyeff, pulled him from his horse, snatched from him his sabre, struck him, and took him up into the palace to Shaklovitoy. Gladki had certainly made a beginning.

If the mass of the streltsi had not been accessible to the suggestions of Shaklovitoy and his accomplices, nor ready to begin an insurrection to serve Sophia, still neither had they moved in the opposite direction: from that mass there stood out separately, as we have seen, not more than five men who were ready, as on the 15th May in A.D. 1682, to receive on the points of their spears whomsoever it was wished, in the interest of Sophia; but in opposition to them there was formed a small knot of eight persons who saw in the proceedings of Shaklovitoy, Chermni, and Gladki crime and insanity, and who determined to act directly against them in the interest of the tsar Peter, who had every right on his side. These eight men were of the stremianni polk—the piatisotni Elizareff, the piatidesiatniks Melnoff and Oulphoff, and the desiatniks Ladogin, Theoctistoff, Tourka, Troitski, and Kapranoff. In the night between the 7th and 8th of August, while the mass remained passive, action, of course, was to be expected only from those two small circles, the members of which were men altogether decided, who had clear and definite ends, and were not vacillating.

Elizareff with his comrades stood together on the Loubianka on the night of the 7th of August: one of them, Melnoff, was sent into the Kremlin to observe, and when he came back he reported what Gladki had done to Pleshcheyeff. In that act they saw a beginning already made, and they determined to act too on their own side. Melnoff and Ladogin were sent to Preobrajensk to warn the tsar that there was a design against him, and against his mother, to murder them.

But it was not Melnoff and Ladogin only who hastened to Preobrajensk with their information. During that evening it became known to the grandees that in the Kremlin they were allowing only such persons to come in as were best known and most trusted by the regent. This so alarmed some who held to the side of Peter, that they went off at once to Preobrajensk. A little after midnight, when Peter was already fast asleep, they woke him up, and told him that there had come from Moscow some streltsi and other persons, with information that a great

body of streltsi had been brought together into the Kremlin, and that they would come to Preobrajensk in mutiny. In alarm the tsar leaped out of bed as he was, and went straight to the stables, got upon a horse, and went into the neighbouring wood, whither they had already taken for him his clothes. Having dressed himself there, he rode with all haste, attended by his postelnik Gabriel Golovkin, a footman, and one of the streltsi informants, to Troitsa, where he arrived about six o'clock in the morning, quite knocked up; and had no sooner got into a room than he threw himself on the bed, and bursting into tears, related to the archimandrite Vincentius, who had hastened to him, how he had escaped, and asked him to protect him. On the 8th there came to Troitsa the tsaritsa Natalia Cyrillovna, with her daughter and daughter-in-law, such of the grandees as were devoted to Peter, the potieshnie, and the streltsi of the Soukhareff polk. The person who now took the chief command at Troitsa was the prince Boris Alex. Golitsin.

Moscow was panic-struck when on the 8th the news was spread that the tsar had ridden away from Preobrajensk: the civil war had begun,—how was it to end? In the palace they made as if the occurrence did not greatly engage their attention. Shaklovitoy, on hearing of it, said: 'He is free, if he is such a fool, to run away.' Sophia told the streltsi that, if they did not take care, they would all be put an end to by the potieshnie stable-people. But it was a different story that she told to the tsar Peter, when on the 9th he sent to the tsar John and to Sophia to ask, What had been the reason for bringing together the streltsi at such an unusual time? They answered him, that the streltsi were wanted to escort the tsarevna to a monastery to which she was going for prayer. Immediately after this there came another despatch from Peter, to send to him the polkovnik Tsikler with fifty men of the streltsi. Afterwards they learned that this was a ruse of Tsikler's. As we have seen, he had been a zealous partisan of Sophia, and had taken part in the first insurrection of the streltsi. Now he saw that, in all probability, Peter would get the upper hand, and so he caused it to be signified at Troitsa that if they called for him, he would reveal many matters of importance. They sent Tsikler off at last after long consultations, and after having first made excuses as if they were not going to send him. After him there went off also on

different pretexts to Troitsa Elizareff, Theoctistoff, Oulphoff, Tourka, Kapranoff, and Troitski.

Sophia could not remain long quietly expecting what they would do. She could not fail to perceive how advantageous was the position of Peter in the struggle: she herself before, at the time of the breach with Khovianskoy, had pointed out this road to Troitsa as the best that could be taken. On the 13th there was sent to Peter the boyar prince Ivan Bor. Troekouroff: on the 15th he returned, and brought a not very agreeable answer: and on the day following there came to Moscow a letter from the tsar Peter to the polks of the soldati and the streltsi, requiring the officers and ten privates of each polk to come to Troitsa by the 18th. Sophia, after having consulted with those about her, gave orders to call to her the officers of each polk, addressed them in strong terms, and strictly forbade them to go to Troitsa, or to meddle in her dispute with her brother; and when the polkovniks of the streltsi expressed their perplexity, she told them that if any one of them went to Troitsa he should be beheaded.

It was necessary to make haste and finish the matter; and on that same day the diadka of the tsar John, the prince Peter Iv. Prozorofsky, together with Peter's confessor was sent to Troitsa with the excuse that it was impossible to execute the demand of the tsar, and to send him those men of the armed force whom he had called for: at the same time Prozorofsky and the confessor were to do all they could to reconcile Peter to his sister. And in order to set at rest the streltsi and the soldati at Moscow, a report was spread that the tsar's letter had been sent without the knowledge of Peter, by the contrivance of the prince Boris Golitsin. On the 18th Prozorofsky and the confessor returned, without any success. They caught at a straw, and determined to send the patriarch, of whom Sophia herself had said before: 'He acts against me; instead of talking over others (for peace), he himself acts as an enemy.' Joachim was glad to get away from Moscow, out of the hands of his enemies: he went to Troitsa, and there he remained: Peter obtained in him a counsellor of weight. Some days passed in expectation: on the 27th of August there came a fresh letter of the tsar from Troitsa to the polks of the streltsi, to the gostinnaia sotnia, to the dvortsovia slobodas, and the chernia sotni, requiring all the polkovniks and

officers with ten privates from each polk, and from the sotni and the slobodas the starosts with ten men of their people subject to service (*tiaqostlie*), to appear without delay at Troitsa, and threatening that any one who did not appear should be punished with death. Throngs of streltsi, in obedience to the oukaz, moved out from Moscow. At Troitsa the tsar himself came out to them in front of the imperial lodgings, with his mother and the patriarch, and informed them of the treasonable design of Shaklovitoy. The secretary read an extract from the answers made in examinations, and from the informations of the streltsi; and the patriarch began to exhort those streltsi who had then come to reveal all that they knew of, threatening them in case of any untruthful deposition or concealment with the episcopal curse. The streltsi cried out that they knew nothing of any evil design of Thedka Shaklovitoy: they served the great hossoudars as they had served their predecessors; and they were quite ready to take any brigands and traitors, and in all things to execute the imperial will. But some of them had some story or other besides, which they began to relate.

Sophia determined to go herself to Troitsa. At the same selo Vozdvijensko where seven years before she had caused Khovianskoy to be beheaded without trial, she was met by the stolnik Boutourlin, who in the name of the great hossoudar forbade her to go to Troitsa. 'I will certainly go,' she replied. But after Boutourlin there came the boyar prince Troekouroff with a notice, that if she did go, she would be *treated without any respect:* and a detachment of armed men already made their appearance at Vozdvijensko.

Sophia hastily turned back, and gave orders to call to her the streltsi, the *old* ones, on whom she specially relied; and she began to complain to them that they had all but fired upon her at Vozdvijensko; she had had a narrow escape: that the Narishkins and Lopouchins wished to make away with the tsar John, and had designs also against her. 'Can I trust in you?' said Sophia: 'am I wanted by you? If I am *not* wanted, I will go away with my brother and seek a cell somewhere;' and she lamented bitterly that there was no living for her, through Boris Golitsin and Leo Narishkin. '*They have made the younger brother drink till he is out of his mind:* the elder they account as nothing; they blocked up the entrance to his apartment with

logs of wood: myself they call a "girl," as if I were not the daughter of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich: they wish,' she said, 'to cut off the head of the prince Basil Basilievich, who has done so much good; who concluded the permanent peace with Poland: runaways before were not given up by the Don kozaks, but now they give them up, through his management: our life is but short: I was giving unremitting attention to everything, and they wrest all out of my hands. Don't go away to Troitsa! Pray, are ye too going to run away? Kiss the cross!' And so she made the streltsi swear that they would not run away. But this too availed her nothing.

There came the 1st of September, then the festival of the new year. It was with no feeling of gladness that Sophia and her adherents met it. From Troitsa there came the polkovnik Nechaeff with some streltsi bringing to the tsar John and to Sophia a letter, in which Peter informed them of the plot, and demanded that Thedka Shaklovitoy and the monk Sylvester Medveydeff should be sent to him, together with their accomplices, to be examined at Troitsa. This produced a violent commotion at the court: the people were panic-struck: the majority, in the words of an eye-witness, determined to remain quiet, and to wait and see how the matter would end. They called Nechaeff up into the palace, and asked him how he had dared to bring that letter. He replied, that he had not dared to disobey the tsar. Sophia ordered his head to be struck off; but he was saved by the accident that they either could not or perhaps would not at once find an executioner, and in the mean time Sophia's violent anger had passed away. But there had come from Troitsa together with Nechaeff also streltsi: Sophia ordered them to be called to the krasnoe kriltso, and going down the steps to them, she began to say: 'Why have you come? and with *what oukaz?* Why do you believe that which they read to you in the Troitsa monastery? Those writings were composed by brigands; and you without an oukaz must not go back to Troitsa on that business. My brother Peter Alexievich did not allow me to come to him to the monastery; and as for those people for whom you are sent I will not give them up, for this reason: I am to give up to you nine men, but they accuse nine hundred: who is to believe that? They ought rather to have sent to Moscow for examination those who accuse them: and I will

not let you go back; those who are taken going back shall be detained in the district-prisons. I will not give them up: about that I will send to Troitsa a boyar. It is plain that it is all a thing got up by them: they want to make away with me. Evil-disposed people have brought about a quarrel between us, and have suborned men to talk of a plot against the tsar Peter Alexievich and others. Of envy against the faithful service of Theodore Shaklovitoy they have named him as the author of a wicked plot. To inform myself of all I would have gone to Troitsa, but the tsar Peter Alexievich ordered that I should be stopped, by the suggestion of evil counsellors, and I was forced to return with a great affront put upon me. You all know how I have governed during these seven years: I took the government at a time of the greatest disturbance; I concluded a glorious peace with neighbouring Christian sovereigns; and the enemies of the cross of Christ are now in terror at our arms. You, for your services, have received from us liberal rewards; and you have ever found us gracious towards you. Are you after all that going to be unfaithful to us, by giving credence to a story trumped up by wicked men, who wish evil to all Christianity, and are stirring up strife? It is not the head of Theodore Shaklovitoy that they want; they want my head, and that of my brother John Alexievich.'

In the vehemence of her agitation Sophia did not feel fatigue: she summoned to her the chief men of the merchants and traders, and of the citizens, and spoke to them also in the same strain; and lastly, she gave orders to assemble all the people who were in the Kremlin, and made to them, according to the testimony of Gordon, 'a long and very eloquent speech.'

Meanwhile in the Kremlin all had been prepared for the festival of the new year. But there was no patriarch: the tsar John was unwell; the tsarevna the regent would not go to the festival; and the preparations had to be countermanded. The streltsi were regaled with brandy. The grandees and people of distinction and the foreigners in the service received each his cup of brandy from the hand of the tsar John himself. At this time Shaklovitoy rendered his last service to the tsarevna: he wrote a manifesto, addressed to all orders of the Muscovite empire, with an account of the whole affair, to justify Sophia, and to

throw the blame on the opposite side; he wrote how the tsarevna had undertaken the government at the petition of all the people, with the blessing of the patriarch: but now the Narishkins insult her and her brother the tsar John Alexievich; they do not go to kiss their hands; they have organised a body of *potieshnie* stable-people, from whom many people suffer wrong and violences: petitions about this to the tsar Peter remain unnoticed: they blocked up the door to the chambers of the tsar John with logs of fire-wood, and broke his crown.

Shaklovitoy rendered his last service; but Basil Golitsin did not take any part in the movements at Moscow. The prince Boris Golitsin wrote to his cousin the prince Basil to urge him to come to Troitsa, that he might merit by this the goodwill of the tsar Peter. The prince Basil sent a podiak to Troitsa to persuade the prince Boris to try to reconcile the two sides. The prince Boris told him to say in reply that the best thing of all would be that he (the prince Basil) should come himself, and at once, to Troitsa; if he did, the tsar would give him the best possible reception. Meanwhile there were fresh demands from Troitsa that Shaklovitoy should be given up: the streltsi began to murmur, and to ask why the business was so long protracted: Sophia gave out that she herself, together with the elder brother, was going to Troitsa. The streltsi murmured at Moscow that the business was a long time in finishing: their brethren who were at Troitsa also murmured; they had left at Moscow their wives, their children, their affairs: they came forward with a petition that they might be allowed to go to Moscow and seize Thedka Shaklovitoy and his accomplices; but the young tsar and his advisers did not consent to this, fearing there might be a civil fray. With regard to ulterior measures, opinions at Troitsa were divided: some wished the tsar to hasten the termination of the affair by going nearer to Moscow, and staying either at Alexeyefsk or at Preobrajensk; but the more prudent were against this, since there might ensue bloodshed, whereas without that the matter would settle itself.

Already on the 2d Sept. there went to Troitsa some persons from the German sloboda, and Gordon commissioned them to make his excuses for not coming himself, as he did not know whether his coming would be agreeable or not. On the 4th there was read in the sloboda an imperial letter (dated the 31st

Aug.) calling all the foreigners in the service to Troitsa. The foreigners determined that they must show this letter to the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin, as their superior commandant. Gordon, with some of the polkovniks, went to the 'Keeper.'[12] He was very much disturbed when they gave him the letter; but recovering himself, he answered that he would show the letter to the elder tsar and to the tsarevna, and would then tell them what they were to do. Gordon observed that they feared for their heads, if they were not to obey. Golitsin promised to send them the answer not later than that evening: but the foreigners did not wait for it. That same afternoon they all moved out, and by eleven A.M. the next day they were at Troitsa, and kissed the hand of the tsar, who himself gave them each a cup of brandy. At such a time every movement towards the one or the other side was of the utmost importance. People began now to speak loudly in favour of the tsar Peter, when they knew that the Germans also had gone to him.

Sophia had still the streltsi: but when the news was spread that the tsarevna was *not* going to Troitsa, because they would not let her in there, the streltsi lost all patience; and on the evening of the 6th Sept. there came a great crowd of them into the Kremlin, with a petition to the tsarevna that she would give up Thedka Shaklovitoy, and let them take him to Troitsa. At first Sophia replied that she would not give him up, and bade them be quiet, and not intermeddle in her quarrel with her brother. In the crowd there arose a murmur of dissatisfaction, and voices were heard to exclaim, that there was no use in waiting; *they must take to ringing the tocsin.* This made a strong impression on Sophia. The scene of A.D. 1682 was being repeated, only with a change of persons: then the streltsi required the tsaritsa Natalia to give up Ivan Narishkin; and the boyars, frightened out of their wits, urged the tsaritsa to sacrifice her brother: now the streltsi, threatening mutiny, were requiring Sophia to give up Shaklovitoy; and those who surrounded the tsarevna were urging her to comply with the demand, else, they said, many may have to pay for it with their lives. Sophia gave up Shaklovitoy: but Medveydeff had succeeded in concealing himself. On that day the boyars who were still in Moscow, in compliance with the call of Peter, left for

[12] '*Oberegatel*,' the title with which Basil Golitsin held the posolski prikaz.

Troitsa: the only one who did not go was Basil Golitsin; he withdrew with those attached to his person to his suburban house at selo Medveydkovo; the news of Shaklovitoy's having been given up disturbed him greatly.

On the 7th of Sept. they brought Shaklovitoy to the monastery. To the questions put to him about criminal designs he answered, that in A.D. 1687, during Lent, in the Kazan church, they found and took from behind the icon of our Lady a writing with words of disrespect against the tsarevna Sophia, and on that same day those about the hossoudar Peter began to organise the *potieshnie* stable-people. And thence there arose danger. The tsarevna Sophia spoke to him (Shaklovitoy) that he should pick out such of the streltsi as were zealous and faithful to her and to the tsar John; and he, having called together the *piatisotni*, spoke to them, that if there were any conflict they should defend the hossoudars. The streltsi often came to him, and said that the potieshnie stable-people were constantly wronging and striking them. They said, 'They will trample you under their feet; and if there is not a settlement made with them, it will go ill with everybody.' And he persuaded them to be quiet. The first time he was tortured, after fifteen blows, he owned himself guilty of all that they imputed to him: before he was to be tortured the second time he promised to confess all without any reticence, and he wrote that against the life of the tsar Peter he had never formed any design; about killing the tsaritsa there *had been* conversations with Kouzma Chermni, who first began them: the prince Basil B. Golitsin said it was a pity that they had not killed the tsaritsa before, in A.D. 1682: they had an intention of causing a fire at Preobrajensk: they brought the streltsi together (on the night of the 7th Aug.) for their own defence, not to make any insurrection. Who suggested to the tsarevna the idea of being crowned to the empire he knew not: neither he nor Golitsin recommended this to her: and Golitsin even wrote about it from the army with horror. Lastly, he (Shaklovitoy) wrote the last manifesto for the people about the wrongs done to the tsarevna. Of any design against the life of Peter Shaklovitoy did not own himself guilty, though Philip Sapogoff deposed that Shaklovitoy tried to persuade him, when the tsar Peter should be going out, to throw on the road hand grenades, or secretly to put one into his carriage; also to

kill the hossoudar when there should be a fire at Preobrajensk. Later, in A.D. 1699, a streletz named Petrushka Krivoi deposed thus: 'After the year 1682 I was in the house with Thedka Shaklovitoy; and together with him (Thedka) I was once at the house of the prince Ivan Zasieykin; and Thedka in my presence said to the prince Ivan, as they were talking together: "He (the hossoudar) goes to fires attended by only a few persons; the streltsi might easily kill him."'

Shaklovitoy was so closely connected with Golitsin, that the fate of both must be decided together. On the same day that they brought Shaklovitoy (the 7th Sept.), about five o'clock in the afternoon, there arrived at Troitsa the prince Basil B. Golitsin, with those who had been his chief subordinates in his campaigns and in the prikazes—the okolnik Leonti Nepliueff, Benedict Zmeyeff, the doumni-dvorianin Gregory Kosogoff, and the secretary of the council Emilian Oukraintsoff. They were not allowed to enter the monastery, but were ordered to remain in the posada, without moving, till farther notice. In the evening Gordon visited Golitsin, and found him very downcast and irresolute. On the evening of the 9th they summoned Golitsin with his son Alexis to the imperial lodgings in the monastery. As they were going up the stair there came out to meet them a secretary of the council, and read to them an oukaz to the effect that they were deprived of their rank of boyars, and were banished with their wives and children to Kargopol, their property being at the same time confiscated—because (1) they had made reports to the sister of the great hossoudars on state affairs, passing over the great hossoudars; and had joined her name with those of the great hossoudars, and had caused it to be written and printed and stamped on books and papers, and on money, without any oukaz of them, the great hossoudars: (2) being sent in A.D. 1689 against the Crimean Tatars, he (the prince Basil Golitsin), after reaching Perekop, did no good service whatever, but retreated; by which neglect he caused to the imperial treasury great loss, to the empire damage, and to the people grievous burdens and sufferings.

About Golitsin there was a violent contention among those who were near to Peter. The prince Boris Alex. Golitsin contended with all his might that his cousin the prince Basil should not be accused of *treason*, as that would be a blot upon the

whole clan of the Golitsins. Gordon relates the following story: that Shaklovitoy, after being tortured once, when he was to be tortured again, promised to give the tsar in writing as full and exact an account of the affair as it was possible to make. The prince Boris himself went to him, and took him pen and ink. Shaklovitoy wrote, and covered between eight and nine sheets of paper; and it was already past midnight when he had finished. The tsar had gone to bed, and the prince Boris took the papers to his own room that he might the next morning show them to the tsar. But certain people who bore him ill-will for wishing to screen his cousin from the charge of treason (*i.e.* Leo Narishkin and his adherents), were looking sharply after all the movements of the prince Boris, and they hastened to inform the tsar that the prince had taken to himself the confession of Shaklovitoy, probably in order to read it, and to cut out whatever made against the prince Basil. The tsar sent to Shaklovitoy to inquire if he had written his confession. He replied that he had, and that he had given it to the prince Boris. But in the mean time some friend had advertised the prince Boris of what was going on, and he hastened with the papers to the tsar, who received him with the terrible question: 'Why did not you bring the papers at once?' Golitsin replied that it was then very late. Peter was satisfied with the answer, and continued as before to retain the prince Boris about his person; but the tsaritsa Natalia and her friends were not reconciled to him.

After reading his sentence to the prince Basil Golitsin, they read that of his colleague Nepliueff: he too was deprived of his rank of okolnik, and of his property, and was banished to Poustozersk: his crime was great oppression of the Konaretskie soldati, who were under his department, and whose petitions for redress the friends of Nepliueff had to that day suppressed, never forwarding them to Moscow. Zmeyeff was ordered to live on his own property in the riding of Kostroma. Kosogoff and Oukraintsoff were retained in their former places.

Shaklovitoy with his chief accomplices were condemned to death. There has been preserved a curious statement[13] that

[13] This is from Gordon's diary. The first part of the report, possibly untrue, might easily be invented, as Peter was young, and had as yet perhaps had nothing to do with the shedding of human blood. As regards the second part

Peter at first was not willing to put them to death, and it was only the patriarch who persuaded him; and that when it became known that they were going to execute Shaklovitoy without torturing him a second time, many of the *people in the service* assembled and came into the monastery, 'to serve the great hossoudar,' as they said, and petitioned that orders should be given to torture Shaklovitoy yet once more: 'Let him be made *to declare his accomplices*.' The tsar sent out to say to them, that he was satisfied with the confessions of Shaklovitoy, and that it was no business of theirs.

On the 11th Sept. Shaklovitoy, Petroff, and Chermni were executed: the piatisoten Mouromtseff, the polkovnik Riazantseff, and the streletz Laurentieff were knouted, their tongues were cut out, and they were sent to Siberia. But about Golitsin the struggle was not yet over: his enemies insisted that banishment to Kargopol was too light a punishment, and that he must be sent to Poustozersk. But afterwards, as it appears, the prince Boris got the upper hand, and the place of his banishment was fixed to be Yarensk. They insisted that the Golitsins should at any rate be examined on the grounds afforded by the confessions of Shaklovitoy. They were examined, on the road, at Yaroslaff: and the father and the son swore that they had taken no part in the designs of Shaklovitoy. After their examination they sent to the hossoudars a petition: 'We make to you, the great hossoudars, as to God Himself in the empyreal heaven, before the throne itself of His salvation, the declaration that Thedka Shaklovitoy was never an intimate friend of me, Vaska; but we had acquaintance with him, such as it might be the custom to have also with others, and that was all.' The Golitsins were taken on towards their place of banishment. When they were halting at Vologda, there appeared unexpectedly the stolnik of the chamber the prince Kropotkin, not for a fresh examination, but with a letter of sympathy and money from the tsarevna Sophia. After arriving at Yarensk, the Golitsins wrote a fresh petition to the tsars: 'We, poor wretches, are in suffering, and near to die: we have been calumniated to you, the great hossoudars, unjustly. When they had carried us, your slaves, to Totem,

of the story, the application may have been prompted by two motives—in some cowardly adulation seeking to disclaim all feeling for Shaklovitoy, and in others the hope of extorting something to tell more distinctly against Basil Golitsin.

before reaching the town, on the river Souchona, the conveyances of our wives and children and our few attendants broke down in the water, and they with difficulty dragged out our wives and young children from the river, and they lay insensible, half-drowned, a long time.' The pristav also of the Golitsins, who was to be with them, and who was to have the government of the town, petitioned the boyar Streshneff, and complained that there were no provisions to be had: 'The little town here is of the very poorest: in all, with the tsielovalniks and the podiaks, and with the pristav, there are thirty poor houses. The people of the riding come but little to the town; they all settle their affairs of justice among themselves; and the imperial dues of all kinds they collect among themselves: they have no room for our poverty!'

But the Golitsins were not to remain either at Yarensk: the inquest concerning the accomplices of Shaklovitoy was still going on; new informations came up which implicated Golitsin; they found a correspondence of his with Shaklovitoy during the first Crimean campaign, from which it appeared that he had been quite on *intimate terms* with Shaklovitoy, and not a mere acquaintance; there came up an accusation that Golitsin had taken money from the khan, and had then retreated from Perekop. Kropotkin also suffered. Golitsin justified himself. Notwithstanding that, they transported him to Poustozersk. On the way thither he wrote to the tsars: 'Now on the way we feel cruelly the pangs of hunger, and go about begging in Christ's name; we have come to be destitute of all necessaries, and have sold for food even to our last shirts. And at Poustozersk bread is extremely dear; so is food of every kind; and we have before us the prospect of dying of exhaustion and hunger. Merciful great hossoudars! order us poor wretches, who are guiltless, to be brought back from such a cruel hell (*tartarus*).' The Golitsins were removed to the Pinejski-volok, and there they were left and forgotten:[1] the prince Boris, as we shall soon see, lost his preëminent position, which passed to the Narishkins.

There was a third person also who had been near to Sophia, whose name is inseparable from those of Golitsin and Shak-

[1] The prince Basil Golitsin died in the place of his exile, aged about eighty, in A.D. 1713. His sons were allowed to return.

lovitoy, and whose fate was now decided. This was *Sylvester Medvedeff*. After getting away from Moscow he had made off towards the western frontier; but the voivode of Dorogobonjsk took him in the Biziukoff monastery, together with the piatidesiatnik Gladki, and sent them both to Troitsa. 'Shaklovitoy,' Silvester said when examined, 'never spoke any words to me about the health of the hossoudar, or of killing him; but the piatisotni Larion Elizareff once came to me, and said with tears: "There has come upon us a very bad business; how to get out of it we know not: Theodore Shaklovitoy has called us to him, me and Andriushka Kondratieff, Aleshka Strijeff, and Obroska Petroff, and he says that we are secretly by night to kill the boyar Leo Cyr. Narishkin, and the kravchi the prince Boris Alex. Golitsin, and others." And I answered: "If you do so, you will be ruined, together with Theodore, here, and your souls eternally: say to him, Theodore, that you by yourselves alone cannot do that, and to speak to others of it you dare not; he must speak himself." And he, Larion, with his comrades, did so answer Thedka, and refused to do that work. Thedka twice said to me, Sylvester, when we were alone, "If there were not the tsaritsa Natalia Cyrillovna in the way, the tsarevna Sophia would be able to get on amicably with the tsar Peter." I did not disturb the holy Church; but the deacon Athanasius, who was attached to the church of the Saviour in the palace, wrote certain cahiers about the transubstantiation, and he brought them and showed them to me; and I copied out from them for myself two cahiers: against the patriarch in those sheets there was nothing; but they were written against the Greeks. My book entitled *Manna* I wrote by command of the tsarevna; and that book was sent to the hetman Ivan Stepanovich and to the spiritual authorities at Kieff for attestation, and together with it another Greek book; and at Kieff, in refutation of the Greek book, there was composed a book, which was sent to Moscow by the prince Basil Golitsin in A.D. 1687, during his campaign. The information of Philip Sapogoff, that I plotted with Shaklovitoy to kill the patriarch, is false: if there was a sentinel set at my door from Easter Sunday, it was for this cause, that the patriarch might not secretly banish me. And I had by me a chronicle, compiled by myself, beginning from the year '90 (A.D. 1681-1682), about the government of the great hossoudarina,

and all that took place from that year: that book was written from the writing of Karionoff; I wrote the first copy of that book myself, and it was written out fair by the diachok Ivashka.'

When confronted with Sapogoff Medveydeff persisted in his denial. They *secularised* and tortured him: they gave him fifteen blows; still he did not confess. He confessed to one thing, viz. that he had said to the streltsi: 'Don't fear! though the side of the tsar Peter should get the upper hand for ten days or so at the most, the side of the tsarevna will again prevail.' This was said to himself by Shaklovitoy, who heard it from an idiot. He confessed that he had said of the patriarch: 'He has but little learning, and is no judge of sermons.' He confessed that under the portrait of the tsarevna he had written the full title of 'superlatively-sovereign autocrat,' the seven virtues, and some verses.

The *secularised* Medveydeff, now called Senka, was remitted into the hands of the *spiritual* authority, which set two persons to *exhort* him, viz. Ignatius archimandrite of the Novospass and the Greek Sophronius Lichoudes. Senka professed penitence for his heresy, and owned that his *Manna* was a spurious article. The synod decreed that the *Manna* should be publicly burned; and that Medveydeff should be absolved from excommunication, and sent to a monastery, to be under surveillance. But this was not the end of the affair. After a long time there was discovered and arrested one of the chief accomplices of Shaklovitoy, Strijeff, who informed against Medveydeff that he had had relations with a certain Polish sorcerer named Silin, who had been brought to Moscow to prescribe for the eyes of the tsar John. Silin resided long with Medveydeff, and Medveydeff said to him that '*Sophia wished to marry Golitsin, and to make him, Medveydeff, patriarch instead of Joachim.*'[15] Medveydeff was subjected to fresh and dreadful tortures by fire and steel, and after that beheaded on the 11th Feb. A.D. 1691.

But what was Sophia doing at the time that the blood of her partisans was flowing in tortures and executions? After Shaklovitoy—who was her only hope—had been given up, her

[15] The first wife of Golitsin, born Streshneff, was second cousin to Sophia; and when he was banished with his grown-up son, in A.D. 1689, he had a second wife and young children, who went with him into banishment.

fate was decided. Peter wrote to his elder brother from Troitsa, that:

'By the mercy of God there has been committed to us two the sceptre of government; and thus our reign is known also to our brethren the surrounding sovereigns; but of any third person to be joined with us there has been no mention whatever. But how our sister, the tsarevna Sophia Alexievna, had begun to rule our empire after her own will, with what prejudice to our persons, and burdens to the people, and endurance on our part, is all known to thee. And now the malefactor Thedka Shaklovitoy with his accomplices, not content with our favour, breaking their oath, have plotted with other felons against our health and that of our mother, to kill us; and that under examination and torture they have confessed. But now, hossoudar, my brother, the time is come that we two should ourselves administer the empire committed to us by God, since we have attained our full growth, and we cannot allow that a third person, our sister, should be joined with us two men in the imperial title, and in the direction of affairs. In this we trust that thy will also, hossoudar, my brother, is one with ours; inasmuch as she has begun to interfere with matters of state, and to write her name in the imperial title of herself, without our permission. Farther, she purposed to cause herself to be crowned—to our great prejudice—with the imperial crown. It is a disgrace, hossoudar, my brother, that when we are full grown this third self-intruded person should rule the empire over our heads!

'Farther, hossoudar, my brother, I notify to thee and request of thee: grant me, hossoudar, thy fatherly consent, for our better advantage, and for the security of the people, that without referring to thee I may appoint in the prikazes just judges, and remove such as are unfit, in order so the more speedily to give security and contentment to our empire. But when we, hossoudar, my brother, shall be together, then we will settle all in due manner: and I, hossoudar, my brother, am ready to honour thee as a father.'

In this letter nothing is said as yet of the future lot of the deposed regent: but a short time afterwards there came from Troitsa to Moscow the boyar prince Ivan Bor. Troekouroff, with an order to Sophia to go into a monastery. After long opposition and refusal she was forced to submit, and removed to the Novodivichy monastery.

Sophia was in a monastery: the tsar John remained, as before, tsar only in name; he filled the place of tsar in public ceremonies, but the power was transferred to Peter alone. But Peter, at the age of seventeen, was still incompetent to govern the empire; he was still only learning; he was still educating himself by those means which he found for himself, and which suited his character: the young tsar had still his mind full of his *amusements;* the great man was to manifest himself later; and it was then only that the amusements of his youth were discovered to have been the germs of great deeds.

Who, then, it will be asked, governed the empire? who, at least, exercised the most influence on its government? We have seen that at Troitsa the manager was the prince Boris Golitsin, because he was more intelligent, more energetic, and of a stronger character than all the rest. 'The prince Boris Alex. Golitsin ordered all at Troitsa,' says Gordon, 'because no one else was bold enough to meddle with such an ugly business as it seemed to be at first.' But we have seen also what strong displeasure the prince Boris drew upon himself from the side of the tsaritsa Natalia and her relations by screening the prince Basil from the charge of treason. The displeasure of the Narishkins led to this, that when the danger had passed, when consequently there was no more the same need of his superior capacity, the prince Boris, after the return of the court to Moscow, lost that primary importance which he had had at Troitsa; and the chief person in the government thenceforth was the tsaritsa's brother, the boyar Leo Narishkin, with his relations. Leo Narishkin began to administer the most important of all the prikazes, the posolski, though without the title of 'Keeper:' the prince Boris Golitsin had to content himself with the prikaz of the Kazanski dvoretz: the relations of the young tsaritsa Eudocia obtained their share in the person of the most notable of them, the boyar Peter Abr. Lopouchin, to whom there was given the prikaz of the bolshoi dvoretz and the dvortsovoi-soudni prikaz: the streletski prikaz was entrusted to the prince Ivan Bor. Troekouroff; the razriad to the boyar Tichon Nik. Streshneff. The prince Boris Golitsin, after he had lost his influence, was even exposed to slights and insults in the palace, especially from Yakoff Theod. and Gregory Theod. Dolgorouky, who, in 1690 and 1691, insulted him most grossly

on account of something once done by him to their brother Boris, and they were condemned to pay a fine of 3000 rubles for the insult, only he refused to proceed against them.

Gordon calls Leo Narishkin 'the new *favourite* or new *prime minister*.' The second title alone is accurate. Neither Golitsin nor Narishkin were ever the *favourites* of Peter: his *favourite* (from the end of A.D. 1689) was in reality a foreigner in the service, the celebrated Lefort.

Sophia was in a monastery, and Peter's self-education was not yet completed: he had not yet begun to govern personally: but Sophia had done her work, her terrible work. Selfish ambition—not certainly deserving the name of Sophia, *i.e.* of *Wisdom*—had secured the disappointment of all those wishes and hopes which her father Alexis might have formed before his death for his youngest son, for a son of such promise as Peter. Sophia had formed for her father's house and for Russia a future legislator with great powers and great ignorance—with violent passions unrestrained by self-discipline, with a strong will and no law but his own will—to be a destroyer and exterminator of the aristocracy, of the streltsi, of the still-remaining semblance of a canonical hierarchy, in a word of all the old institutions of Muscovy, and of the dynasty itself.

'*Constitue legislatorem eis!*'

CHAPTER VI.

PUBLIC PUNISHMENTS WHICH CAME UPON THE CROWN FROM ITSELF: THE UNEDUCATED MATERIALIST SON.

How Sophia came to be what she showed herself we cannot trace: her character may have been a natural growth from the Miloslafsky root, not manifestly or purposely perverted from good to bad by external influences. The history of Peter is more tragical, because in him we see a generous and noble nature, of great capacity and promise, corrupted and ruined by a purposed neglect of his education; and to this is to be added the cruel reflection that Peter's moral murderess was his own sister, a daughter of the tsar Alexis.

As Sophia seems to have derived her character from her mother's family rather than from her father's—the Miloslafskys being all men of ability, but all hard and bad—so Peter seems to have derived his, through his mother, from the Narishkins.[1] Reitenfels, who was present at the second marriage of the tsar Alexis, 22 Jan. A.D. 1671, describes the tsaritsa Natalia, then aged twenty, as 'blooming with youth and beauty, well-made, black-eyed, with a high forehead, an agreeable smile on her lips, a sweet melodious voice, and an enchanting grace in all her gestures and movements.' The marriage was celebrated by the tsar's confessor Andrew, protopope of the Annunciation.

[1] In A.D. 1627 among the dvorianins of Torouss, Polyeuct Iv. Narishkin held an *oklad* of 600 cheti in land, and served by election: he was killed at Smolensk in A.D. 1633. In A.D. 1658 Cyril and Theodore Pol. appear as *jiltsi*, Cyril with an oklad of 850 cheti and 38 rubles, Theodore of 820 cheti and 40 rubles. Theodore, for a wound received at Konotop, in A.D. 1659, obtained an addition of 100 cheti and 5 rubles; and in the same year on becoming *pol-golova* of streltsi 150 cheti and 10 rubles more: and Cyril in A.D. 1666, 11th May, on becoming *golova* of streltsi obtained 100 cheti and 12 rubles. In 1668 the two brothers appear as strapchie of the *reitarskoi stroi*. On the 27th Nov. 1670 and 7th Feb. 1671 Artemon Serg. Matveyeff and Cyril Narishkin from stolniks were made *doumnie dvorianini*, and 30th May 1672 *okolniks*; while Theodore Narishkin was made *doumni dvorianin*. On the 27th Nov. 1673 Cyril Narishkin became a boyar. His wife was Anna Leontieva, born Raefsky. Probably Matveyeff formed a friendship with Cyril Narishkin in the service.

Peter was born in A.D. 1672, on Thursday, 30th May, two hours and a half before day, in the Kremlin. The moleben for his birth was sung, in presence of the tsar, the same morning early in the cathedral, by Pitirim, then metropolitan of Novgorod,[2] who after 10th July A.D. 1658 had been the first vicegerent of the tsar's ecclesiastical supremacy.

Peter's mother Natalia was sensible, amiable, and religious; but her feelings were strong, and perhaps she resented too openly the early hostility of her step-daughters, the eldest of whom, Eudocia, was one year older, and the second, Martha, only one year younger than herself. Her brothers did not conciliate the goodwill of the nobility, nor that of the people: there was about them a violence and arrogance unbecoming in quite young men, who (upon the death of the tsar Theodore) were raised suddenly, too suddenly, to the highest rank. But boldness, openness, and undisciplined vehemence are not inconsistent with generosity; and in these respects Peter received through his mother the qualities of a Narishkin rather than those of a Romanoff. In features, too, he is said to have borne a striking resemblance to one of his maternal uncles. And while in mind he had nothing of the mildness and softness of his half-brothers, his father, and his grandfather, he was in body strong and healthy, restless and energetic, utterly unlike all the sons of his father's first marriage, and unlike his father. In nothing was Peter's difference from his father more marked than in the strength and inflexibility of his will; whereas in the tsar Alexis the weakness of his will had been such that it carried him even into duplicity, and subjected him, in spite of himself, to the undue influence of others. In one point, indeed, the father and the son might seem to be alike—they were both very irascible: but even here, when one looks beyond the surface, in the ebullitions of Alexis there is discoverable an under current of weakness; whereas in the rage of Peter there was the ferocity of a madman or of a wild beast.

Peter had also qualities peculiarly his own. He had great natural talents—more than talents, genius; intelligence, thirst for knowledge, an intuitive perception of ends, capacity for devising and preparing and combining means; a disposition *originally* open and frank, a heart *originally* generous and noble, and capable of affection, though intellect and will rather than feeling predomi-

[2] The patriarchate was vacant from 17th Feb. A.D. 1672 to 5th July.

nated; a remarkable absence of personal pride or vanity; a readiness to mix with all, to receive all, and to do justice to all; gratitude and liberality to those who seemed to deserve it; a sense that to be fit to command and teach one must obey and learn; and a readiness, though born to be the head, to put himself down, as it were, to the bottom, to rise by his own exertions, and to go through all ranks. Not only in military and naval service, but also in all sorts of arts and sciences and processes which seemed politically useful, he was ready to make himself as one of the lowest beginners or labourers. Whether this was really necessary or well-judged is another question; but unquestionably there is something great in a sovereign thus associating himself with all, that he may afterwards be more competent to direct all. If he loved power, it was his own—or what seemed, at least to him, to be his own—to which he was born and elected, not an usurped power; and he used it for no merely selfish end. If he made the crown more absolute than before, by suppressing the privileges of the hereditary nobility and enslaving them, this was with no selfish despotic design: it was a result partly accidental (as was also the case when Godounoff before had enslaved the peasants), partly a consequence of his grand idea, that all, not excepting himself, were equally bound to serve their country, and for the sake of their country to serve its governor. This idea is of itself enough to entitle him to the name of Great.

But natural talent and genius—natural greatness—is a gift; and a man no more deserves *praise* for such greatness than he does for superior stature or strength of body. Praise and blame, and such admiration or horror as implies praise or blame, belong only to that improvement or abuse of natural gifts, that correction or indulgence and development of natural defects, which has been made by any man for himself.

A ruler, especially a Christian ruler, is something more than a man: it is his office to govern and defend men; and to provide for them, not according to his own selfish will, but for their good; not as if they were like sheep or swine or fighting-cocks, whose only end and happiness is to eat and to sleep, or to conquer and to crow; but as rational, moral, and religious creatures, his brethren, training in this temporal life for an eternal life and country and city or society.

The first requisite, then, for a ruler is that he be a good man;

the second, that he have also those natural talents and acquired accomplishments which may enable a good man to rule well.

To be a good man it is necessary that the *will* should be good. That is all that a man can bring on his own part, so as to coöperate with the grace of God towards his own happiness and the happiness of others. But what is a good will? Briefly, it is that will which habitually says to its Creator, 'Thy will, not mine, be done, as in heaven so also on earth, in me who am earth, and in all men my brethren, and by me and by all.' To have this *will* is to be a good man: and for this the child needs first, after his baptism, the influence of a mother's love and piety, and the good examples of others. Then there needs some elementary instruction; and after that, for rulers and people of the higher class, higher instruction in religion, philosophy, history, and languages, and all that belongs to a liberal education, and together with this, and more than this, such moral and religious training, and such *correction* also, as may conquer bad natural tendencies, and form habits of religious reverence—the beginning and root of all good progress — and of moral self-control and self-discipline. Let us now trace as well as we can the actual formation of Peter's character.

On his third birthday, it is said (May 30, A.D. 1675), he was prodigiously pleased with a present made to him by a merchant of a little sword and gun.

About a year later, as he was going with his mother to Troitsa, in passing some ford the water came into the carriage; and this so frightened him, that for ten years afterwards he was afraid to go near water.

After the death of his father he saw his mother in constant sorrow and anxiety, grieving over the exile of her father and brothers and of her benefactor Matveyeff.

When he was five years old a diak of the prikaz of the bolshoi prichod named Nikita Mois. Zotoff was appointed to teach him to read and to write; but from some exercises of his which have been preserved, it appears that at the age of fifteen he still wrote very imperfectly, with a trembling irregular hand, lines not parallel, words often not divided, letters ill-formed, and all sorts of blunders. Zotoff was not an example of sobriety; he did not inspire his pupil with respect; nor did he teach him long; for in A.D. 1680 we find him employed as diak in the

Crimea with the envoy Tiapkin, to treat for peace with the Turks and the Tatars. And while for both the tsareviches[3] Alexis and Theodore Alexievich, as soon as they had learned to read and write, there had been appointed superior instructors, who from the age of eight years took charge of them, no such instructor was appointed for Peter.

Peter preserved through all his life some traces of that respect for religion which he had imbibed from his mother, and which in his sister Natalia was still more perceptible; and he had a habit of quoting from the sacred scriptures.[4] But motherly affection, and the teaching to a child of certain outward forms, is not enough of itself alone to form piety and virtue in a grown man, or to reduce violent passions and a strong will, joined with a powerful intellect *but little or no reverence*, to the obedience of faith. And Peter, when he was old enough to fall under certain influences, had nothing in the religion which had been taught him by his mother powerful enough to withstand those influences; nothing to claim the submission of his will and his conscience. He had inherited from his father supremacy over the Church, as over all departments of the State; and the adopted daughter of the civilised Matveyeff, who had been so zealous for the tsar's ecclesiastical supremacy in A.D. 1664 and A.D. 1667, was not likely to possess herself or to communicate to her son an intelligent faith in the Church—of the New Jerusalem. A higher instruction than any that either the tsaritsa Natalia or the patriarchs Joachim and Adrian could give was needed for the education of such a genius as Peter; and not having it, he became what Solovieff calls a *bogatir*, a hero, in the old pagan sense of the word.

Laurence Rinhuber, who had been at Moscow in A.D. 1675 and 1676 as physician to the tsar Alexis, and who in A.D. 1684 brought a letter from the elector of Saxony to the tsars John and Peter, while describing his audience (on the 20th June), writes of the tsar Peter, then 12 years old, as follows:

[3] When the tsarevich Alexis was eight years old Theodore Mich. Rtischeff was named to be his diadka or governor, and Alexis Tim. Likhacheff, a good and conscientious man, to be his preceptor; and the tsarevich Theodore, in like manner, had Simeon of Polotsk appointed to be his preceptor, to live with him in the palace.

[4] He was familiar also with classical mythology, and frequently alluded to it, in the same spirit of levity which marks his biblical quotations and allusions.

'When I kissed the hand of the tsar Peter, he gave me a very bright, friendly, and gracious smile: he looked at me, and at the same moment held out his hand for me to kiss (whereas the arm of the tsar John had been supported and held up when I kissed his hand): he is an extremely good-looking young master, for whom nature has done her very best. As I have written elsewhere, the tsar Peter has had the happiest birth: his natural advantages are so great, that it is one of the least of them that he is a king's son. He has good looks which win the hearts of all who see him, and an intelligence which for his years is unequalled' (Adelung, vol. ii. p. 373).

And there is another very similar account given of him by the traveller Kempfer a year later (ib. p. 338).

This is the bright, promising, lovable boy, who, for the sin of his father and of the nobility and clergy of Muscovy, was to grow up into a scourge and a destroyer.

Peter was ten years old—Solovieff writes—when his brother Theodore died, and he was elected[a] tsar. But this election caused the insurrection of the streltsi. Earlier still, the seclusion and persecution of his mother and her relations had awakened in the boy feelings of resentment, but now there passed before his eyes the most horrible and bloody scenes: his relations were murdered, and his mother was plunged in grief and despair: the power was snatched away from them, and passed to their former persecutors. Afterwards, people near to Peter told foreigners that at the time of the insurrection of the streltsi the boy was wonderfully self-possessed. Still those bloody scenes could not but tell upon him with a sinister influence, though it might not show at once.

Again seclusion and persecution, again ever before his eyes his sorrowing mother, and her continual complaints. Painful and sad! fearfully sad for a boy, who already had more natural life and energy than he knew what to do with. All education was at an end from the time that Zotoff left him. What was to be done by an ardent boy who even after he had grown up could not walk, but must run? There was only one resource, viz. 'to go out into the broad street, and amuse him-

[a] The fact that Peter had himself been *elected*, as *fitter*, in preference to an elder brother would tend to make him undervalue the importance of hereditary succession in the right line of primogeniture.

self with the boys,' according to the words of an old song. And so Peter ran away from the palace (the suburban palace of Preobrajensk) into the street, never to return into the palace with that character with which his ancestors had inhabited it: he ran away from the courtiers, and sought playmates; he accepted every one who seemed fit for his purpose. There was formed a new society; there appeared a band with its leader, which moved on destroying what was old, and creating something new. A tsar by origin (*rex ex nobilitate*), he became the leader of a band by personal superiority (*dux ex virtute*), and he preserved throughout this character. In him there was nothing which the old-fashioned Russian people had been used to associate with the dignity of tsar: he was a *hero*, in the old (heathen) sense; he was for modern times an unique colossal figure, like many that we see in the dim distance connected with the origin and organisation of societies. In following and observing the acts of Peter, we must never forget that we have to do not only with a sovereign, but with the *founder* of *a new society*, of *a new empire*, with a man who was penetrated and engrossed by one only thought. New relations could not but express themselves in new forms: hence the change in Peter's manner of communicating with those about him; hence the plain companion-like tone of his correspondence with new people, no matter what their grade, no matter what their origin, if only they belonged to the new society, and were comrades in the work of transformation. The society of his time perfectly understood these relations: when the Russians came to be divided in opinion, and there arose a conflict, those who stood out for the old system turned all their hatred on this band, on these new people who surrounded Peter.

Such was the importance of this circumstance, that the boy-tsar was driven out by sadness and ennui from the palace, and took to the street. But a life of companionship (as the leader of a gang), if on the one hand it implies violent activity, and works to be undertaken and achieved, on the other implies also merry dissipated habits. And here we must remember that for the grandfather, father, and brother of Peter—besides their natural characters—the palace, inaccessible, and surrounded with sacred majesty and awe, served as a discipline and restraint, as the seclusion of the terem served for former generations of

Muscovite ladies—it *preserved to a certain extent their moral purity*; though we know that the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, who was of a lively turn, liked sometimes to prolong his banquets, and to make his boyars *and his confessor* drunk. His youngest son Peter, with his ardent and passionate temperament, fled out of the palace into the street: but we have seen how much filth there was in the Russian street in the latter part of the seventeenth century. If we only have some idea of the dominant vices of the society of that time, we shall be at no loss to account for those habits of Peter which so much displease us in him. 'His will was violent, and his habits were coarse and sensual.'

But was the young Peter absolutely left to himself? So far as instruction went he was. But there had been a diadka[6] or governor appointed for him (chosen as it seems by the tsarevna Sophia and her friend and connection the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin, since he was a first cousin of the latter) the prince Boris Alex. Golitsin.[7] Of this his diadka it is related, that he was a man of intelligence and energy, capable of directing affairs; who, like the prince Basil, had received a superior education, for he knew both Greek and Latin, and could converse in Latin fluently. He was frank and honest; he became personally attached to Peter, and was ever faithful to his interests; he rendered him essential services in his contest with his sister Sophia, and afterwards with the streltsi; and later he congratulated Peter on his successes without flattering him. There is a story that when Peter was fourteen years old (in A.D. 1686), Boris Golitsin, as they were one day riding, taught him to conquer his childish fear of water by leading the way across the little river Istra, and calling on Peter to follow, which he did, though it cost him an effort, being ashamed to show that he was afraid. And afterwards Peter, in relating the story of himself, added, that he always remembered with satisfaction that victory gained over himself. But Boris Golitsin did not teach Peter to gain other victories over himself which would have been of more importance: he did not teach him good manners, nor self-control, nor temperance; for

[6] Oustrialoff mentions Boris Golitsin as *kravchi*, and two Streshneffs (the boyar Rodion Mat. and the doumni dvorianin Tichon Nikitich) as Peter's *diadkas* at his coronation.

[7] Born 20th July A.D. 1641, and so aged thirty-seven in 1678: he became a monk a few months before his death, which occurred Oct. 18th, A.D. 1713. His cousin the prince Basil, who was about eight years older, died also in A.D. 1713.

he was himself coarse in manners, violently passionate, and a drunkard. Knowing Latin, he was fond of inviting and entertaining foreigners; and he sometimes began his letters to Peter with a word or two of Latin; but one of them ends thus: 'Borisko, *who means soon to be drunk*.' In A.D. 1698, when Peter's habits and companions were ill spoken of in the sloboda of the streltsi, it was said against him that if he was fond now of shedding man's blood, he had begun early by butchering sheep; and against Boris Golitsin it was then remembered that he had been the *first* to teach Peter *to drink* (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 106).

In his twelfth year, Gordon mentions in his diary, 22 Jan. 1684, Peter had the smallpox.

They did not teach Peter as he ought to have been taught—this he said of himself with regret in his later years—but he knew a great deal all the same. How did he acquire his knowledge? Let him tell us that for himself:

'Before the prince Yakoff Theod. Dolgorouky (in A.D. 1686) was sent to France, among other conversation one day, in the posolski dvor, he said that he had had in his possession an instrument with which one could take distances without going to the spot. I was extremely desirous to see it, but he told me that it had been stolen from him. And when he was starting for France I commissioned him to buy me, among other things, that instrument: and when he returned from France and brought it to me, I did not know how to use it. (The instruments were an astrolabe and a "koker," with circles, &c.) But afterwards I showed it to the doctor Zachary Von der Hulst, and asked him if he knew. He said that he did not, but he would find me somebody that did; and I with great eagerness desired him to do so. And before long that doctor discovered a Dutchman named Frantz Timmerman, to whom I showed those instruments; and he on seeing them said the same that the prince Dolgorouky had said of them, and that he knew how to use them; whereupon I began with great eagerness and diligence to learn geometry and fortification. And so this Frantz came to be continually in the dvor in company with us' (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. ii. p. 18).

That his first outdoor amusement should have been playing at soldiers needs no explanation. Soldiers are attractive to boys

who see their arms and dresses, and hear their drums and trumpets, even though they may not be born princes. His playfellows would naturally be chiefly the sons of those nobles who had been stolniks to his mother in the time of the tsar Theodore (and of these there were above a hundred), though there were also, even from A.D. 1682, some volunteers of low birth mixed with these, as the palace groom Bouchvostoff, honoured afterwards as the first man who had enlisted into the Preobrajensky polk. And so long as it was only boys' play, the officers would be chosen by them from among themselves, and Peter would amuse himself, with his diadka or the kravchi prince Boris Golitsin looking on. These earliest *potieshnie* would not be very numerous, fifty perhaps, or not many more than fifty, making a *rota*, in which Peter himself began as a drummer. The regent Sophia with all the court and the streltsi—it is said—were sometimes present (before A.D. 1687) at the exercises of these potieshnie, or play-soldiers, and they looked on while the young tsar enjoyed himself, without foreseeing that that *rota* of *potieshnie* was one day to be the destruction of the regency and of the streltsi.

Nor is there anything wonderful in the interest excited in such a lad as Peter by the discovery at the selo Izmaelofsko of an old English boat, especially when he was told that it could sail against the wind. His amusements on land and on the water had no necessary tendency to unfit him to be a ruler, but quite the contrary; and we see in them, as in many similar histories of the early years of other great men, the accidental or providential germs and suggestions of future developments and achievements. Of the origin of his interest in navigation he gives an account himself, as follows:

'Some time after that' (after the return of Dolgorouky from Paris, and the acquisition of the astrolabe, in May A.D. 1688), 'we happened to be at Izmaeloff; and as we were walking about the warehouses in which were lying the remains of the things belonging to the house of our great uncle Nikita Iv. Romanoff, among them I spied a foreign vessel, and asked the same Frantz: What kind of vessel is that? He said: "It is an English boat." I asked: Where do they use it? He said: "About ships, for going to them, and putting anything on board them." I again asked: What advantage has it over our own vessels (for I saw that it was in shape and in strength better than ours)? He

said that it went with sails not only with the wind, but also against the wind, which assertion made me wonder much, so that I scarcely believed it. Then I asked him again: Is there anybody here who could repair it, and show it me going in that way? He said: "Yes, there is." Then I, on hearing this, with great joy bade him find that man.

'And the same Frantz found the Dutchman Karsten Brandt, who had been engaged in the time of my father with other seamen to construct vessels for the Caspian sea; and he repaired that boat, and made for it a mast and sails, and sailed it upon the Yaouza in my sight, which was to me still more wonderful, and a very great pleasure. Then, when I thus used it often with him, and the boat did not always turn (in tacking) well, but went against the bank, I asked him, Why that was? He said: "The water is too narrow." Then I had the boat transported to the Prosiajni proud (pond, or small lake); but there too the advantage gained was not great, but my wish became ever stronger and stronger. So I began to inquire where there was a great expanse of water; and they suggested the lake of Pereyaslaff, as very large. And I, as if I would go on a pilgrimage to Troitsa, asked and obtained my mother's permission to go there: and afterwards I asked her plainly to make a dvor and to build vessels there. And so the aforesaid Karsten Brandt built for me two small frigates, and three yachts; and there for some years I satisfied my longing. Afterwards that lake also seemed too small: I went to look at the Koubensky lake; but it was unsuitable on account of its shallows. So I then fully determined to go to the sea itself' (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. ii. p. 26).

But playing at soldiers and sailing boats, studying strategy and fortification and shipbuilding, will not suffice to make a good boy; nor will the formation and command of armies and fleets of itself suffice to make a good ruler. There is something more important than all this, which, if not taught to him early by others, is not likely to be sought or found by any street boy, even though born a prince, of himself. Rather he is pretty sure to learn the very contrary of that which is needful for him. Peter, then, finding the masters and assistants needed for his land and water amusements in the German sloboda—nicknamed originally *Nalivaiki* (*Drink*-borough), and afterwards (from a

small stream running into the Yaouza) *Koukoui*—took to the company of those people for its own sake. Desiring to learn from them what they were able to teach, he unconsciously, as is the manner of disciples, began in other things also to imitate his teachers; he adopted their free manners, their joviality, and tobacco-smoking and beer-drinking, their immorality, their contempt of the fasts of the Russian Church, and even their profane jesting against the Pope and the Cardinals; and, lastly, he imitated their fashions in dress and in shaving the beard. In a word, he fell in love with their material civilisation, and as its accidental adjunct also with their *bousourmanstvo;* and he formed the design of introducing it by force into Russia.

But this design was formed only by degrees. Neither the personal vices which disfigured and debased his character, nor that idea of patriotism and of the office of a patriotic sovereign which raises him to the rank of a pagan hero, were innate in him, or formed suddenly in one day or year. Four influences are to be observed before his self-education was complete, before his personal reign had fully commenced. These are, *first*, the development made by *time*, as he grew up; *secondly*, his early marriage, and early alienation from his wife; *thirdly*, his intimacy with the Genevese Lefort; and, *fourthly*, that personal acquaintance with Western Europe, especially with North Germany, Holland, and England, which he made in A.D. 1697 and 1698.

i. As he and his playmates grew older, his playing at soldiers ended in the formation of two foot regiments of guards, with a body of cavalry, dressed in uniform, drilled and paid in the German fashion. It was in the spring of A.D. 1687, when Peter was fifteen, that he began openly to invite volunteers, and that both noble youths, and grooms from the palace stables and others of low origin, came to him in numbers. In A.D. 1688 Peter constructed an earthen fort, which he named *Presburg*, on the bank of the Yaouza, and called to him (7th Sept.) all the drummers and pipers of the Boutirski polk of soldati, to the great annoyance of Basil Golitsin, transferred to Preobrajensk (18th Nov.) the greater part of the Soukhareff polk of streltsi, and took from the koniushenni prikaz harness for his artillery; and his amusements assumed such a form that Shaklovitoy, who commanded the streltsi for Sophia, and Sophia herself were alarmed. Sophia

showed her feeling by the way in which she habitually spoke of Peter's *potieshnie* as 'those insolent low fellows and grooms.' Thus gradually, without their seeing how to prevent it, Peter's position and attitude was changed from one of forced removal from the court, and exclusion from public affairs, to that of a separate power voluntarily holding aloof from the regent.

ii. The young bogatir—writes Solovieff—rushed away, out of the house, from his mother to make trial of his youthful strength, only not 'on the open field,' but on the wide lake: his mother tried a strong bond to attach him more to home:[8] Peter had not yet completed his seventeenth year when they married him, on the 27th Jan. A.D. 1689, to a young and beautiful woman, Eudocia, daughter of the okolnik Hilarion Abram. Lopouchin,[9] who changed his name to Theodore, in like manner as Alexander Petr. Soltikoff had changed his name (also to Theodore), in A.D. 1684, when his daughter was betrothed to the tsar John.

The Russian proverb, 'When a man marries he changes,' was not verified in Peter: he soon went off to Pereyaslaff, and wrote to his mother (on the 20th of April); 'Matushka hossoudarina!—Bless your boy who is at work. The lake has broken up. All the vessels, except the biggest ship, are finished. Only they are at a standstill for want of cordage. Order them to send from the poushkarski prikaz 700 sagenes immediately. Else my stay here will be protracted.' But she, instead of sending him cordage, desired him to return for the pannychid of the 27th (the anniversary of the death of his brother the tsar Theodore). He wrote: 'My dearest mother,—Your unworthy son Petrushka makes his obeisance to you. I am ready to return to Moscow; only, yea, yea, there is work to be done here. I most obediently submit myself to your will.' She wrote again, still desiring him to return; and his wife too wrote. Peter returned in spite of himself; but within a month he was again at

[8] She had also another reason: because Sophia had already (9th Jan. A.D. 1681) married the elder half-brother John to Prascovia Theod. Soltikoff.

[9] Abram Nik. Lopouchin, long a gólova of streltsi, was made a doumni dvorianin on the birth of Peter Alexievich in 1672. At a banquet given by the tsaritsa Natalia in her apartments, on the 29th June A.D. 1672, Abram Lopouchin sat behind the buffet; and thenceforth he was always about the tsaritsa, and was over her masterskaia palata: he is last named in 1682. Of his six sons—Peter major and minor, Hilarion, Cosmas, Basil, and Serge—Peter major and Hilarion were golovas of streltsi. The tsar Peter was married in the church of St. Peter and Paul in the palace by his confessor Mercurius.

the lake. Again he was recalled for another pannychid, for the 8th of June; but this time he did not come till four days after it was over; and after that he could not leave Preobrajensk on account of the attitude of the regent Sophia.

Peter continued—Solovieff writes—to consort with the same companions, and to follow the same amusements and interests as before. In truth his marriage, early as it was, came too late to be a moral safeguard or check; the consort chosen for him was not well qualified[10] to fix his affections; and instead of modifying his character for the better, she became to him—through his own fault—the occasion of some of the most horrible tragedies of his later history. His young wife could not draw him away from the German sloboda, and the German sloboda before long alienated him from his young wife.

For the first two or three years—Oustrialoff writes—they lived in affection and harmony, as is witnessed by contemporaries; and the same is confirmed by some letters of the tsaritsa. For instance: 'To my hossoudar, my joy, the tsar Peter Alexievich. Health to thee, my friend, for many years! We beg thee to show us this kindness—be so kind, hossoudar, as to come to us without delay. I with her grace our mother am alive. Your wifie Dounka makes her request.' And again: 'My lapoushka! Health to thee for many years! I ask of thee the grace to let me know when it pleases thee that I should come to thee? I have heard that thou art to dine with Andrew Croft. Be so kind, my lapoushka, as to write me word about that.' The fruit of their union was two sons—the tsarevich Alexis, born 18th Feb. A.D. 1690; and the tsarevich Alexander, who was born 3d Oct. A.D. 1691, and died 14th May A.D. 1692 (Oustr. *Hist.* &c. vol. iii. p. 198).

In A.D. 1693, when he was at Archangel, besides a letter from his wife, there was also one written in the name of their little boy, the tsarevich Alexis, added to the letters of his mother written to bring him back. No doubt the tsaritsa Nataiia, so long as she lived, was a bond of union: and Peter for her sake kept up the appearance of affection towards his wife: but after his mother's death in A.D. 1694 he seems to have shown her no attention whatever; though she still clung to the hope of regaining his affections. Two letters written to him by her during his

[10] Peter wrote to her on one occasion, '*Ona gloupa*' (elle est bête).

absence at Archangel in the summer of A.D. 1694 show clearly what their relations were at that time: 'To my most dear delight, hossoudar, tsar Peter Alexievich. Health to thee, my friend, for many years! Be so kind, my batiushka, despise not, my friend, my petition; write to me, my batiushka, of thy health, that I may have the happiness of knowing that thou art well. Thy sister Natalia Al. is in good health. If of your grace you are pleased to remember us, I too with Aleshanka am alive. Your wife, Dounka.' And again: 'To my most dear hossoudar, friend and joy, tsar Peter Alexievich. Health to thee, my batiushka, for many years! I beg you to be so kind, my friend, gladden me, my batiushka, write to me, my friend, of thy health, that I, your poor wife, may be comforted in my anxieties. Since thou, my friend, wast pleased to go away, thou hast not been so gracious as to write to me of thy health even a single line. Only I, thy poor wife, of all in the world, am without a share of thy remembrance, that thou doest me not the favour to write of thy health. Despise not, my friend, my petition. Thy sister Natalia Al. is in good health. Write to me, my joy, when thou wilt be pleased to come back to me. If thou art pleased of thy grace to ask about me, I also with Aleshanka am alive. Thy wife, Dounka' (Oustr. *Hist.* &c. vol. ii. p. 407). And years afterwards—after he had most cruelly wronged her, not only by his open immorality, but also by putting her away and confining her in a convent, she was ready to forgive all, and wrote to the boyar Tichon Streshneff (in A.D. 1703) to intercede for her with her husband, that he might treat her again with kindness. Thus far, though Peter was himself an adulterer, and a lawless and sacrilegious tyrant, his wife was no adulteress: and if she sinned afterwards, he was himself the cause of her sin, according to that word of the Lord: 'Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, *causeth her to commit adultery*' (Matt. v. 32).

From the mode of life—Solovieff writes—followed by Peter with his company it is easy to infer that he could not be a good *family man*. The young wife, who had been bred up in the seclusion of the *terem*—though her beauty may at first have pleased him—had no moral influence on the young *bogatir*, who rushed away into another entirely different world. Eudocia could not follow him thither, and was constantly deserted for his

beloved *amusements*. Neglect and separation produced coolness complaints only provoked Peter. But that was a small matter. Peter became an *habitué* of the German sloboda, where he was brought by Lefort into relations with the first beauty of the sloboda, Anna Mons, the daughter of a wineseller.[11] One can conceive how little chance there would be for poor Eudocia in comparison with the free-mannered German girl who was used to the society of men. But it is also easy to understand how Eudocia must have regarded these amusements of her husband, how Peter was provoked by the just complaints of his wife, and how he more and more avoided her. It followed that her relations the Lopouchins would also be disliked: and so at length it became easy for Leo Cyr. Narishkin, who was jealous of them, to rid himself of his rivals. But the cause of all—they thought—were those accursed Germans (*Niemtsi*), that accursed Lefort, to whom, *together with Pleshcheyeff*, they imputed the supplying of Peter with dissipations *of a kind peculiarly disagreeable to the tsaritsa*. And so the Lopouchins had a deadly hatred for Lefort. It is related by Kochen, the Swedish resident, that once at a dinner at Lefort's (26th Feb. A.D. 1693) Abram Lopouchin, a brother of the tsaritsa, quarrelled with his host, flew upon him, and pulled his hair; and that for this Peter cuffed Lopouchin.

iii. In A.D. 1675, Aug. 25, there came in Dutch ships to Archangel colonel Von Trosten, lieutenant-colonel Von Tornin, major Schwanberg, five captains, four lieutenants, and two ensigns, wishing to enter the Russian service. One of the captains was Francis Lefort.

Philip Vanderfeldt, John Zenger, James Roumer, and Francis Lefort said that they also were by birth from Prussia, from

[11] In Gordon's diary, at 22d Oct. A.D. 1691, there is an entry: 'Was on the festival with Mr. Mons, *and the tsar was there*.' John Mons is called by Korb a master goldsmith: he was a native of Minden on the Weser, and came to Russia with a certificate, dated at Minden 7th Aug. 1657, showing that he was admissible to any guild; and another showing that he had for two years, from 1657 to 1659, been an apprentice at Worms, and had there learned the trade of a *cooper*. He had three sons, Philemon, William, and another; and two daughters, Matrena (who married Theodore Balk) and Anna. According to Huyssen (*employed* in 1705 to write against Neugebauer), 'the Mons family had been hospitable to Lefort; and when he, for his fidelity at the time of the *revolt of the streltsi* was rewarded and raised to high offices, he *with a laudable magnanimity* showed his gratitude to them, raised them, and sought to make them share in his own good fortune; and when dying, he recommended them to the tsar; and the tsar befriended them; but afterwards they abused his favours.'

Dantzig; that they had been with Von Trosten in many battles against the French, and from Spain had come to Holland.

In the middle of Nov. the voivode, the doumni dvorianin Theodore Pol. Narishkin, received orders to send away colonel Von Trosten and his comrades by sea, as their services were not wanted. But the navigation was then closed. They were at length allowed to go on to Moscow; and they left Archangel 19th Jan. A.D. 1676, were about six weeks on the road, and arrived at Moscow after the death of the tsar Alexis. On the 5th of Apr. they were told by Matveyeff that they were not wanted. However, after renewing their applications, Von Trosten and the two lieutenant-colonels were taken into the service. The rest, all but Lefort, were sent away. Lefort remained at Moscow. *Alexander* Gordon writes that he lived on there without money, by the help of the Dutch merchants, who liked him for his jovial character and his lively conversation; and he courted Elizabeth, the pretty daughter of the rich widow of colonel Souhet, and niece of general Boukthoven.[12] The mother did not consent; but the daughter liked the tall handsome young man[13] for his lively humour and his good heart, and secretly gave him her hand. Then the mother could only forgive them: and so now, through his wife, Lefort had interest; and he presented at the inozemski prikaz a petition to be taken into the service, 'like Von Trosten and the two others with whom he had come to Russia.' The tsar (24th July A.D. 1678) ordered Ivan Miloslafsky to make inquiry; and he reported that Lefort had come as a captain with Von Trosten and thirteen others from *Prussia*: some of them had been sent to be engineers to the poushkarski prikaz, while others had been dismissed: captain Lefort had not asked for his dismissal. They questioned him, and he said that at that time he was sick, and so had neither petitioned to serve nor to be sent back; but now he was well, and he had petitioned in the inozemski prikaz; and he added that he had married, in the German sloboda, a niece of major-general Von Boukthoven, Elizabetha Philippio.ova, and had no wish to leave Russia. This account of himself was given by Lefort

[12] Catherine, daughter of general Boukthoven, became the wife of *Patrick* Gordon in Jan. A.D. 1665, when her father was still a prisoner in Poland: so the wives of P. Gordon and Lefort were first cousins.

[13] Lefort at his death (1st March A.D. 1699) was aged, according to Al. Gordon, forty-six: so in A.D. 1678 he was twenty-one.

10th Aug. 1678 in the poushkarski prikaz, whence a minute of it was sent by Ivan Miloslafsky to the inozemski prikaz.

Soon after this he was sent under general P. Gordon to Kieff; and Gordon spoke well of his behaviour and valour in a pass given him in A.D. 1681 to go out of Russia for an inheritance on the death of his father, who had been in the service of the emperor. From Kieff he went to Geneva, where the civic authorities were astonished to find him described in his Russian passport as a *Prussian;* and in sending him back they wrote that Francis Lefort was a native of their city, of a good and patrician family, &c. All the same, they continued in the posolski prikaz even after his return to describe him as a Prussian captain, and it was only later that they acknowledged him as a native of Geneva. He returned 23d Oct. A.D. 1682, when the court was still at Troitsa. Two years later (29th June A.D. 1684) he was made a major, and on the 29th Aug. a lieutenant-colonel, and in two years more (after 2d Feb. A.D. 1687, but before 11th Feb. A.D. 1688) a full colonel. P. Gordon in his diary, 6th Jan. A.D. 1686, writes: 'I dined with *lieutenant-colonel* Lefort;' and 25th Jan., 'dined with Mr. Wolffe, and stood godfather to lieutenant-colonel Lefort's child Daniel' (who died in the year following); and 15th Sept., 'dined with colonel (*i.e.* lieutenant-colonel) Lefort.' In the second Crimean campaign, A.D. 1689, he commanded the Eletski polk of soldati of 2000 men. His rapid promotion was caused by a recommendation (obtained by a letter from 'lieutenant-colonel Lefort' of 1st Oct. A.D. 1686 requesting it) from the Genevese senate to the prince Basil Golitsin and his son Alexis Basilievich; and Golitsin in March A.D. 1688 wrote to them that Lefort had been promoted *for his services;* and that his, the prince's, affection for him was unchanged; and that if he did not change himself, he would rise still higher in favour. So no wonder that he, like Gordon, held to Sophia and Golitsin to the end of the regency. Probably he went to Troitsa at the same time with Gordon and the other foreign officers,[14] 4th Sept. A.D. 1689, after Gordon had first taken to the prince Basil Golitsin Peter's letter of the 31st Aug., which they had kept three days unopened. Both general Gordon and Lefort had been known to Boris Golitsin, and in a general way also, no doubt, to

[14] By oukaz of 10th Oct. A.D. 1689, those who had come to Peter to Troitsa the 8th Aug. or before the 10th were named and rewarded.

Peter himself, before the fall of Sophia. It is mentioned in Gordon's diary that, 25th July A.D. 1688, he dined with Boris Golitsin; and that, 15th Sept. A.D. 1688, Boris Golitsin dined with Lefort, and went from him to Gordon. But they were both at that time in favour with Basil Golitsin. On the 16th May A.D. 1699 Gordon supped with Lefort, who had before that date been promoted to the rank of major-general: and from this time he appears constantly associated with Peter. On the 3d Oct. A.D. 1692 he was made lieutenant-general: on the 12th May A.D. 1697 he wrote to the council at Geneva, thanking them for a letter of recommendation to the tsars John and Peter, 'to which their majesties have sent an answer' dated in Apr. A.D. 1693. This letter of lieutenant-general Lefort and the letter of the tsars sent with it 'in Greek (*i.e.* in Russ), with a Latin translation,' were read to the council by Lefort's elder brother 2d Oct. of the same year.

Peter's mother the tsaritsa Natalia did not like the foreigners. On her names-day (27th Aug.) A.D. 1688 and 1690 they were not admitted to kiss her hand, though later she yielded out of affection for Peter: nor could the tsarevnas endure them, except only the tsarevna Natalia, who liked all that her brother liked. When the foreign officers had been invited to a banquet at the Kremlin after the christening of Peter's son the tsarevich Alexis, in A.D. 1690, the patriarch Joachim protested against this innovation; and he carried his point: for general Gordon in his diary mentions how the invitation received by himself and others was withdrawn; and how the tsar Peter, who was no doubt annoyed, and yielded in this to his mother, made it up to them the next day by entertaining them sumptuously at one of the suburban palaces.

Lefort was an adventurer who owed his success to his agreeable personal qualities. He was a full and brilliant representative of the German sloboda. He had no solid learning; he could teach no science nor art; he knew but little of military matters, and of naval nothing: but he was clever; he had seen something of life, and he was unusually lively, graceful, jovial, open, sympathetic; the soul of society, fond of music and dancing,[15] and a 'masterly hand at arranging ban-

[15] 'In the evening parties which went on every night in Koukou,' Semevsky writes, 'the old men would sit in one room smoking and drinking, while the

quets[16] for glory:' he was also frank and disinterested; a good fellow, in the world's sense of these words. From the autumn or winter of A.D. 1689 Peter attached himself to Lefort with that enthusiasm which a lad of seventeen may feel for a full grown man of thirty-six whom he likes and admires, and in addition with all the vehemence of his own character: he made him his inseparable companion and friend.

The influence of this friend certainly did not tend to correct Peter's two great vices of drunkenness and sensuality; rather it contributed to develop and to fix them. But it did more than this. It was Lefort—at least so thought Karamzin—who formed in Peter, by the tone of his conversation, that contempt for the Russians as compared with foreigners which led him afterwards not only to make needlessly unpopular innovations, but also to take a pleasure in wounding and insulting the national feelings. And being himself a Genevese Protestant, who scoffed contemptuously at Popery and superstition, Lefort communicated to Peter his own spirit of profane irreverence, and taught him to mock with burlesque buffooneries and masquerades the Russo-Greek hierarchy, and through it indirectly that of the Roman Church. This is what he contributed towards the formation of the character of Peter; and this is more than enough. Solovieff asserts that Lefort also urged Peter to undertake the siege of Azoff, and after its reduction to travel abroad: and it may have been so: but the special object with which Peter went abroad himself in A.D. 1697 and sent others, viz. that of learning arts and sciences of material utility, and above all the arts of shipbuilding and navigation, was certainly not suggested to him by Lefort: this was in full possession of Peter's mind long before; and Lefort personally took no special interest in such things.

It is manifest—Solovieff writes—that Peter as a reformer *in a certain direction* was definitively formed during that time to which his intimacy with Lefort confessedly belongs, that is between A.D. 1689 and his return from abroad in A.D. 1698. Within this time he went out (metaphorically) from Moscow to

young people in the adjoining rooms danced the interminable Polish dance, and the gross-fader, and another dance with kissing. These dances commonly began about five P.M. and went on till two o'clock in the morning. Quarrels among the inhabitants of Koukou were very frequent' (*Of the Mons Family*, p. 11).

[16] Banquets sometimes continued for several days in succession.

the German sloboda, and from the German sloboda to Western Europe. That Peter estimated Lefort very highly is proved by his appointing him to be one of the chief commanders in the first Azoff campaign, his admiral in the second, and after that head of the Great Embassy to Western Europe.

Peter, no doubt, was mistaken in his estimate of Lefort; but this is nothing to wonder at. Peter in A.D. 1690 was not yet that *great* Peter that he was in A.D. 1709 or 1721.

Lefort did not meddle with the affairs of the internal administration, nor did the tsar himself meddle with them, but left all to Leo Narishkin and his colleagues. The young Peter was occupied with his former amusements. He worked hard: but on certain days he held noisy revels, convoking his '*compania*,' oftenest to be entertained by Lefort (for whom later he on that account built a palace on the bank of the Yaouza), at other times to the houses of Leo Narishkin, of Boris Golitsin, of Peter Bas. Sheremetieff, of general Gordon, &c.; and then he would revel till past midnight, with music and dancing, often to salvos of artillery set round the house in which the compania was feasting. One special time for such revels was Christmas, when he also went about with a throng of eighty *carollers* or more to 'glorify Christ.' Another was the Carnival week, when he let off fireworks, which he had previously prepared himself in the potieshni dvor. The first time that he did this was on the stream Priesna, 26th Feb. A.D. 1690, on Wednesday in the cheese-week: he did the same also on the 27th Aug., the names-day of his mother the tsaritsa Natalia. His military amusements (*potiechi*), on an enlarged scale, also began in the same year A.D. 1690. As soon as the Moskva broke up (27th April) he went in his boat and with barges to the Ougriesh monastery of St. Nicholas, twenty versts, in one day; and on the 2d May he had returned. Then on the 2d June there was the Semenofsky *pochod* (or campaign), in which in a sham-fight they stormed the Semenofsky dvor; and Peter's face was so scorched and wounded that nothing more was done for two months.

On the 4th Sept., near Preobrajensk, there was another sham-fight: the best polk of the streltsi, the *stremianni*,[17] partly horse and partly foot, was to fight against the potieshnie, viz. against the Semenofsky regiment of foot and the cavalry of the nobles of

[17] So called because its men were *mounted* on horses from the palace stables to escort the tsar in his excursions.

the court. At the same time two polks of the streltsi were to fight one against the other. They fought till it grew dusk: many were wounded and singed with gunpowder.

In Oct. A.D. 1691 'there was a great and terrible battle around the generalissimo *Friedrich* (Theodore) Romodanofsky, who held his capital city of *Presburg*. The reitars of the *rotmeister* Peter Alexievich distinguished themselves; the rotmeister distinguished himself too; for he took prisoner the generalissimo of the enemy. . . . And that day was like the day of judgment. The blijni stolnik the prince Ivan Dmitr. Dolgorouky, from his severe wound, or rather by the judgments of God, passed to the eternal mansions, *according to the order of Adam*, where we all after a time must be.' So Peter himself wrote of this affair.

In A.D. 1691, 14th March, a new yacht, in building which he had himself been the sole carpenter, carrying thirty men, was brought down to the river, and he went in it to the Ougriesh monastery (19-17 Apr.). During the summer there was constant training of the potieshnie regiments at Preobrajensk, with firing of artillery. The chief manœuvres were fixed for August; but an illness of the tsaritsa Natalia caused them to be put off for two months. At the beginning of October the sham war of the second Semenofsky *pochod* began, the Cesar or king Romodanofsky defending his capital city of 'Presburg,' on the bank of the Yaouza (5-9 Oct.).

From June in A.D. 1689 for two years Peter seems not to have revisited the lake of Pereyaslaff, but the works there were continued; and in Nov. A.D. 1691 he went there again; and he went more than once in that winter. The generalissimo now *ordered* him, since he had succeeded so well on the Moskva, to build a ship of war on the lake of Pereyaslaff by the summer of A.D. 1692. He took with him sixteen of his mates or disciples, chiefly men of the Preobrajensky polk, and laid down a ship: and he was so engrossed by the work that he was unwilling to return to receive a Persian envoy; and Leo Narishkin and Boris Golitsin had to go themselves to Pereyaslaff in order to persuade him (16th Feb. A.D. 1692).

Two days after the reception of the Persian envoy he returned to Pereyaslaff; and on Sunday, 1st May, he launched the first vessel built there in presence of his compania, whom he had invited. At the end of July his mother with his wife and all

the court came to him; and a fortnight later the regiments under Gordon arrived from Moscow, and there began to be manœuvres both upon the land and upon the water. Romodanofsky, besides being generalissimo, was now also high admiral. On the 14th Aug. there was a state dinner on board the admiral's ship, on the 18th a sail across the lake, and on the 21st another sail back. Then revels. The tsaritsa Natalia, it seems, was much pleased: she kept her names-day (27th Aug.) at Pereyaslaff; and it was only on the 3d Sept. that she left. Peter from his hard work and hard living fell seriously ill of a bloody flux, and so lay from the 22d Nov. till the 21st Dec., when he also returned to Moscow. On the 12th and 13th Dec. his life had been despaired of. About Christmas he was better; and at the end of Jan. A.D. 1693, though still weak, he went about as schäfer, inviting guests to the wedding of a German, a master of gold-works; and he himself arranged the wedding banquets. On the 21st Feb., and during all that week of the Carnival, he was quite well, and he let off his fireworks on the Priesna, and fired thrice a salvo of fifty-six guns. Among the fireworks there was a representation of Hercules and a lion; and after all there was a grand supper, which lasted till three o'clock A.M. of the next day. The tsaritsa Natalia was much pleased with the Hercules, and she presented the firework-master, to his infinite delight, with a full suit of uniform for a sergeant of the Preobrajensky polk. Then he went to Pereyaslaff; and after Easter he went there again, and sailed about on the lake for three weeks. This was his last amusement there. On the 23d May he returned to Moscow.

But neither the Pereyaslaff nor the Koubensky lake satisfied him: an irresistible force drew him to the sea. He went to his mother for her blessing: she would not let him go. At length, seeing his great wish and persistent longing, she let him go against her will, making him promise, however, only to look at the foreign ships, and not to go upon the sea. In July A.D. 1693, with a numerous suite, the tsar started for Archangel, where he arrived on the 28th. No sooner had he caught sight of the sea than his promise was forgotten: he sailed out in his yacht, the St. Peter, of twelve guns (4th Aug.), 300 versts, to accompany on their way the foreign ships. His mother sent letter after letter, entreating him to return: 'For this, my darling, my joy,

my heart is sad, that I do not see thee, my darling. I wrote to thee, my hope, to know when I might expect thee, my joy; but thou, my darling, hast grieved me by not answering that question. I beseech thee, my darling, have pity on thy mother that bare thee, and as soon as ever thou canst, my joy, come back to us without more delay. Yea, my darling, it is an insupportable grief to me that thou, my joy, shouldest be gone to such a long distance. May the mercy of God be upon thee, my darling; and I commit thee, my joy, to our common hope, the most holy Mother of God: may she, our hope, keep thee.'

Peter in his reply writes: 'And now I cannot answer exactly (about my return), because I am waiting for the arrival of the ships; when they will be here nobody knows, but they expect them soon. When they do come, and I have bought what I want, I will start at once and go day and night. And there is one favour I will ask you: why are you pleased to distress yourself about me? You were pleased to write that you committed me to the keeping of the Mother of God. Having such a protectress for me, why should you distress yourself? For by her prayers and protection not I only but all the world is preserved by the Lord. Hereupon I ask your blessing. Your unworthy son, Petrushka.'

Peter writes that he has been on the sea. That is a new reason for the mother to be anxious: 'Show kindness to me, my darling,' she wrote; 'come to me, my batiushka, without delay. Yea, yea, my darling! it is a great sorrow that I do not see thee, my darling, my joy. Thou didst write, my joy, that thou wishest to wait till all the ships are come; but thou, my darling, hast seen those which came before; what need is there to wait for the others? Do not disregard, my batiushka, my darling, this my request. Thou hast written to me, my joy, that thou hast been on the sea; but thou, my darling, didst promise me that thou wouldst not go upon it.'

But her son had it in his mind to go still farther out upon the sea the next year. He made a wharf at Archangel, laid down a ship, and ordered another in Holland. On festivals he went to the church, read the Apostle, and sang with the singers, and then dined with the archbishop Athanasius, with whom he conversed of sailing about the seas and rivers. He used to dine

and sup too with the foreign merchants and captains, who could tell him about so many interesting and wonderful things.

After having let off some fireworks, Peter on the 19th of September left Archangel for Moscow. Here he worked all the autumn on preparations for a fresh sea expedition, and he took the title of *skipper* instead of bombardier. This time there was to be no hindrance to him from his mother.

On the 20th Jan. 1694 the tsaritsa Natalia was ill, and kept her bed. Peter did not apprehend danger from her illness: he was to go somewhere on the 25th, and to have a banquet, with supper, music, and dancing, at Lefort's the night before. 'On that day' (the 25th), Gordon writes in his diary, 'I went in to the court (to the Kremlin), but found not his majesty, who had taken leave of her and retired to Preobrajensk, whither I hastened, and found him exceeding sad. About eight o'clock we learned that she was dead.' Peter wept exceedingly.

After the funeral (on the 26th), in the evening, there came to the tsar the brothers and relatives of the deceased, and there was a fresh outburst of excessive grief. On the 28th he was at a banquet for the festival at Lefort's, and again on the 29th. On that same day (the 29th) he also wrote to the voivode of Dvina Apraxin: 'Theodore Matveyevich, My loss and my extreme grief I can ill express; neither my hand nor my heart can write of it. After this, like Noah, breathing a little after the calamity, and leaving that which cannot be brought back, I will write of what is alive.' That which was 'alive' was that all that was necessary was to be got ready for the building of a new ship at Archangel.

After a farewell banquet at Lefort's, which lasted from noon to midnight, Peter, on the 1st of May, started for his second sea expedition, to which there was given the same character of *amusement* as to his military doings on land. The title of admiral was now again given to the generalissimo Romodanofsky, 'a man very bold in war, and more especially so on the water,' as Peter in jest said of him. The former 'king of Poland,' Ivan Iv. Boutourlin, was vice-admiral, and the rear-admiral was P. Gordon, Peter himself now taking the title of skipper. The first thing he did at Archangel (20th May) was to launch the ship which he had laid down the year before. Then (on the 30th) he sailed in his yacht, the St. Peter, to Solovetsky.

On the way there was a storm: they seemed certain to be wrecked. Peter was communicated in the Holy Mysteries by the archbishop, who had been obliged to accompany him. Happily there was on board a skilful steersman, Antony Timotheyeff, who succeeded in getting the yacht into the Ounsk inlet, where she rode at anchor near the Pertominsk monastery. Peter with his own hands made a cross, and set it up on the spot where he landed, with an inscription in *Dutch*: 'This cross was made by the *skipper* Peter A.D. 1694.'[18]

After having visited the Solovetsky (7th to 10th June), Peter returned to Archangel, and wrote thence of the accomplishment of his pilgrimage to his brother the tsar John. Then there were some days of revels. First he feasted on board an English ship, 'where,' writes Gordon, 'they spared neither wine nor powder.' Then came the names-day of Tichon Streshneff. Then on board the yacht St. Peter with rear-admiral Gordon; and all night till two o'clock A.M. with the admiral Romodanofsky; and next day with the voivode Apraxin. On the 28th June he was finishing his new ship, which he named the St. Paul and gave to vice-admiral Ivan Iv. Boutourlin; and he also gave a long-continued banquet. They waited with impatience for the arrival of the other ship, which had been ordered in Holland. At last it came. This was a forty-four-gun frigate, named the Santa Prophetia. Peter's delight at getting possession of this treasure manifested itself as usual by prodigious banquetings. 'What we have so long been wishing for is now accomplished,' Peter wrote to Moscow: 'I will write more by the next post; but now I am in the midst of our rejoicings, and it is not easy to write at length, or rather it is impossible, because on such occasions *we always worship Bacchus*, who with his *leaves* dims the eyes of those who would write at length.' After his banquetings the tsar with his three vessels (10th Aug.) sailed to convoy out the foreign ships as far as *Sciati-nos* (Holy-head), the extreme point in the White Sea, where he took leave of them on the 17th. On the 23d they were all at a feast at Archangel, at the governor's, and very jovial; and on the 26th Peter left to return to Moscow.

In the autumn of A.D. 1694 there was sham fighting on the

[18] In the same region Nicon had twice escaped from shipwreck in A.D. 1639 and 1652, and had planted a cross, and afterwards founded a monastery—the Krestnpy—on the isle of Kia. Here there is a '*τύπος ἀντίτυπος*.'

most extensive scale, the celebrated Kojoukhovski pochod or campaign, so called from a derevnia not far from the Simonoff monastery (23-26 Sept.). The Russian army was commanded by the former generalissimo, Theodore Your. Romodanofsky: with him were the potieshnie polks (the Preobrajensky and the Semenofsky), and certain select polks of the soldati, viz. that of Lefort and the Boutirski (general Gordon's), three roti of grenadiers, eight select roti of reitars, two roti of datochnie (*i.e.* men given by landed proprietors for duty of service) under the names of Nachaloff and Naletoff, and twenty roti of stolniks. The enemy's army was commanded by the 'king of Poland,' Ivan Iv. Boutourlin: with him were the polks of the streltsi and roti of cavalry from the diaks and podiaks, in all 7500 men. The king defended a fortress with no name. Romodanofsky, crossing the Moskva on the 28th, attacked it, and, as might be expected, took it. The bombardier Peter Alexievich on this occasion also distinguished himself by taking prisoner a polkovnik of streltsi. After losing his fortress the Polish king took up his position in a fortified camp, and obstinately defended himself; but at last the fortified camp was stormed (16th Oct.). The amusements did not pass off without some being wounded, and even killed. After all, on the 17th and 18th Oct., there were great banquetings with the generalissimo. This was Peter's last *potiecha*.

All Peter's amusements, military and naval, his fireworks and his banquets, were shared with him by his 'compania,' that band of associates whom he had collected from people of different ranks and different creeds; in which, together with Russians, we find foreigners, some of them Russianised foreigners, but the greater part not. Together with Romodanofsky, Pleshcheyeff, Streshneff, Apraxin, Golovkin, Troubetskoy, Kourakin, Repnin, Boutourlin, Matveyeff, and Golovin, we find Vinius, Weyde, Croft, and Bruce. Men who were masters of a powerful key to knowledge in foreign languages were thereby brought forward; and those of them who were capable of varied and powerful activity were taken to himself by Peter. Thus the secretary of the council Andrew Andr. Vinius (whose father had been a Dutchman, but who was himself, in all but his origin and superior cultivation, a Russian, and now old) became one of the people nearest to him. Like Vinius for activity was the English translator of the posolki prikaz

Croft (Krevet); and another who was still a translator in the same prikaz, Shaphiroff, was to become Peter's vice-chancellor. There was much work to be done, and few hands; and the members of Peter's company had to undertake many different services, after the example of their bombardier, skipper, and ship-carpenter leader.

After the *amusements* of Mars and Neptune, the company solaced themselves in jovial banquets, in stout tussles between the foreign '*Bacchus*' and the indigenous '*Ivashka Khmielnitsky*' (Jack Malt). And as in the amusements on land and water there was an emperor and generalissimo and admiral Romodanofsky, while Peter was rotmeister, bombardier, or skipper, so also in their revels the head of the 'company' was Nikita Zotoff, 'the superlatively most comical[19] (or all-*un*holiest) father Ivan-nikit, *patriarch* of Presburg, Koukou, and all Yaouzia.' Peter himself here also was only—'*deacon*.' At the Christmas festival the company drove about 'to glorify Christ' (*i.e.* to visit whom they pleased, singing troparia, and levying a sort of blacknail). The tsar himself drove to all the boyars and courtiers, Zotoff to the merchants. In Jan. A.D. 1691 there was a first-rate solemnity. The tsar's jester Yakoff Tourgenieff was wedded to a woman of the rank of diaks. They were followed at their wedding by the boyars, the okolniks, and the people of the council and of the palace of all ranks: their sledges were drawn by oxen, by goats, by hogs, by dogs: they were dressed in grotesque masquerade dresses. But Tourgenieff himself went with his bride in the tsar's best velvet-lined coach; and behind them there went the Troubetskoys, Sheremetieffs, Golitsins, and Gagins, in velvet kaftans. Yakoff was married in a *tent* on the plain between Preobrajensk and Semenofsk, and there was a great revel for three days (Solovieff, vol. xiv. p. 139).

The White Sea too seemed narrow, dreary, and objectless to Peter. He was now a man, and amusements no longer satisfied him. The Baltic attracted him strongly: he wished to get upon that; but the key to it was with the Swedes. There remained the Caspian, to which foreigners had already turned

[19] Vse-*shout*-ieshi, a caricature of Vse*sviat*ieshi; '*sviat*' means holy, '*shout*' means a jest, so παγγελοιοτικώτατος, *super-ridiculissimus*, instead of παναγιώτατος, *sanctissimus*: sometimes Zotoff is 'Patriarch Presbourgski, Zayauzki, i vseya Koukouona.'

attention. On the 4th of June A.D. 1694 Lefort wrote from Archangel to Geneva: 'In two years hence they talk of making an expedition to Kazan and Astrachan, but perhaps in two years that will pass off. . . . There is also an intention of fitting out some galliots to go upon the Baltic.[20] . . . They are going to make me admiral of all his majesty's ships: such is the positive will of our great tsar.' On the 13th Sept. he wrote again: 'Next summer they will build five large ships and two galleys, which, if it please God, are two years hence to go to Astrachan, to conclude important negotiations with Persia.'

In two years much may change, thought Lefort. In fact much did change, and Lefort is mentioned as the cause of these changes: he is mentioned as the man who persuaded Peter to undertake an expedition against Azoff. It was time to make an end of amusements. There began to be murmurs among the people: 'The tsar has made himself one with the Niemtsi, and what good can come of that? Nothing but amusements, in which people throw away their lives, and suffer for no rational purpose.' It was Lefort's own interest to urge the undertaking of some serious enterprise, else there would suggest themselves very unfavourable comparisons with the regency which had been overthrown. If the campaigns undertaken under Sophia had been unsuccessful, still the Russian forces had at least marched to attack the enemy in their own dwellings; but now the Tatars were making inroads into the Oukraine. . . . Lefort wished Peter to travel; but how could he show himself in Western Europe without having done anything, or having taken any active part in the war against the Turks? We should not forget that immediately after the capture of Azoff the tour abroad was undertaken: these two things are closely connected together (ib. p. 203).

The 'Kojoukhovski campaign' was the last sham fighting for amusement. 'When in the autumn,' Peter wrote, 'we worked hard at Kojoukhovo in the amusement of Mars, there was nothing more than play in our mind; however, that play was a prelude to real work.' The experience of Basil Golitsin had shown that campaigns on the steppes did not promise success, and so it was determined to make an expedition against Azoff,

[20] This last sentence has been erased; but it is still legible in the original MS.

the approach to which was facilitated by the Don, and by the settlements of the Don kozaks near to the town. The capture of an important Turkish fortress might make a stronger impression in Europe than a war with the Tatars. Besides that, Azoff was the key to the sea named from it. So Peter's army of 31,000 men, consisting of his troops disciplined after the foreign method, the Preobrajensky and Semenofsky polks, the Lefort polk of soldati, and the Boutirski under Gordon, together with the Moscow streltsi, and soldati of the towns, and the cavalry of the nobility of the court, marched forth in the spring of A.D. 1695, under the command of three generals, Artemon Golovin, Lefort, and Gordon, the rota of bombardiers being led by the bombardier Peter Alexievich. The bombardier Peter wrote to Archangel to Apraxin: 'We only made believe at Kojoukhovo, but now we are going really to play before Azoff;' and 'the *deacon* Peter' has countersigned, and added: 'We drink to thy health brandy and Rhine-wine,[21] but above all *beer*.' On the 10th June Peter wrote from Tsaritsin 'To the *Hossoudar* Kniaz Theodore Your. Romodanofsky,' &c., thus: 'Mein herr Konich!—Your letter, hossoudar, of the 28th May reached me on the 9th June, and for that your imperial incomparable grace to our labour I sincerely and humbly thank you: and of our state here I inform you that your *father and headsman*, the great hospodin, the most holy Kyr Ivan-nikit, archbishop of Presburg and patriarch of all Yaouzia and all Kokou, as also your *slaves* general Artemon Mich. and Frantz Yak., and all who are with them, are, thank God, in good health; and they mean to go on to-morrow, or at latest on Tuesday.' Another letter of the 19th June is addressed, 'To the *Generalissimo* Theodore Your. Romodanofsky.' On the 29th of June, after halting three days at Cherkask, Peter had come near to Azoff, where Gordon was already, and he wrote to Vinius: 'Mein herr!—On the day of SS. Peter and Paul we came to the river Koisa, ten versts from Azoff: and grounding ourselves on the prayers of the holy Apostles, as on the rock, we trust undoubtingly that the sons of hell shall not prevail against us.' Again, excusing himself to Romodanofsky for not having written at the expected time, he wrote: 'There was so much to be done that many of the people of distinction

[21] '*Rhine-wine*' means all *French* wine, as well as Rhenish; and '*Romania*' Spanish and Portuguese, as well as Greek wines.

could not get their letters ready: likewise your majesty's father and beadsman (*i.e.* Zotoff, mock patriarch to the mock emperor) was constantly occupied with work of writing, and other matters,' &c. Peter wrote in his journal that he 'began service in the first campaign against Azoff as a bombardier.'

However, in this campaign he failed. It seemed as if he had taken up the work of conquest at the same point at which it had been stopped and disappointed in his father. His father had begun religiously, and for two years all went well; but when he was *lifted up*, and sought conquest for his own worldly ambition, the tide of his success was headed and turned back, thenceforth only to ebb: it was turned back at Riga, chiefly owing to this miscalculation, that he had laid siege to a strong fortress which was open to the sea. Peter, whose ambition had never anything really religious about it, before the opening of his long struggle to be crowned at last by great success, failed in his first enterprise from the same cause from which his father had failed before Riga; viz. because Azoff was open to the sea, and he had been too impatient to wait till his ships to be built at Voronege were ready to coöperate with his land forces. On the 27th Sept. the siege was raised; and on the 22d of Nov. Peter with his troops, and with two Turkish prisoners in chains, reëntered Moscow.

However, when he had discovered his mistake, he with incredible activity before the next spring prepared materials and put together at Voronege two ships, twenty-three galleys, and four fireships. 'From his failure before Azoff,' Solovieff writes, 'the *reign*, properly so called, of Peter the Great begins' (ib. p. 209).

Before the winter had ended, on the 29th Jan. A.D. 1696, Peter's half-brother the tsar John died, in his thirtieth year, leaving three daughters, Catherine, Anna, and Prascovia, born in A.D. 1691, 1693, and 1694 respectively.

In the campaign of A.D. 1696 Peter took the title of captain, and (9th Jan.) he appointed Lefort as his admiral to command the fleet, the commander of the land forces being Alexis Sem. Sheyn.

When the time was come to move (23d Feb.), Peter had a bad foot, which delayed him in travelling to Voronege: Lefort also was too ill to leave Moscow. However, before long he

started. He wrote to the tsar on the 20th of March: 'I beg your grace to be pleased to order the captains to teach the soldiers how to conduct themselves, and to look after them, that in future there be no disorders committed by them: on their way they committed many disorders. The road is in such a state that one can get on, neither in sledge nor teleyga: sharp frosts and violent winds. However, next week I will go. In a day or two I shall have taken some medicine, and then I will not delay, let the road be what it may; I will not live on here. I will put all sorts of *medicines* about me, and so the frosts will not get into me; besides, there will be doctors with me. By the letter of your grace I learn that you, thank God, are better. I expect that I shall be better too when I am once on the road. To-day the prince Boris Alexievich (Golitsin) is to dine with me, and we shall drink to your health. My first night out of Moscow will be at Dobrovitsi, and there we shall not forget your grace. I suspect that your grace has no very good *beer* at Voronege: I will bring for your grace with me both some muscatel wine and some good beer. . . . A great quantity of planks were sent off to your grace, and the ropes are ready and sent; but now there is much difficulty in making them in such sharp frosts. Be pleased to give my respects to all the captains who are building and preparing their galleys; but as for those who have had nothing to do with the galleys, I will have it out with them.' Oustrialoff mentions 40 letters of admiral Lefort to captain Peter, of which 6 are in Russ, with only the first words in Lefort's hand; 6 are in German, with a mixture of Dutch or plat-Deutsch; and the other 28 are in Russ written in French letters, showing that he knew Russ only by the ear. The earliest for their dates are 6 letters written in March 1696. There are also five letters written to Peter by Anna Mons, or for her (perhaps by Weyde), in Russian, all but the signatures and some short additions in German or Dutch, which are in her own hand. She has busied herself at his request in vain to find for him some bottles of *cedreol*, and is very sorry that she cannot bring them herself. 'If I had only wings,' she says—'alas, that I have not!—I would bring them to thee myself.' Meantime she subscribes herself 'thy most faithful servant to my death' (*sein getreue dinnerin bet in mein dot*), and sends him four lemons and four oranges, 'that the hossoudar may eat them for his

health.' And at length she succeeds in finding and sending the *cedreol*, twelve bottles, all that she could find (Semevsky, *The Mons Family*, &c. p. 16).

On the 31st March Tichon Nik. Streshneff wrote to Peter ('Gospodinou kapitanou') thus: 'In thy letter of the 23d you write that your foot has got quite well: we thank God for it. Also you write that our father the most holy Ivan-nikit has come to Voronege: and for this in his diocese, in the sloboda on the Yaouza, and in Kokou, they have done *in such manner as he has taught them* (*i.e.* have feasted and got drunk). *Admiral* Frantz Yak. has left Moscow this 31st day of March: he had been detained by illness.' In another letter, given undated by Solovieff to illustrate the relations existing between Peter and Gabriel Golovkin, we find a similar mention of Zotoff. Golovkin writes: 'In your letter your grace has mentioned my disease, the gout, as if it had been caused by excess in venereal indulgences: but of this I tell you for certain, that it has been caused in me by frequent drunkenness; in me in the *feet*, in Mousin-Poushkin in the *face*. But for that disease I can find no other doctor than our father and pastor Zotoff' (Solovieff, vol. xv. p. 201).

On the 7th April Peter wrote to Vinius that an east wind had brought on sharp cold and a snow storm; and to Streshneff he wrote: 'In spite of all interruptions, all, thank God, are healthy, and the work goes on rapidly, because we, according to the command of God to our ancestor Adam, in the sweat of our brow eat our bread.' The launching of the vessels began on the 1st of April, and it was going on all through Holy Week (Easter Sunday being the 12th). On the 23d the vessels carrying troops moved; and on the 3d of May the 'naval caravan,' as the fleet was then called, started also, the foremost division of eight galleys being led by captain Peter in his galley named the Principium, built by himself. The siege of Azoff was formed, and the Russian bombs destroyed the houses of the town; but their artillery did little damage to the fortifications, till some Austrian engineers, artillerymen, and miners joined; then they battered the walls with more success, and the place surrendered on the 18th of July.

'Mein herr König!' Peter wrote to Romodanofsky, 'be it known to you, hossoudar, that the Lord God has blessed your

imperial arms; for yesterday by the prayer and good fortune of your majesty the people of Azoff, seeing themselves reduced to great straits, surrendered.' To Vinius he wrote: 'Now, with St. Paul, I write, "Rejoice always in the Lord, and again I say Rejoice! for now our joy is fulfilled," since the Lord God has of His mercy rewarded our two years of labour and bloodshed: yesterday the people of Azoff, seeing that there was no hope for them, surrendered.'

The capture of Azoff was the first triumph of the Russians over the Turks. It was strongly fortified, and made into a Russian town, and the mosques converted into churches. And it was at once decided to build a fortress and to make a port at the promontory of Taganrog. The tsar left Azoff on the 15th Aug., and wrote from Cherkask to Vinius: 'Since it is written, "The labourer is worthy of his hire," I think that it is proper that for the public entry of the *hospodin* generalissimo (Sheyn) and the other gentlemen who have worked through two seasons in such great hardships, there should be the honour of a triumphal arch,' &c.

The triumphal arch was erected. Over the front, amid flags and arms, was perched a double-headed eagle, with three crowns: on the front there were inscriptions: 'God is with us, who can be against us? There has never been the like.' An allegorical figure of Glory, holding in one hand a laurel crown, in the other an olive-branch; and under the Glory this inscription: 'The *labourer* is worthy of his *hire*.'[22] The front had for supporters on either side statues of Hercules and Mars. Under Hercules, on the pedestal, there was a bas-relief representing the pasha of Azoff and two fettered Turks; under Mars a Tatar murza and two fettered Tatars. Near Hercules and Mars were two pyramids with inscriptions: on the one, 'In honour of the brave men of the sea service;' on the other, 'In honour of the brave men of the land service.' On both sides of the arch there were paintings on canvas. On the one side a sea fight, and Neptune saying: 'Lo, I too congratulate you on the capture of Azoff, and yield myself to do homage.' In the other painting there

[22] A grand 'worship of Bacchus' with plenty of liquor and tobacco, a banquet, and a triumphal arch to Glory; and after that—'serius ocyus sors exitura, et nos in æternum *exilium* impositura cymbæ!' He who labours for his master and employer is worthy of the hire or reward of the master. But who is the master here? and what is the reward?

was represented a fight with the Tatars, and assaults making upon Azoff. On the 30th Sept. the admiral Lefort[23] and the generalissimo Sheyn made their triumphal entry with all their troops. After the gilt coach of the admiral there followed on foot the captain Peter Alexeyeff. Vinius himself, who had erected the arch, with a speaking trumpet brayed out from the top of it verses of welcome to the conquerors. Rewards were distributed, such as had been customary in former reigns.

About a month after this festivity there was a consultation held at Preobrajensk *with the boyars*. It was settled that 3000 families from the *Lower* towns (on the Don) should colonise Azoff; that there should be stationed there a force of 400 cavalry, with Kalmuks: also that a naval force of forty or more vessels should be at once created. But for the settlement of details needing due information there was held on the 4th of Nov. another session, not, like that just mentioned, *after the old fashion*, but *with an admixture of foreigners* (ib. p. 220), under which innovation was implied the abolition of the hereditary or aristocratical *douma*, and the substitution of such a body of counsellors, with or without birth, or rank, or Russian nationality, or religion, as it might please the autocrat to call about him either habitually or on any special occasion.

iv. 'A new work was begun in Russia; the construction and equipment, at a great expense, of ships, galleys, and other vessels: it was necessary to engage fresh multitudes of foreigners: and that Russia might not for ever be dependent only on such help, the tsar determined to introduce the art of shipbuilding among his own people. For that end he sent a great number of *noble* youths to Holland and other countries to learn naval architecture and navigation. Fifty *komnatnie* stolniks[24] and spalniks were sent abroad for this purpose: twenty-eight to Italy, chiefly to Venice; and twenty-two to England and Holland.' Thus Solovieff writes, and then he continues:

'These young nobles were sent to study and learn abroad;

[23] Lefort returned from the south before Peter, and he wrote to him from Moscow on the 15th and 17th Sept. mentioning the illness of Anna Iv. (Mons): 'The young ladies *of our company* were getting ready, and wished to go to the *zavod*, but *she* was ill; so I bade them remain and wait for you here: but if you desire it, I will send them off, though that *cost many tears*' (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. iv. appendix).

[24] One of these was Abram Theod. Lopouchin, brother to the tsaritsa.

but how will they learn there, and from whom? And how, after all, is it to be known whether they have really learned to any purpose, and for what they are fit? It was necessary that some one else should first go and learn there, and know all; and who else could this be but the skipper, bombardier, and captain Peter himself? Peter went abroad, not as a tsar, but as a *scholar*, as a ship-carpenter; for his embassy was a different thing. On the seal of Peter's letters which he sent to Russia from abroad there was a young carpenter with tools, and these words: 'I am to be taught, and I want people to teach me.' Shipbuilding and navigation was Peter's passion; but, besides that, at the present moment he felt that it was only by sea that war could be made to any purpose against the Turks. The *secret voice* which whispered to the chiefs of the German barbarians, 'Rome! Rome!' and drew them to the capital of the civilised world, the journey of the Russian Olga to Constantinople, and that of Peter to the West of Europe, are things all unique in their way, expressing the *irresistible struggle* of uncivilised but noble peoples *towards civilisation*. That in Peter's case the place of the secret voice was taken by the audible voice of Lefort, makes *no sort of difference*. Peter would have found his way abroad even without Lefort, just as he would have become a sailor and a shipbuilder even if he had not fallen upon the old English boat of the boyar Nikita Romanoff.'

Shaphiroff, in a passage corrected by Peter himself (but written eighteen years later), thus describes the purpose with which Peter in 1697 went abroad: 'We suppose that it is well known not only to all Europe, but also to other distant nations, how H.M. the tsar Peter I., now happily reigning, was impelled by his sharp and naturally enlightened intelligence to wish to see the civilised states of Europe, which neither he nor his ancestors, on account of its being inconsistent with their ancient customs, had ever seen; also that having acquired ocular experience he might afterwards, in imitation of them, institute in his own wide dominions both political and military and other institutions, and by his personal example excite his subjects to travel into foreign countries, and learn good manners, and to learn languages useful for that end' (Oustrialoff, vol. iii. p. 401).

It is not known who devised the form of the tsar's travelling abroad. He started in the suite of a Great Embassy sent to the

emperor, the kings of England and Denmark, the Pope, the states of Holland, the elector of Brandenburg, and the republic of Venice. Thus two ends were answered: Peter could maintain his incognito, and study and learn as he pleased; and where there was need to negotiate about the league against Turkey, he could even personally confer with sovereigns and their ministers. The object of the embassy was stated to be 'the confirmation of the old friendship and goodwill, and the weakening of the enemies of the Cross, the Turkish sultan, the khan of the Crimea, and all the infidel hordes.' And so the embassy ought to have gone in the first instance to Vienna, and to Venice, where the Turkish question was to be treated. But the Russian envoy at Vienna, Nephimonoff, having reported that he had already (on the 29th January 1697) concluded with the emperor and with Venice an offensive and defensive treaty against the Turks for three years, this left Peter free to change his plan, and to go straight to the western maritime states.

The tsar's oukaz for the embassy had been announced in the posolski prikaz on the 6th Dec. 1696. As ambassadors and plenipotentiaries there were named the general and admiral and deputy for Novgorod Francis Yak. Lefort, the general and commissioner of war and deputy for Siberia Theodore Al. Golovin, and the secretary of the council and deputy for Bieyleff Procopius Bogd. Voznitsin: with them there were to be above twenty dvorianins, and as many as thirty-five volunteers. In Lefort's suite, besides his nephew Peter Lefort, there were ten other foreigners (one of them Philemon, the elder brother of Anna Ivanovna Mons); the suites of his two colleagues consisted of Russians. The thirty-five volunteers to learn shipbuilding, &c., under the prince Andrew Mich. Cherkassky, were chiefly bombardiers who had already worked at Pereyaslaff and Voronege. They were divided into three decads. (In the first decad the fifth name is Alexander Kikin, who had also been about the person of Peter in the Azoff campaigns.) 'Peter *Michaeloff*, ouriadnik of the Preobrajensky polk' (that is, the tsar himself), was desiatnik of the second decad, in which the first two names were Alexander and Gabriel Menshikoff. The first name in the third decad was Theodore Pleshcheyeff, who also was its desiatnik. The tsar added to these volunteers Alexis Bor. Golitsin and Semen Greg. Narishkin.

To govern in his absence Peter left at Moscow Leo Cyr. Narishkin (for war), Boris Al. Golitsin (for foreign affairs), and Peter Iv. Prozorofsky (for justice), who were to act in the tsar's name by common consent; and Moscow was committed to Theodore Your. Romodanofsky as generalissimo over the Preobrajensky and Semenofsky polks, and the select polks of soldati (commanded by general P. Gordon[25]). The forces in the neighbourhood of Azoff were still under Sheyn; and Yakoff Theod. Dolgorouky (created boyar 20th July A.D. 1696) replaced Boris Pet. Sheremetieff in the command of the corps stationed at Bielgorod, Sheremetieff having obtained permission, together with some other young nobles, to travel abroad to Vienna and to Rome.

The more manifest became the tendencies of Peter, the more violent became the murmurs of the crowd; and the murmurers were not only those people who were obstinately opposed to all innovation; others also murmured who admitted the rottenness of the old system, but could not understand that the change needed must be made exactly in that way in which Peter went to work. They lamented that the tsar absented himself from the palace, from the Kremlin, from Moscow; that he neglected his family duties, passed his time in amusements, attached himself to foreigners, paid no attention to the affairs of the government; and so the *blijnie* boyars did what they pleased. Between the tsar's maternal relations the Narishkins and his connections the Lopouchins there had arisen a feud: Leo Cyrill. Narishkin got the better of the Lopouchins, probably in consequence of Peter's alienation from his wife: the most prominent of the Lopouchins, the boyar Peter Abramovich, who held the prikaz of the *bolshoi dvoretz*, fell into terrible disgrace; and rumours were current that the tsar *himself tortured* the *uncle of his wife*.

It is not known whence there originated and was spread a rumour that the tsar John said openly: 'My brother does not

[25] Patrick Gordon, born 31st May A.D. 1608, had been in the Swedish, Prussian, and Polish services before he entered, in A.D. 1661, the Russian. In A.D. 1666 he was made a polkovnik; and in 1675 a major, for his conduct at Chigirin, where he blew up the citadel, as it was being occupied by the Turks. Under Sophia he became a lieutenant-general. He died 9th Dec. A.D. 1699, the tsar Peter being present, and closing his eyes. During all the time that he was in the Russian service he kept a journal, which is of much value for the historian. He was a Catholic.

live after the spirit of the Church; he goes to the German sloboda, and keeps company with Germans.' In the kroujechni dvor one of the *potieshnie* boasted that the hossoudar was continually with them in the sloboda: a seller of icons who was present replied: 'What the hossoudar does is not religious, nor respectable: he disgraces himself.'

At the end of A.D. 1696 or the beginning of 1697, a monk named Abramius, who had once been kellar at Troitsa, but afterwards was made stroitel of the Andreyeff monastery at Moscow, presented to the tsar some written sheets, representing that his conduct caused scandal to the people: 'The people had hoped that when the great hossoudar had grown to manhood, and was lawfully married, he would lay aside boyish amusements, and improve all things; but instead of that, he has gone off again after amusements, and has entered upon courses which are grievous and lamentable to all.' Abramius was tortured to make him confess who were in concert with him. He named as his friends and visitors Nikiphor Kreneff, podiak of the Vladimirski soudni prikaz, Ignatius Boubnoff, podiak of the prikaznaia izba of Preobrajensk, Kouzma Roudneff, strapchi of the Troitsa monastery, and two peasants of the selo Pokrovskoe, Ivashka and Romashka Pososhkoff; and he said that these all, when with him in the Andreyeff monastery, had spoken words like those in the written sheets. Abramius added, that when he was kellar at Troitsa there once came thither for devotion the boyar Matthew Bogdan. Miloslafsky, and said: 'Peter Lopouchin was a good man, who administered his prikaz with great advantage to the government; and he was tortured unjustly on the denunciation of *Leo Cyrill. Narishkin.*'[26]

Kreneff said, among other things, that when with the monk Abramius they had spoken both their own thoughts and what they heard from the people. He had said: 'If judges were appointed with sufficient salaries, so that they should not take bribes, it would be better:' but he had not said that the tsar,

[26] So before A.D. 1696, but, as it will appear below, after the autumn of A.D. 1692. The report that Peter Lopouchin had been tortured by the tsar himself comes across us from more quarters than one. For instance, in an inquest, in which a man was tortured for having spoken of the tsar thus: 'He is a son of heresy; he was begotten by Antichrist: he deprived us of the boyar Peter Abr. Lopouchin, whom he himself tortured, basted with spirits, and put to the fire.'

abandoning all care of government, had given over the empire to greedy men, takers of bribes, who had no fear of God; and that the tsar must know that those judges take presents, and that they are put into the prikazes on purpose that they may make their profits out of them.

Roudneff stated that they had said that it did not please the tsar to live in the palace at Moscow, and they thought that it was owing to that, his absence from Moscow, that he had ceased to have children by his lawful wife, and for that among the people they grieved much.

Boubnoff stated that they spoke of the amusements at Semenofsk and Kojouchovo for this reason, that many persons were beaten, and others robbed; and in those amusements the prince Ivan Dolgorouky was shot; and those amusements were no source of pleasure to the people. But the profane jesting and buffoonery, and acts unpleasing to God, of which there was mention in the written sheets, allude to what is done in the prophesying of Basil Sokovnin, and in the 'comedies' acted at Izmaeloff. They spoke also of the *wilfulness* of the great hossoudar, that he will not listen to anybody; and about new people whom he has picked up, and foreigners; and that the great hossoudar at Preobrajensk at inquests himself tortures men and inflicts death.

Nor were the sea expeditions approved: Abramius thought it unbecoming that at the triumphal entry into Moscow after the capture of Azoff the tsar walked on foot, while Sheyn and Lefort rode in carriages.

Boubnoff, Kreneff, and Roudneff were knouted, and sent to Azoff, to serve there as podiaks: Abramius was banished to the Goloutvin monastery.

The monk Abramius only made himself the mouthpiece of public opinion, of the public dissatisfaction: but there were other people who for personal reasons wished to rid themselves of Peter. We have seen that in A.D. 1682 among the most zealous partisans of Sophia there was the Russianised foreigner, the polkovnik of streltsi, Ivan Tsikler, a man of the most violent and restless ambition. He was disappointed in his expectations: the first places after the triumph of Sophia were occupied by Basil Golitsin and Shaklovitoy; but of Tsikler nothing was heard. Hence, when in A.D. 1689 there came to be a struggle

between the sister and the brother, and it was pretty clear that the brother would prevail, Tsikler was one of the first to go over to the side of Peter. But here also he was disappointed. For though he was made doumni dvorianin and voivode of Verchotourie to reward him for his defection from Sophia, Peter entered into no close relations with any of those who had taken part in the occurrences of A.D. 1682. He conversed with all without formality, visited, and went to entertainments; but after Tsikler had returned from Verchotourie to Moscow, Peter constantly rode past his house without noticing him. Nor was that all: they named Tsikler (in Nov. 1696) to superintend the building of the new fortress of Taganrog; and such distant appointments were then regarded as only disguised banishments. Tsikler was thrown into a state of fury, which reminded him of A.D. 1682, and of the bloodstained spears of the streltsi: might it not be possible to do the same thing even now? or, if it were not possible to move the streltsi, it might be possible from Taganrog to stir up the kozaks of the Don. The aspirations of the foreigner Tsikler were shared by two native Russian nobles, the okolnik Alexis Sokovnin and the stolnik Theodore Matv. Poushkin. Sokovnin was a notorious *starovier*, brother of those two raskolnik ladies (of the sect of Capito) who had so distinguished themselves in the reign of the tsar Alexis, Theodora Morozoff and the princess Avdotia Ourousoff. Naturally it was a grievous thing for him to witness Peter's innovations, to see his sons sent to heretical countries, and the tsar going thither himself. And there was something that touched him still more closely: his connection the boyar Matthew Poushkin,[27] who had been named voivode for Azoff, had drawn upon himself the anger of the tsar by making exactly the same opposition to his sons being sent abroad. So the father-in-law and the son-in-law both came to think that it would be a good thing if they could rid themselves of Peter—by the hands, that is, of others. They knew how discontented Tsikler was, and they incited him to the crime. Sokovnin played upon his excessive ambition by suggesting that after the death of Peter he might possibly even become tsar himself! Tsikler began to tamper with some of the streltsi: but they immediately informed against him.

[27] Who had been sent from the tsar Alexis and the council to the Krestnoy monastery to Nicon in Feb. A.D. 1660.

The day for the departure of the Great Embassy had been fixed, and on the 23d Feb. A.D. 1697 Lefort gave a farewell banquet, with music and dancing. Before supper they called Peter into another room,[28] where Larion Elizareff, a piatidesiatnik of the stremianni polk, and another man named Silen, warned him of a plot formed against his life by Ivan Tsikler. Elizareff had been sent by Leo Cyr. Narishkin to repeat to Peter information already given to himself of a conversation held between Tsikler and Elizareff, as follows:

Tsikler. 'Is all quiet with you now in the polks?' *Elizareff.* 'Yes, all is quiet.' *Ts.* 'Now the tsar is going beyond the sea, and if anything happens to him, who will be our hossoudar?' *El.* 'We have the hossoudar the tsarevich.' *Ts.* 'In that case it would be whom God may choose, and there would be a chance for the hossoudarina who is in the Divichy monastery; she is on the look-out.' Elizareff referred to another piatidesiatnik of his own polk, Gregory Silen, who stated that, 'Tsikler said to him about the hossoudar, that it would be possible to cut him to pieces with five knives: "The tsar knows," added Tsikler, "that I have a handsome wife and a pretty daughter; and if he should come to my house after them, I know what I would do to him."' The tsar rode straight to the house of Tsikler, arrested him with his accomplices, took them to Preobrajensk, and examined them.

Tsikler, when examined, and when confronted with these informants, denied all: when tortured he named Sokovnin: 'I was in the house,' he said, 'of Alexis Sokovnin about the purchase of

[28] In Gordon's diary there are the following entries: '23d Feb. At home; in the evening with general Lefort, where a merry intended night was spoiled by an accident, viz. the discovery of treason against H.M. 25th Feb. Soirée with Lefort: they danced till 3 o'clock A.M. 21 March. The traitors judged by all the boyars. 3d March. The executions put off to the next day. 4th March. Executions.'

Alex. Gordon, writing many years afterwards, says that 'the tsar knew of the plot from the wife of the stolnik Theodore Poushkin. Of this,' he writes, 'all were convinced. The tsar hastened to visit her, thanked her, and gave her all the property of her husband, while the property of the others was confiscated. She was a beauty,' he continues, 'and was among those damsels who were presented at the court when Peter chose his bride elect. The tsar was very sorry afterwards that he had not chosen her.' 'Everybody was convinced,' Alex. Gordon writes; and this shows that there was something to make such a popular belief natural. But the sentence of the boyars, and Peter himself eighteen years later, speak of rewards given to Larion Elizareff and to Greg. Silen for their information against Tsikler and Sokovnin. Oukaz of 28th Jan. 1715 (Oustrialoff, vol. iii. p. 388).

horses, and he asked me: "What is going on among the streltsi?" I said that there was nothing talked about among them that I knew of. Alexis on that said: "The sons of b——s must have changed their characters: they must be asleep: what has happened to them? they might easily kill the tsar when he rides and drives about alone: he goes wherever there is a fire, almost unattended; and he rides and drives about, and to and from the posolski dvor[29] alone. How is it that they are asleep, and have gone on to this time without doing anything?" I said: They *are but few*,[30] and I suspect they are afraid of the *potieshnie*. He, Alexis, replied: "I suspect that the streltsi build their hopes on the tsarevich, and for that reason are indisposed to do it." I said: I too suspect the same. Think of thyself, since thou, as thou sayest, feelest sick at heart to be separated from thy children. And he, Alexis, said: "I am not the only one who am suffering in that way." After that, on two other occasions that I went to him, Alexis spoke to me about killing the tsar, and about the streltsi, saying: "It seems they mean to let themselves be destroyed quietly, without doing anything; and they *will be destroyed* utterly." I observed: We have Sheyn, who has no relations; he has one son, and he is a good man. I also said: I wish well to Boris Petr. Sheremetieff; he is liked by the streltsi. And he, Alexis, said: "I expect that they, the streltsi, will put forward as before the tsarevna, and she will put forward the tsarevich; and when she comes in, she will bring forward the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin, and the prince Basil will bark as he used to do." And I said to him: I do *not* expect that of them, the streltsi, that they will again set up the tsarevna. Alexis said: "If that is done to the tsar, we may elect even thee to the empire, who knows?" I said to him: Thou foamest with anger against the streltsi; but thou thyself will not do it, that it may not be hereafter a blot on thy family. Alexis said: "We wish no blot on anybody: but the streltsi have it in their power to do it; and if they do it not, they are letting themselves be destroyed gratuitously. The prince Peter Golitsin is a man prompt and energetic; we had hopes of him, that he would settle the tsar's business for him: the prince Boris Alexievich is a drunkard himself, and he taught the tsar to drink too."

[29] Held then by Leo Narishkin.

[30] As most of the polks had been sent away from Moscow by Sophia, and others had been left by Peter still at Azoff.

Sokovnin received ten blows: he confessed, and implicated his son-in-law Theodore Poushkin: 'After Tsikler had been with me,' he said, 'there came to me my son-in-law Thedka Poushkin, and said of the hossoudar: "He has ruined us all: we might well for that kill him; and for this too, that he, the hossoudar, is wroth against my father; and that he is sending us abroad, beyond sea."' Sokovnin also stated that his son Basil said to him: 'They are sending us beyond the sea to learn *nobody knows what*.'

Poushkin after five blows confessed, and he added: 'On Christmas-eve I was at the house of Alexis Sokovnin, and he said to me: "The hossoudar means at the Christmas holidays to give thy father a benefit, and to beat him to death, and to plunder your house." And I said to him: If that is done to my father, I will go there and kill the tsar.'

Tsikler implicated a piatidesiatnik of the Konisheheff polk named Basil Philippoff. 'Vaska Philippoff,' he said, 'was with me, and I asked him, saying: There are some kozaks who have just now come: are they acquaintances of yours? and do you know if they are grateful for the tsar's grace to them? And he, Vaska, said that he had among them some acquaintances, and he had spoken with one of them, whom they called Demka; and that kozak said that they were not grateful: what had they to be grateful for? I said to Vaska: They have given to them now a thousand pieces of gold. And he replied: "That they regard as nothing; because it is not worth dividing." And I asked: What then do you expect from them? And Vaska said: "The kozak Demka said to me: 'Fix us a time: when the hossoudar has gone away, we will return, and set all to rights in our own way. It is enough that you hindered us once before, when Stenka Razin rose; but now there is no one to hinder us.'" And I replied to Vaska: There will be from that great mischief, and our peasants and people will all join them. Vaska Philippoff also said to me: "The kozaks are being courted by the Turkish sultan: I think there has been a letter sent them by him."' Tsikler confessed that he had said to Philippoff: 'When the hossoudar leaves the posolski dvor, it would be possible for you to waylay and kill him.' And he told him to propose this to the streltsi. Tsikler said of himself: 'I suggested to them to kill the hossoudar for this cause, that he called me a mutineer and an

accomplice of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, and because he never visited me in my house.' He confessed to having said: 'When I am on the Don, employed on the works at Taganrog, I will leave that service, and I will go with the Don kozaks to Moscow to plunder it; I will do the same that Stenka Razin did.'

Philippoff stated that he spoke with a kozak named Peter Lucianoff, but not with Demka, and that Lucianoff said to him: 'There have been given us a thousand gold pieces; what is that to divide among the army? "Serve," they say, "and don't grumble!" Why, we shall not have a kopeck for each man! When you streltsi go away from Moscow on service, our kozaks will come in, and settle things in their own way.' And Tsikler, upon hearing that conversation reported, subjoined: 'When they, the kozaks, do come in, I will join them; the hossoudar calls me a mutineer.' Also the kozak had said: 'The kozaks are writing to the Turkish sultan for help, to take and plunder Moscow, and he will send to help them the people of the Kouban, and so they will make a great plundering.' Tsikler, according to the statement of Philippoff, said: 'In the empire there is now great disorder, because the tsar is going abroad, and he sends as ambassador Lefort, and for the sending of that embassy he squanders much treasure; and there is much and great disorder of other kinds: you may go upon that.' Philippoff implicated a streletz named Timoshka Skorniak, to whom in his presence Theodore Poushkin said of the tsar: 'He lives recklessly, not as a Christian; and he squanders the public treasure.'

The kozak Petrushka Lucianoff at first denied all: twenty-five blows had no effect upon him: afterwards he acknowledged that he had spoken as a man may when he is drunk: but as for plundering Moscow, they had not had any such thought whatever: but if they found no grace from the hossoudar, what else could they do but betake themselves to brigandage? And of that mutiny he had heard from some famished kozaks of the upper towns. Afterwards he said that the upper stations were disturbed by the kozaks of Troushka and Iliushka Ivanoff, a bourlak (*i.e.* a conductor of barges on the Volga), and they said to him those words in a pothouse (a kabak), at the time when he was escorting the hossoudar. Troushka and Iliushka said to him: 'I think that what makes our *golouba* also apt to

pillage is this, that they give them too short an allowance.' And of plundering Moscow he, Petrushka, said to him, Vaska Philippoff: 'When you are at one end, we will be at the other.' But to make any mutiny in reality he had no thought; nor did he plot at all with anybody; but they spoke those words when they were drunk.

Before he was executed, Tsikler said that in A.D. 1682, after the massacre of the boyars and other blijnie by the streltsi, the tsarevna Sophia called him to her, and bade him say to the streltsi that they were now to desist from making any more disturbance; and he did so speak to the streltsi. And before the first Crimean campaign (in A.D. 1687) the tsarevna called him to her, and spoke to him apart, that he with Theodore Shaklovitoy should kill the hossoudar Peter. And again at Khoroshevo, on the lower floor, she called him to the rooms where she was, and at a window spoke to him, that he and Shaklovitoy should kill the tsar Peter; but he refused, and told her he would not do that; and he said to the tsarevna: 'If the hossoudar (John) were not living, and there was no one to come after thee, would it be possible for thee to regard him (the hossoudar Peter) with affection?' And the tsarevna said to him: 'I would have been affectionate to him, but his mother does not let me.' And he, Ivan, said to her: 'Why, his mother would be glad if it were even a Tatar that loved him, the hossoudar her son!' And for that she was displeased with him, and said: 'So thou hast gone over to the other side!' And at that time there was with her in the rooms the princess Anna Lobanova. And of her displeasure on that account the tsarevna sent him, Ivan, on the Crimean campaign: and when he had returned from that campaign she spoke to him again of the same matter; and she gave him the derevnia of Kouznetsovo (a pomiestie), which had belonged to Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, and before him to the Georgian tsarevich; and he again refused, as before. And for that she made him go again on the second campaign (in A.D. 1689). But when he had returned from that she did not any more speak to him on the former subject. Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky had been a good friend to him, Ivan, and he was married to a woman from his, Ivan Miloslafsky's, household.

Tsikler mentioned his having been in the habit of conversing with Ivan Miloslafsky; he related how Sophia had instigated

him to murder: Peter's head was turned; he wished to get at Ivan Miloslafsky though dead; he wished to repay his sister, the daughter of a Miloslafsky mother.

The tsar ordered Sokovnin, Tsikler, Poushkin, the streltsi Philippoff and Rojin, and the kozak Lucianoff to be executed. And on the krasnoy ploshchad they began to erect a stone pillar. By the 4th of March it was finished; and on that pillar there were five iron spikes fastened into the stone. That same day those felons and traitors were executed at Preobrajensk; and against the time of their execution they dug up the dead body of the boyar Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky and brought it to Preobrajensk in a leaden coffin; and that coffin was set against the block on which the traitors were to be beheaded, so that when their heads were cut off the blood gushed out and ran into the coffin upon him, Ivan Miloslafsky. The heads of the traitors were stuck upon the five spikes on the pillar in the krasnoy ploshchad (Solov. *Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 232).

Five days afterwards, on the 10th of March, the Great Embassy started from Moscow.

By an oukaz dated some days after this, viz. on the 20th March, according to Oustrialoff (the 23d according to Solovieff), the father of Poushkin the okolnik Matthew was degraded and banished with all his family to Yeniseisk. And *at the same time* it was ordered that there should be sent as voivodes to certain towns the following persons—the boyar Theodore Abr. Lopouchin (father of the tsaritsa) to Totem, and his two brothers the boyar Basil Abramovich (with his nephew the stolnik Alexis Andreyeff) to Saransk, and the stolnik Sergius Abramovich to Viazma; and that they should go from Moscow to those towns forthwith.

The Great Embassy numbered 250 persons: Lefort's suite consisted of above 70; and besides the suites of his two colleagues, there were the 35 'volunteer students,' and 70 soldiers. On the 31st March they entered Riga, and wrote to Moscow that they had been received there very honourably. But during their stay afterwards the governor Dalberg showed them no special attention, and on the 8th April Peter wrote: 'Here we lived like slaves.'

At Mitau, the capital of Courland (15-22 Apr.), they were received and entertained with the greatest honour. On the 7th

May Peter saw the elector of Brandenburg at Königsberg; and again on the 30th he had a private interview with him, after which he changed his plan of going first to Vienna. At Pilau they were detained from the 10th to the 30th June, to watch the issue of the Polish election. On the 17th June two candidates were elected at once; and Peter was anxious that the party of the Saxon candidate should prevail, rather than that of the French, for the sake of his league against the Turks. At length, being set at rest on that score, he left Pilau, and wrote from Kolberg to congratulate the new king Augustus III. (elector of Saxony), dating his letter '6th July, from Moscow.' And Augustus, who with 12,000 Saxons had already entered Poland, received the tsar's envoy and letter near Cracow. On the 11th July Peter wrote to Vinius: 'To-day we go straight to Holland; but we do not go to the Cesar, because a treaty has already been made for three years, and so now there is nothing to do there. I staid on at Pilau on account of the Polish election.'

After he had passed rapidly through Berlin, and from Halberstadt had visited the ironworks at Eisenberg, on his way thence, in the duchy of Zell, at a small place called Koppenbruck, he was waylaid by two of the most accomplished ladies of Germany, the old electress Sophia of Hanover, and her daughter Sophia Carlotta electress of Brandenburg. They came out from Hanover with the duke of Zell, then seven years old, and three sons of the old electress (one of them afterwards George I. of England). On the 27th July, at 8 P.M., the tsar arrived at Koppenbruck, in advance as usual of his embassy, and put up in the house of a peasant, where he was immediately waited on in the name of the ladies, and invited to supper. It took an hour to persuade him; at last he consented, and came, having made it a condition that there should be nobody else present. He entered the room like a shy awkward youth (though he was then twenty-five years old), put his hand over his face, and to all their civilities replied: 'I cannot speak.' However, at last he found his tongue. They set him between them, and talked to him for four hours; he answered partly himself, partly through his interpreters. After supper his shyness went off, and he let them admit their suites. He presented to them his favourite (probably Lefort), whom he called his 'right-hand.' He presented wine in large glasses to the gentlemen; he danced, and the dancing went on till

four o'clock A.M.; after which the two ladies went off at once to Herrenhausen, else Peter would have presented all his suite to them the next day. After they were gone, their kammerherr Koppenstein sat on with the Russian ambassadors, and *outdrank* them.

When he was a boy of eleven years old, Peter had struck all by his extraordinary good looks and his vivacity. Those who then saw him found that in countenance he resembled his mother's family, and especially his uncle Theodore Cyr. Narishkin. The good looks (?) and the vivacity in A.D. 1697 still remained; but a *premature development, frightful convulsive twitchings*, as if he had St. Vitus' dance, *intemperance* both in work and in *amusements*, had shaken the strong constitution of Peter, and had *left their traces* on his handsome countenance. His head shook, and every now and then convulsive twitchings passed over his face: his quick and penetrating glance produced a disagreeable impression on people who were not used to it. The archbishop of Novgorod, Theodosius Yanofsky, used to say that when he presented himself to the two tsars John and Peter, he kissed the hand of the first without any sort of fear; 'but when I came to kiss the hand of the tsar Peter, I feared so that my knees trembled under me; and from that time I have had a presentiment as if I were to die by that hand.'

The two electresses wrote the impressions produced on them by him. They wrote that the tsar listened with pleasure to some Italian singers, but said that he did not care much for music. To a question from the elder electress, whether he was fond of hunting, he replied: 'My father had a passion for hunting, but I do not feel the least attraction for that sort of amusement: I am very fond of *sailing*, and of *fireworks*.' And so saying, he showed them his hands hardened by labour. 'He knows fourteen arts or trades,' she wrote. Sophia Carlotta, describing Peter, says: 'I had fancied to myself that his grimaces were worse than they are in reality, and to restrain himself from some of them is not in his power. One sees, too, that they have not educated him properly. But I was pleased with his naturalness and entire freedom from affectation.' The mother writes: 'The tsar is tall; he has very handsome features and a noble presence; he is possessed of an extremely quick intelligence; his answers are rapid and to the point. But with all the fine qualities with

which nature has endowed him, it is to be wished that there was in him less coarseness. He is in some respects quite what he ought to be, and at the same time in other respects he is quite the contrary (*Il est très bien, et en même temps il n'est pas bien du tout*). In moral qualities he is an exact representative of his country. If he had received a better education, he would have made a perfect man, for he has many fine qualities, and extraordinary powers of mind.'

On the evening of the 8th August Peter reached Amsterdam.

The larger ships were built at Amsterdam, but Peter was drawn off to Saardam, where he took part of the house of a former carpenter acquaintance named Kist, with only Menshikoff and five other volunteers. But being annoyed by crowds, he after a week sailed off to Amsterdam, to meet the embassy, which arrived there on the 16th August. The plenipotentiaries of the Western powers were then negotiating at the neighbouring village of Ryswick, and Peter and his ministers saw them there. He saw also at Utrecht and at the Hague William III., who afterwards presented him with an unrivalled yacht, mounting twenty-four brass guns. He perceived that Louis XIV. was only seeking to gain time, and predicted, after the peace of Ryswick had been signed (29th October), that the war would soon be renewed; and when news came later (29th March 1698) of the illness and expected death of the king of Spain, he wrote from Deptford to his friends at Moscow that now his prediction was about to be accomplished.

A frigate was laid down at the East India wharf at Amsterdam for him and his mates to work upon; and he worked there four months and a half for hire as 'Peter Timmerman of Saardam.' The first three weeks were spent in collecting materials, and the ship was laid down on the 9th Sept.

At this time Peter learned the art of engraving, and he engraved an allegorical triumph of *Christianity* over Mahometanism—an angel holding in his hands a cross and a palm, and trampling on a crescent and on Turkish standards and horse-tails. A print from this he sent to the patriarch Adrian, and he wrote (10th Sept.): 'We are at Amsterdam, by the grace of God and your prayers, alive and well; and following the word of God to Adam, we labour. This we do, not of necessity, but

to obtain skill for navigation, that so we may fight against the enemies of Christ with success, and may deliver the Christians of those parts, which to my last breath I shall not cease to desire.' He rejoiced at the news of the victory gained by prince Eugene over the Turks on the Tsenta (a victory at which Adam Weyde was present), and he wrote of it, 13th Sept., to Romodanofsky and to the patriarch. On the 16th Nov. the frigate, or Indiaman, on which he had been working was launched, and named the SS. Peter and Paul.

At Utrecht—Soloviefl' writes—'Peter showed the greatest interest in the anatomical cabinet of Professor Reusch; he even kissed an admirably prepared (waxen?) body of a child, which seemed to smile as if alive. At Leyden, being in the anatomical theatre of Boerhave, and noticing the repugnance of his Russians for the dead bodies dissecting, he *forced* them to tear the muscles of a corpse with their teeth' (*Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 238).

Vinius, in his letters from Moscow, mentions how on certain occasions those of the compania left there had feasted, and had drunk to the tsar's health, pouring down such quantities of Ivashko and Bacchus, that it took them three whole days to get over it. Peter, too, on the other hand, excuses himself to Vinius for not writing more regularly on the pleas of occupation, of absences, and of *malt*.

Finding that the theory of shipbuilding could not be learned so perfectly as he wished in Holland, he determined to go to England; and taking with him only half his volunteers (and among these Alex. Menshikoff and James Bruce), after a farewell banquet and compotation, he left on the 7th Jan. 1698, on board one of two yachts sent for him and his suite by king William, with two ships of the line under admiral Mitchell to convoy them.

On the 10th Jan. they were off Chatham, whence only the royal yacht went on. Getting into boats, Peter and his suite passed the Tower and London-bridge, and were lodged in three houses in York-buildings. Admiral Mitchell, whom Peter had asked to keep, on account of his knowledge of Dutch, and Lord Carmarthen, who was appointed to attend him, came to him the next day. He saw king William and the princess Anne; and the latter (in a letter to Apraxin, 5th June 1702) he called 'a complete daughter of our Church' (*i.e.* of the Russian Church).

He went once to the theatre, where he was pleased with an actress[31] named Cross.

After the way in which he had treated the tsaritsa Eudocia, the removal of whose relations from Moscow had been one of his last acts before leaving Russia, Peter did not wish, at his return from abroad, to find at Moscow a wife who was now a burden to him. Having been married after the old fashion, he thought also to rid himself of his wife after the old Russian fashion—that is, by persuading her to be tonsured; or, if she could not be persuaded, by causing her to be tonsured by force. From London, in the spring of A.D. 1698, he wrote to Leo Cyr. Narishkin, Tichon Iv. Streshneff, and *the confessor of Eudocia*, to persuade her to *consent* to be tonsured. Streshneff replied (19th April): 'As regards the matter of which you were pleased to write to the confessor, and to Leo Cyrillovich, and to me, we have spoken of that to her, that she should do it voluntarily, and have urged it strongly, but she is obstinate. It is necessary that you should write again to the confessor *more strongly*, and not once only, that he may speak urgently, and we too will continue to speak often to the confessor about it: but he is not a master of words. But if he is written to again, and in strong terms, he will begin to be more urgent in that matter.' Peter repeated the expression of his will after his return from London to Amsterdam, and ordered the prince Romodanofsky (who commanded the armed force, and directed all inquests, examinations, and tortures at Moscow) to *help* Streshneff so far as might be needed. 'Be so good,' Peter wrote to Romodanofsky (9th May A.D. 1698), 'as to *manage* that of which Tichon Nik. Streshneff will speak to you; for God's sake (let it be done).' But no persuasions had any effect, and in the way of compulsion nothing was done.

On the 9th Feb. A.D. 1698 Peter removed from London to Deptford, and took a house belonging to Mr. Evelyn (author of the *Sylva*), the back-door of which opened towards the wharf,

[31] John Motley, *Hist. of the Life*, &c. London, 1740, vol. i. p. 78. Voltaire says with a sneer at Peter's parsimony: 'En Angleterre il vit tout, et même il alla à la comédie Anglaise, ou il n'entendait rien; mais il y trouva une actrice nommée Mademoiselle Croft, dont il eut les faveurs; et dont il *ne fit pas la fortune*.' And a little above he had written of Peter's habits: 'Il aimait les femmes autant que le roi de Suède son rival les craignait, et tout lui étoit également bon en amour comme à table. Il se piquait de boire beaucoup, plutôt que de goûter des vins délicats.'

and there he lived between two and three months.[32] Evelyn writes: 'He left my house' (and he left it seemingly *much the worse for his residence in it*) 'to return on the 9th of June.' He often went to the arsenal and cannon foundry at Woolwich, and to the Mint in the Tower. He visited the Houses of Parliament, and the University of Oxford: he conversed with some Quakers, and more than once with some of the English bishops, especially with king William's tool, Bishop Burnet, who calls him a 'furious man'—in fact, a savage. On the 22d March he was present at a naval review and sham-fight off Portsmouth; and on his way back to Deptford he saw Windsor Castle, and Hampton Court. He commissioned Theodore A. Golovin to engage for him in England as many as sixty men for different services; and before he left he gave to Lord Carmarthen, for a sum of 20,000*l.* (or 48,000 rubles), to be paid down, a monopoly of the sale of tobacco in Russia to the amount of 3000 barrels, or one and a half million pounds, for one year, having once before, while still in Russia, made a similar lease to Orlenko, for two years, for only 15,000 rubles. But neither in Holland nor in England had he learned much about the construction of *galleys;* and for that he would have to go to Venice. On the 18th April he took leave of the king, at whose request he sat to Sir Godfrey Kneller for a portrait, still preserved at Hampton Court. An engraving from this is prefixed to vol. i. of Oustrialoff's work. On the 21st of April (leaving Menshikoff behind, to follow a few days later) he left in his own yacht the Royal Transport (the king's present to him), stopped at Woolwich and Chatham, and after a farewell carouse on board the yacht with Lord Carmarthen, sailed for Amsterdam, where he arrived on the 28th. Thence he went to Loo, the palace and park of king William: and about this time he received the very unpalatable but not unexpected information that the court of Vienna was now treating for peace with Turkey, under the mediation of England and Holland, without showing any special regard for Polish or Russian interests.

On the 15th May the Russian embassy left Amsterdam, and on the 18th of June it arrived at Vienna, having passed through

[32] There are twenty-six letters written to Peter during his stay in England by Lefort, from Amsterdam, where he seems to have suffered from ennui: he wants sack and lachryma Christi, and hints that there is nothing to make it necessary to go to Vienna, and that he would rather go to *Geneva*.

Leipzig, Dresden, and Prague, and having at Dresden been entertained by prince Fürstenburg in the name of the elector and king Augustus.

At Vienna (19th June) the tsar was received without ceremony by the emperor Leopold, in the Favorita, in a gallery running out into the garden, Lefort being with him as interpreter; and on the 23d, the names-day of the emperor, the envoys, and Peter with them, were present at an opera in the same suburban palace. The next day he *expressed a wish* to visit the empress Eleanora Magdalena, and *to see the archduchesses her daughters*, and she received him on the 24th, in the same informal way in which he had been received by the emperor. Lefort was again interpreter; Golovin, too, and Voznitsin were present, but they stood apart at a little distance. The vice-chancellor Kaunitz was with the empress. After Peter had paid his compliments to the empress and to the three archduchesses, *asking how old they each were*, the empress asked him after the health 'of *her sister*, the tsaritsa of Muscovy,' at which expression he was specially pleased [specially *dis*pleased?]; and after that she withdrew. On the 28th Peter had a similar informal interview at Augarten, in an alley, with Joseph, king of the Romans. On the 29th the embassy gave an entertainment to one thousand persons of the court and the nobility, with fireworks and dancing, which was continued till the morning. Meanwhile the tsar had been trying to engage the imperial court not to make peace with Turkey without at least stipulating for the cession of Kertch in the Crimea to Russia; but in this he had no success, the basis put forward by the mediating powers, and accepted by the imperial court and by the Venetians, being that of *uti possidetis*. Eventually (30th June) Peter named Voznitsin as his plenipotentiary to the congress, and was obliged to content himself (14-18 Nov.) with a separate truce, concluded at Carlovitz 14th Jan. 1699, for two years. Oukraintsoff was sent afterwards to Constantinople to convert this truce into a peace.

There being nothing more to be done at Vienna, he purposed to go to Venice and Italy, and then to France, and on the 15th July the Venetian envoy had already signed a passport for Menshikoff and seven other volunteers, and Peter was waiting only till his ambassadors should have their audience of leave, when a letter of the 17th June, from Romodanofsky, from

Moscow, which had been a month on the road, suddenly changed his plans.

The audience had been delayed partly because it was desired that Peter and his embassy, before leaving, should be present at a grand masquerade, with fancy dresses and characters, to be given them by the emperor and empress on the 11th July. Besides that, the envoys, after the old Russian fashion, created difficulties and delays by making demands on points of ceremonial inconsistent with the etiquette of the imperial court and with former precedents. But after the news had come that four insurgent regiments of streltsi were within ninety versts of Moscow, the ambassadors Lefort and Golovin, whom Peter meant to take with him, no longer insisting on their former pretensions, were received by the emperor on the 18th July, with the same forms as had been observed in A.D. 1687: after which healths were drunk mutually; and besides the healths of the tsar and the tsarevich, that of the *tsaritsa* of Muscovy was proposed, but *it was not drunk*, either from haste (as was supposed at Vienna) or for some other reason. And on the 19th, at four P.M., the tsar, with Lefort and Golovin, to the astonishment of the court of Vienna, started, not for Venice, but for Russia.

At Cracow Peter received information that the rebel streltsi had been defeated by Sheyn and general Gordon near the monastery of Voskresensk, so that he might have turned back and resumed his former plans; but he decided not to do so: he went on, only he now travelled without haste.

'As he was thus going through Poland'—so he wrote afterwards himself of the origin of the Swedish war, after his original views upon the South had been disappointed by the resolution of the imperial court to make peace with the Turks—'the tsar met the king of Poland at a small place near Tomashovo, called Rava, where they inspected some Saxon regiments, and there was a review. Then their majesties were invited by lieutenant-general Fleming to come to him for the evening to his quarters, where in the course of their conversation the king Augustus said to his Majesty that he had many of the Poles against him, and he added: "If they attempt anything against me, do not abandon me." To which his Majesty replied that he was ready to assist him, but he did not expect the Poles to do anything of that kind. But he asked rather that he, the king, on his side would

help him, the tsar, to avenge himself for the wrong which had been done him by Dalberg the governor of Riga, where he scarcely escaped with his life; *and this the king promised.* And so (having feasted and drunk together three or four days, and having exchanged kaftans), with strong expressions of friendship, they made promises to one another, without any written bond, and parted, and I took my way to Moscow' (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. iii. p. 186).

On the evening of Tuesday, 25th Aug., Peter was again in Moscow. He did not go to the palace in the Kremlin, nor see his wife; but after accompanying the ambassadors Lefort and Golovin to their houses, and calling for the papers relating to the past examination and punishment of the rebel streltsi, he paid a visit to Anna Mons in the German sloboda. The Austrian resident Guarient writes: 'It was very surprising that the tsar, after so long an absence, was still held by his former passion. Immediately after his arrival he went to visit the German girl Mons. After that he went out for the night to Preobrajensk.'

The next day, when the boyars and nobles came to him, he shaved off their beards with his own hand, sparing only those of Tichon Streshneff and the old boyar Michael Al. Cherkassky. And again, five days later (1st Sept.), at a banquet given by Sheyn, in the midst of their jollity the tsar's jester (probably Tourgenieff) seized the beards of those who still wore them, and shaved them one after another. Three days after that, at another banquet, given by Lefort, with music and dancing, to five hundred guests, there was no longer any need of repeating the same lesson.[33]

Six days after his arrival (31st Aug. O.S.)—Guarient writes—

[33] 'There is a medal with a beard and moustaches on one side under these words: "Money taken for them;" and on the reverse the date A.M. "7207" (*i.e.* A.D. 1698-1699). The first oukaz about beards has not been found: probably it did not apply to all, and was repeated as a general enactment at the beginning of A.D. 1701; and again 16th Jan. 1705, when the tsar allowed his subjects the choice of shaving or paying a yearly tax on their beards: gosti and people of the gostinaia sotnia paid 100 rubles; courtiers, dvor-people, citizens, prikaz-people, people of the service of all ranks, and traders of the second class, 60 rubles; traders of the third class, posadskie-people, and people of the boyars, yamshchiks, izvoshchiks, church clerks (not priests or deacons), 30 rubles; peasants on entering or leaving any town were to pay every time at the gates 2 dengi. To those who had paid there were given medals or tokens, like that described above, which they were required to wear, and to renew yearly' (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. iii. p. 195).

'Peter called for his wife the tsaritsa Eudocia to the house of the postmaster Vinius, and saw her there alone for several hours, asking her how she had dared to disobey his orders. She replied that she had a son to take care of.' At any rate, Peter now did personally all he could to obtain that which Streshneff and Romodanofsky and the confessor had failed to obtain for him during his absence, viz. that his wife should *consent* to be tonsured. And his long private interview having failed, he soon afterwards showed his anger against the patriarch Adrian for not having already tonsured her by force.

On the 20th Sept. the tsarevich Alexis, then eight years and seven months old, was taken away from his mother, and placed under the care of his aunt, the tsarevna Natalia, at Preobrajensk; and on the 23d the tsaritsa was sent away in a common carriage, with only her postelnitsa and one maid-servant, to Souzdal, to be shut up there in the Pokrovsky convent. Gordon writes that on the 23d Sept. he went in vain to Preobrajensk, all being busy (at the palace in the Kremlin) *above* about the taking out of some of the attendants of the tsarevna Sophia, and about putting the tsaritsa into a convent. On her arrival at Souzdal the postelnitsa was taken away from her, and sent back; and Peter, to punish her for having refused to be tonsured, made no allowance whatever for her maintenance.[31] In May A.D. 1699 Peter sent an okolnik to Souzdal, who lived in the suburb near the Pokrovsky convent ten weeks, going to see the tsaritsa every day, and dealing with her in the tsar's name; and at length, as she was still obstinate, she was tonsured by force, and so stood no longer in the way of Anna Mons, or of any one else who might later succeed Anna Mons in the tsar's favour.

The events of the summer and autumn of A.D. 1698 kept Peter in a state of violent anger, causing at times outbursts of

[31] For his sisters implicated in the mutiny of the streltsi, and also tonsured, the tsar appointed a maintenance, as for the other tsarevnas, and allowed them to have with them nurses, treasurers, and postelnitsas. So, in 1700, there was issued for the nun Susanna (Sophia) fish, bread, wine, and vegetables, to the value of 5141 rubles, and for the nun Margaret (Martha) to the value of 2650 rubles; but for Eudocia not a kopeck. She repeatedly applied to her brother Abram Lopouchin and his wife to send her secretly wine and fish: 'Here there is nothing,' she wrote. 'Though I am troublesome to you, what can I do? As long as I remain alive, give me drink and meat and clothing, since I am destitute' (Oustr. *Hist.* &c. iii. p. 190). Peter himself wrote afterwards of her that she had been tonsured 'for certain *oppositions* and suspicions' (*Manifesto* of March A.D. 1718).

something like madness. On the 14th Sept., at a banquet at Lefort's, he began to quarrel with Sheyn, and rushed out to inquire how many polkovniks and other officers Sheyn had appointed for money. He returned in a dreadful fury, drew his sword, struck with it on the table, and said to Sheyn: 'See! this is exactly how I will cut up your regiment; and as for thee, I will have thy skin off.' His fury was still more incensed when the prince Theodore Romodanofsky and Zotoff (using their right as mock emperor and mock patriarch of the revels) began to defend Sheyn: Peter rushed upon them, struck Zotoff on the head, and Romodanofsky on the hand, so that he nearly cut off his fingers. Sheyn would have been killed, had not Lefort held Peter, receiving himself a pretty violent blow. All were horrified; but *the young favourite* succeeded in calming Peter, who then went on as if nothing had happened, carousing jovially till the morning. This 'young favourite' was a sergeant of the Preobrajensky regiment, Alexander Dan. Menshikoff, whom Peter had first noticed about A.D. 1695, and who at this time was familiarly called by him 'Alexashka' (Korb, p. 17, at the date 19th Sept.; and Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 265). When he was in a rage Peter did not spare either his old or his new favourite. Having once caught Menshikoff dancing with his sword, he struck him such a blow that blood came from his nose; and at a banquet given by colonel Chambers, he seized Lefort, threw him down, and trampled upon him (Korb, p. 17, at the date 19th Sept.; and Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 265).

By the middle of Sept. those of the rebel streltsi who had been kept prisoners at *Voskresensk* (in the same monastery where in A.D. 1663 the streltsi had been employed to ill-treat and confine Nicon) and in other places had been brought into Moscow by the soldati of the Boutirski polk; the rest, to the number of 1714 in all, followed. On the 17th Peter said to general Gordon: 'I will examine them more strictly than you did.' The details of that fresh inquest with its horrible cruelties, and of the executions, or rather butcheries, which followed, have been related separately in ch. v.

On the 23d Sept. Peter examined at Selo Pokrovsk his sister Martha about the visit made by her in Holy Week to Sophia, and her communications respecting the streltsi. On the 27th

he examined Sophia in the Novodivichy monastery; and in one account it is said, that he was so enraged by her answers that he laid his hand on the hilt of his sword, and was drawing it to strike her, but Lefort checked him, saying: 'Remember, she is your sister!' Peter abruptly rushed out of the room, and when he had come to himself, he exclaimed to Lefort: 'How clever she is! it is a pity that she has such a bad heart.' On the 8th Oct. he a second time examined the tsarevna Martha, whose bed-chamber woman, when put to the question, had said that the tsarevna had received a petition from the streltsi, and that a note from her had been passed to Touma; but Martha persisted in denying this. The tsarevna Ekaterina too was questioned. Peter kept the tsarevnas at Selo Pokrovsk till the end of the inquest.

On the 11th Oct., the second day after the execution of the streltsi, Peter called a council of people from all orders, and charged it to examine into the treasonable design of the tsarevna Sophia, and to determine what ought to be her punishment. The decision arrived at is not known. For strong suspicions against the tsarevna there were grounds; but for direct proof of her guilt the inquest had found no evidence. We have seen how Sophia answered her brother: 'I sent no letter at all; but one can understand that the streltsi might wish to have me back in the government, because I had been regent before.' In order that for the future it might be impossible for any one to wish to have her back in the government, the best security was to tonsure her. So Sophia was tonsured, and became a nun by the name of Susanna; and she was left to live on still in the same Novodivichy monastery as before, under a strict guard of a century of soldati. Her sisters might go to the monastery to see her only in Holy Week, and on the festival of the monastery (28th July, the festival of the icon of our Lady of Smolensk), also in case of her being sick. Peter himself appointed people whom he could trust who might be sent to inquire after her health; and he wrote in addition these words: 'But men singers are not to be admitted into the monastery: the nuns sing well enough; if only there were faith, and not so as to sing in the church, "Save (the tsar) from all evils, dangers, and adversities," while in the porch they are hiring assassins.'[35]

[35] This rescript is undated; the allusions in it are not clear; only it is known that Sophia's postelnitsa, Viera Vasiutinskaia, when tortured, was found to be

Sophia was allowed to remain in the environs of Moscow. Much more guilt, according to the inquest, was proved against her sister Martha, who herself confessed that she had sent a communication to Sophia about the coming of the streltsi, and their wish to see her, Sophia, again regent. She was tonsured,[36] by the name of Margaret, in the monastery of the Assumption in the Alexandroff sloboda. The tsarevna Ekaterina was left at large.

On the 25th Oct. the tsar went to Voronege (unaccompanied by Lefort), and found his vessels and magazines all in good condition; 'only'—so he wrote—'a cloud of misgiving comes over my mind, lest it should be with me as with those who plant palm-trees, but cannot live to see their fruit. Nevertheless we trust in God, with St. Paul, who writes that the workman ought to taste of the fruit of his labour.' On the 20th Dec. he was again at Moscow; and at Christmas, with a very numerous suite in 80 sledges, he went about 'to glorify Christ:' the masters of the houses to which he went were of course expected to give them money: the rich prince Cherkassky was the most liberal of all: but one merchant gave for the whole company only 12 rubles: Peter was angry, collected in the street 100 mujiks, and brought them to the house of the niggardly merchant, who had now to give each mujik a ruble.

At this time the tsar had an intention of sending his son the tsarevich Alexis to be educated together with the son of the king and elector Augustus at Dresden, under the care of count Carlovich, to whom Peter had taken a great liking. Lefort's son Henry (or Andrew), who had been at school for several years past at Geneva, was to be a companion; and there is a letter from Lefort to the council of Geneva, dated 3d Feb. A.D. 1699, which contains the following passage: 'I had hoped to go myself to Geneva, but I cannot:' but he thanks them for their

with child, and she stated that she had had a liaison with a singer (Korb, p. 85; ap.-Solovieff).

[36] If Sophia when she died, 3d July A.D. 1704, was aged 46 years 9 months and 16 days (as is stated in the *Drevn. Russ. Biblioteca*), and had been a nun 5 years 8 months and 12 days, she was born 17th Sept. A.D. 1657, and tonsured 21st Oct. A.D. 1698. There was an allowance for her maintenance as a nun of 5744 rubles 15 altinas and 4 dengi. Martha was tonsured, according to Korb, on the 2d Nov. O.S. Shevireff, being in the Assumption monastery in the Alexandroff sloboda, saw there the tombs of Martha (who died in A.D. 1707) and of her sister Theodosia. At the entrance to the cemetery there is a portrait of Martha.

goodness to his son. Then he continues: 'The education which he has received in your republic must at the least have inspired him with respect for the purity of its faith, and with affection for a state which he ought always to regard as his country.' At the same time he informs them that, in compliance with the wish of the king of Poland and of the tsar, he purposes now to transfer his son to Dresden.

In Jan. A.D. 1699 there were again ten chambers of torture at work at Preobrajensk for the examinations of the remaining streltsi; and in Feb. again executions by hundreds, and again *personal* executions by the tsar himself, assisted by Pleshcheyeff. At the end of Feb. they began to carry out the corpses beyond the barriers, and there they lay in heaps, till at last they were buried.

Some days before these last executions there was a banquet given by Adam Weyde: but the tsar sat at it buried in dark care. Lefort exhausted all his ingenuity to divert him. A magnificent house, which had been building for the admiral at the expense of the tsar's treasury, was now finished: a great festival and burlesque ceremony was planned for its opening or dedication as a temple to Bacchus[37] (21st Feb. A.D. 1699).

The streltsi who had mutinied at Toropetz and at Azoff had also been executed: all the rest of the Moscow and Azoff streltsi were dispersed. But the streltsi were not the only people concerned. The conflict between the old manners and customs and the new blazed up more and more, and blood called for fresh blood. The king of Presburg, at Preobrajensk, could not be left unemployed. When they began to bring in the streltsi to Moscow in gangs for the question, a rumour was spread among the people that they meant to fire upon them with cannon. There was excited a sympathy for them; and at Preobrajensk an information was lodged against a woman named Axenia, wife of the groom of a strapchi, who had said to her bondman Gabriel: 'You see, he hates the streltsi; he has begun to make away with them; he will now make away with them all.' Gabriel said: 'What is to be expected from an infidel? he has become an infidel: on Wednesdays and Fridays he eats meat. He has become a Jew, and he cannot live a single day without drinking blood.' Axenia added, with an injurious epithet: 'He ordered the Kadoshevetsi to be knouted from the Pokrovsky to the Yaouza

[37] See the account of Peter's dealings with the clergy in vol. vi.

gates, and while it was being done he followed' (and joined himself in knouting them). Axenia and Gabriel were executed.

The executions of the streltsi produced a specially strong impression on the women, who said: 'The hossoudar, when he was a little boy, used to kill sheep, and now he has practised his hand upon the streltsi. On the days that the hossoudar and the prince Theodore Your. Romodanofsky have plenty of blood to drink they are merry; but on any day that they have it not they are sad, and cannot even eat their bread.'

The struggle and the feeling of provocation became more and more sharp on both sides; expressions of displeasure against the tsar and his doings became more and more frequent and violent; and there were more and more informations and inquests at Preobrajensk. Besides inquests into these political offences, the king of Presburg was continually occupied with inquests about murders and robberies: and he himself was proud of his bloody activity. In the year before there came to Holland to Peter, from Moscow, one of *the company*, James Bruce, with scars on him made by fire; and he said that the prince Romodanofsky had burned him at a banquet, under the influence of Khmielnitsky (*i.e.* of malt liquor). The tsar wrote about that to Romodanofsky: 'Thou wild beast! how long are you to go on burning people? Even hither to us there have come people wounded by thee. Cease your acquaintance with Ivashko (with malt). That is a seed of all sorts of fooleries.' Romodanofsky replied: 'In thy letter thou hast written to me as if I had too close acquaintance with Ivashko Khmielnitsky; but that, hossoudar, is not so. There has come to thee somebody who is a regular Moscow drunkard, and who has said what he said when he was foolish with drink. I have no time to be intimate with Ivashko. We are always *bathing ourselves in blood*. It is for *you*, at your leisure, to keep up acquaintance with Ivashko; but we have no time for it. But as for what James Bruce told you, as if he had been burned by my hand, that was done through his own drunkenness, not by me.' Peter replied to this: 'You have written that James Bruce did it from his own drunkenness; and that is true; only in *whose house* and in *whose company?* But as for the blood, I suspect that makes you drink all the more, out of *fear*. But for us it is *really* impossible, because we are always at our lessons' (Solov. xiv. p. 275).

By oukaz of 30th Jan. A.D. 1699, Peter instituted the burgomeisterskaia palata, exempting all the commercial and trading classes from the jurisdiction of the voivodes, and placing them under burgomeisters elected by themselves in each town, subject to the central burgomeisterskaia palata at Moscow. This was the first of his bureaucratical creations.

After letting off his fireworks and feasting as usual in the week of the Carnival, on Sunday, 19th Feb., the eve of the Great Fast, Peter left again for Voronege; and again Lefort was not with him. The envoys from Denmark and Brandenburg were curious to see a fleet built 1200 versts inland, and Peter gladly invited them to follow him. They banqueted with Lefort before starting, on Wednesday, 22d Feb., in the first week of Lent. The weather was unseasonably mild, and Lefort's rooms being overheated, they all went out and stayed long carousing in the open air. Lefort caught a bad cold, which turned to a malignant fever. Still he apprehended no danger, and he did not put off another banquet which he was to give to the colonels, &c., on the following Friday. However, he was unable to appear, and his nephew, Peter Lefort, presided as his deputy. It is stated, that after he had become aware that his life was in danger he repeated that ode of Horace which begins: 'Æquam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem;' and which ends:

> 'Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
> Versatur urnâ serius ocyus
> Sors exitura, et nos *in æternum*
> *Exilium* impositura cymbæ.'

He became sleepless, and occasionally wandered.

On Thursday, 23d Feb., the day after Lefort's banquet, and the first day of his illness, the mock patriarch of their drunken revels, Zotoff, wrote to the tsar to Voronege: 'The humble Anikit to the hiero-proto-diakon Peter Alexievich, with all the compania, sends peace and his blessing.' And again on the same date: 'To the fellow-minister of our humility, the hiero-proto-diakon Peter Alexievich, with all the compania, wishing health in the Lord. I thank your charity for informing us of your prosperous journey and good health (of which I heard also from the *vladika* of Azoff): pray continue to keep us informed of the same. We are much surprised at your audacity that you have taken our cast-off female slave Maslianitsa (*i.e.* Carnival, or Oil-jar) for a mate without

first taking from us for that a permission (or dispensation). Only know this, that there are with her other companions, Ivashka (malt liquor) and Eremka: and you have reason to fear them, lest they draw you off from your work: but we know their friendship more than yours. This day there have come to us the subdeacons Gotovtsoff and Bechteyeff, by whom we send a message to you, to give you verbally peace and our blessing, but to separate (*i.e.* to excommunicate) Maslanitsa and her companions, because in work such companions are unprofitable. But to these subdeacons, our messengers, do thou give a good reception. Moreover, may the peace of God be with you, and the blessing of our humility both is and shall be. The humble Anikit, with his shaky hand' (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. iii. p. 493).

Meantime Lefort was getting worse, and the doctors despaired of him. The pastor of the Reformed Church, Stumphius, was sent for, and began to exhort him. Lefort at first listened meekly, but presently he began to rave, drove the pastor away, and called for music; and the doctors desired that the musicians might come, and they seemed to calm him for a short time. When near his end he came to himself; and when his wife took leave of him, and asked his pardon if she had ever displeased him, he replied that there was nothing for him to pardon: 'I have ever loved and respected you.' He died on the 2d of March, about three o'clock A.M. (ib. p. 263), in his forty-sixth year. Golitsin the same day wrote to the tsar, who thereupon returned to Moscow on the 8th, instituted the Order of St. Andrew (making Golovin the first knight) on the 9th, and on the 10th was present at the funeral. Before the procession began he caused the coffin to be opened, and kissed the body. Then he led the way, at the head of the first rota of the Preobrajensky guards, followed by the two regiments of the guards and the regiments of Lefort and Gordon, all the officers in mourning. After the coffin, which was borne by colonels, there went the nephew Peter Lefort, the foreign envoys, the boyars, and all the court, and lastly Lefort's widow. Pastor Stumphius preached a sermon on Eccles. viii. 8: 'No man hath power over the spirit to retain the spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death: and there is no discharge in that war; neither shall wickedness deliver them that are given to it.' Korb says that he severely censured the deceased for his vicious habits. But in truth he said all the good

of him that he possibly could, so as to keep clear of falsehood and flattery, though he certainly also impressed upon his hearers the importance of preparing for death by a moral and religious life. Among other things, he said:

'Man has no power over the immaterial spirit; no ruler has power over the thoughts even of the meanest slave. Guard then, O people of God, this precious treasure—redeemed with the blood of Christ—guard your immortal soul in blameless purity, and defile it not by destructive sins and carnal passions. You have no *power* over it.

'Nor have you power over death. It spares none. But H.M. bids me be brief. I will only say: Fear the terrible Judge; think every moment of the salvation of your soul by piety, by temperance, by prayer, by good works, and say upon the bed of death: "Lord, thy will be done!"

'Vain man! look on this coffin and reflect. Where is thy pride and thy ungovernable self-will? About what dost thou disquiet thyself and labour in vain? forgetting thy higher citizenship of that city to which the Lord God daily calls thee as to thy true country, promising by one single tear-drop of true repentance to wash away the putrid stains of thy sins. Fear the eternal fire of hell. Wilt thou still cling to the world? It is ready every moment to abandon thee, and to commit thee to the grave, whence thou wilt not come out till the trumpet of the archangel summons thee to appear before the terrible Judge, in whom then thou wilt find no mercy. Keep then this judgment ever before the eyes of thy mind, that thou mayest escape irremediable eternal woe.

'Of our vanity and nothingness I need not speak: this coffin says all. Expect not from me any rhetorical panegyric. When the heart is full of love or grief it does not multiply words. Besides, neither this *place* of *truth* in which I stand nor the time nor the occasion allow of encomiums. All here present can bear witness that the tsar's majesty has lost a faithful servant and minister, the army a great commander, our church an intercessor and protector: we all lament a beloved and amiable friend or acquaintance.

'But his memory will live for ever in the history of the Russian empire. For we all know that H.M. the tsar was his light, his life, his shield, his joy, and on this earth his heaven. His

favour was never dimmed: the sun of his life has set in the noon of its glory. . . . By his affability when he was at the height of honour, by his readiness to help others, his boundless modesty, and constant friendliness, he won the hearts of all people. But I will not praise him: he never asked praises of me during his life: what are praises to him now that he is dead?

'Of the state of his soul we ought to think with charity. Great is the abyss of the mercies of God. For one word He saved the penitent thief from hell. I will only say, that at the beginning of his illness, when he was quite himself, he listened with meekness to spiritual instruction, and said: "I submit myself wholly to the will of the merciful God." On the other days the violence of the fever did not allow him to reply to what I said; but before the end, when death began to struggle with life, he again showed some signs of reason, especially when we prayed for him. So we hope,' &c. In conclusion, the preacher spoke long on the necessity of preparing, by a virtuous life, for a happy end, 'according to the words of the wise philosopher Seneca' (ib. p. 270).

Two days afterwards, Peter returned to Voronege, where he had now prepared 86 vessels of war, viz. 18 of from 36 to 46 guns, 4 galleys of 64 oars, 20 galliots, 20 brigantines, 12 flat-bottomed vessels, 2 yachts, and 10 ship-boats, with 500 barges laden with provisions. His object was by showing himself with this fleet in the Sea of Azoff and off the coast of the Crimea, and by the novelty of sending his envoy Oukraintsoff to Constantinople in a ship of war, to alarm the Turks, and to incline them to convert the truce of two years into a peace, so that he might be free to undertake the Swedish war. In this purpose he succeeded. His fleet, beginning to move from Voronege on the 27th April, reached Azoff on the 24th May. There, on the 21st July, he gave instructions to Oukraintsoff, and appointed the Kriepost, a ship of 46 guns, to take him to Constantinople. On the 18th Aug. the Russian fleet was off Kertch, and saluted the Turkish pasha and admiral, and made known to them the tsar's purpose. They urged that the envoy should go to Constantinople by land, and the admiral objected that he would lose his head if he allowed ships to go thence to Constantinople. 'In that case,' replied Golovin (who was now Peter's admiral after the death of Lefort), 'we will escort our envoy with the whole squadron.' But

at length it was arranged that the Kriepost alone should go, and should be convoyed by Turkish ships of war (24th August). Peter, with the rest of his squadron, returned to Taganrog, where he arrived on the 31st, and at the end of September he was at Moscow.

Oukraintsoff sailed from Kertch on the 28th Aug., and landed at Constantinople on the 6th Sept. He was received by the sultan on the 19th Oct., and conferences began on the 23d; but it was not till eight months later (viz. in June 1700) that articles were agreed upon for a peace.

The Poles, too—since the question of the Spanish succession had broken up the Christian league—had been treating, and had already made their own separate peace with Turkey; and their king Augustus, who, at Rava in August 1698, had been unwilling to bind himself by a written engagement to assist Peter, was now more bent upon war with Sweden than Peter himself. This change had been brought about by a Livonian nobleman named Patkul, who, for defending at Stockholm the rights and privileges of Livonia (as guaranteed in 1561 and 1678), had in Nov. 1694 been proclaimed a traitor and outlaw by the Swedish government. Patkul came secretly to Warsaw, in Oct. 1698, with a scheme to unite all the neighbouring states against Sweden. He argued that Augustus III., by promising at his accession, in 1697, to restore to the Pospolite Rech all the lands it had lost, had indirectly promised to reclaim those held by Sweden; and with regard to the coöperation of allies, his plan was, that the Poles should take care to confine the pretensions of the Muscovites to Ingria and Carelia and the Piepus lake, with the Narova for their frontier, not allowing them to obtain the town of Narva, since Narva in their hands would be a key to Revel and Esthonia, and so eventually also to Livonia. Augustus then sent hypocritically envoys with friendly assurances to Stockholm; and at the same time he invited the Danes, with whom he had already (24th March 1698) an offensive and defensive alliance, to explain what offensive operations had been contemplated by them, and to point to Sweden. The Danish king Christian V. and his successor, Frederick IV., agreed to make war upon Sweden; only they would confine their operations to Holstein Gottorp, where they had a quarrel with the duke Frederick IV., brother-in-law to Charles XII. A defen-

sive treaty was concluded at Moscow on the 6th July O.S., but with this reservation, that the tsar was not to be bound to co-operate till he should have made peace with the Turks. With the Polish Diet the king's agents, Fleming and Patkul, treated through the cardinal primate, to whom they showed a convention of 14th Aug. O.S., in sixteen articles, according to which Livonia was to be for the Pospolite Rech; not for the king Augustus separately, but for the king of Poland and his successors to hold and defend against the Swedes and Muscovites, with a guarantee to the Livonians of their Lutheran religion and of all their civil rights and liberties, and the right to maintain a native force of 5000 foot-soldiers and 600 horse. (Nevertheless there were other *secret* articles in favour of Augustus and his Saxon successors, even though they should not be kings of Poland.) The cardinal was also bribed with a sum of 100,000 r. dollars; else the Poles had decided on sending away all the Saxon troops. Count Carlovich and Patkul (who had transferred his allegiance to Augustus) were sent as envoys, 26th Sept. O.S., to Moscow, where a Swedish envoy also arrived (and waited two months for Peter's return) in order to confirm the peace.

In Oct. 1698 the young king of Sweden, Charles XII., had taken the reins of government from his grandmother Hedwiga Eleanora; and by a letter, dated 16th Aug., he announced at Moscow that he desired to confirm peace and friendship on the basis of the treaty of Kardis, and would send an envoy. Peter could not then refuse: he replied, however, that the envoy must come before the Carnival week in 1699, as he should then be going away for a long time. On the 28th of May the Swedish envoys were on the frontier; and, in consequence, they had to live long at their own cost at Moscow.

A memorial presented by Carlovich, 5th October 1699, set forth all the advantages which would accrue to Russia from gaining access to the Baltic Sea; and Peter (through Golovin and Shaphiroff, at Preobrajensk) readily consented to make an offensive league. On the 14th Oct. the Swedish envoys were received, and on the 20th there were conferences. Peter answered that he accepted their proposals, and meant to maintain the peace, and he would send an envoy to take the king of Sweden's oath; but he declined to swear first himself, saying that it was *needless*, as he had promised and *bound his soul* already.

After some fruitless discussion, the Swedish envoys said that if the tsar would not swear there was no use in the king of Sweden's swearing: but the Russians objected that the king had not yet bound himself, whereas the tsar had, having sworn to his father. The Swedes admitted the force of this, but could decide nothing without fresh instructions. Golovin then spoke of the manner in which the tsar had been treated at Riga. They replied that it was now for the first time that they heard of any complaint on that score. At length, 2d Nov., they consented to take the first acceptance of the treaty as a present confirmation; a letter was given them at their audience of leave, 20th Nov. 1699, containing these words: 'We confirm them by a letter, but our oath on the cross *was given before*' (*i.e.* in 1684). They left Moscow on the 3d Dec. But already before that, on the 11th Nov., a secret offensive treaty with the king and elector Augustus had been signed at Preobrajensk, by which the Saxons, in order to assist Russia to recover the provinces taken from her by the Swedes, were immediately to invade Livonia and Esthonia, and to move father Ricci (the emperor's confessor); and the tsar was to act in Ingria and Carelia as soon as ever a peace was concluded with Turkey, not later than Apr. 1700. Also, both the allied sovereigns were to move the elector of Brandenburg to join them, and were not to treat for peace separately. On the 27th Nov. Carlovich left Moscow. He wrote afterwards, from before Riga, at the end of Feb. A.D. 1700, to the tsar, that all arrangements had been made by the king for the reception of the tsarevich, whom Peter had proposed to send to be educated at Dresden. But Carlovich, who was to have come to take him from Moscow, and was then to have superintended his education, was killed shortly afterwards, 1st March A.D. 1700: the disaster of Narva followed in the autumn: and the plan was given up.

In A.D. 1699 Peter organised, in lieu of the former Moscow streltsi, twenty-nine fresh regiments of regular infantry, in addition to those four regiments (the Preobrajensky, Semenofsky, Lefortofsky, and Boutirsky) which had existed previously. These were all dressed in uniform, disciplined, and paid after the German fashion, and made a force of 33,331 men, which was formed in two years.[38] Of the three divisions, two were to

[38] 'In three months,' Alex. Gordon writes, 'there were formed twenty-nine

be raised by Golovin and Weyde at Moscow; the third by Anikit Iv. Repnin, then lieutenant-colonel of the Preobrajensky regiment, from the 'Lower towns,' by a conscription of one man from every 28 dvors on church lands, or one from 30 and from 50 dvors on other lands. At Moscow the new soldati were chiefly from the numerous idle men-servants of the nobility and dvor people. By a proclamation of 8th Nov. they were called upon to appear from places near by the 1st Dec. A.D. 1699, from more distant places by the end of Jan. 1700. General Gordon had just died, his last appearance in public having been at the reception of the Swedish envoys: he died on the 9th Dec., the tsar closing his eyes, and was buried with a funeral like that of Lefort.

'In this same year,' it is observed in the journal of Peter the Great, 'the tsar thought it well to change the old costume, and bade *all* dress like the people of other Christian states, and shave off their beards.'

On the 20th Dec. A.D. 1699 there was issued an oukaz to begin in future the year from 1st Jan., so making the change in the last year of the seventeenth century, as if that had been already the beginning of the eighteenth. And Peter ordered that after the moleben in the church all householders should salute one another, and set up greens before their dvors, and keep the greens there till after the 6th Jan. On the 6th the tsar did not go down to the water, but stood at the head of his regiment, and 12,000 men were present. For that day all were to be in Hungarian kaftans, by oukaz of the 4th Jan., or at the latest they were to get them by cheese-week; and the ladies were to be in German costume.[39] Now too there was issued a new coinage. Peter thought also of the compilation of a new Code (or *Svod*), and appointed to prepare it a commission of 48 persons, 18th Feb. A.D. 1700; and a manifesto was drawn up in that same year: but fourteen years passed before the commission had got through its first three chapters. Another project was to educate the people; but this also failed; only in A.D. 1700 special schools were instituted for mathematics and for navigation.

polks of foot and two of dragoons, in all 40,000 men, in three divisions.' Probably his number (40,000) was made up by including the four regiments previously existing: they were drilled daily, and a commissariat department was organised.

[39] There was another oukaz on the same subject issued 26th Aug. A.D. 1700, and models of the new dresses required were sent to the towns; and in 1701 again.

On the 11th Feb. A.D. 1700 Peter went to Voronege, where he stayed three months, and on the 28th Apr. he launched a ship built by himself, and named the Predestination. All the ship-building at Voronege had been carried on through the Vladimirski prikaz, under the direction of A. P. Protasieff, till the end of A.D. 1699, when gross abuses were discovered. The tsar then created a Prikaz of Admiralty Affairs for Voronege and Taganrog, to be under the lieutenant-colonel Theodore Matv. Apraxin as 'admiralteytz;' and at the same time Golovin was set over the posolski prikaz, Leo Narishkin retiring for ill health, 18th Feb. A.D. 1700. At Voronege Peter heard that the king of Poland had begun the war against Sweden by attacking Riga, with the hope of taking it by surprise; and he now formed the plan of himself laying siege to *Narva* (or Rougodeva). On the 17th of March he heard that the king of Denmark also had begun to act.

On the 17th April Peter sent an envoy with pacific assurances to Sweden, and at the same time he made preparations for a renewal of war in the south, as no treaty of peace had as yet been agreed upon at Constantinople. On the 15th of May the Swedish envoy Kniperkron wrote to the king of Sweden that, 'the day after returning from Voronege, the tsar, being in the German sloboda, had joked his, Kniperkron's, wife about their daughter, asking how she could have been such a goose as to cry at Voronege, and to write that the tsar was sending his army into Livonia. "You simpleton! I said to her"—so Peter had related of himself—"do you think I would consent *to begin an unjust war*, and to break the perpetual peace which I have just now confirmed?" We were all so touched by his words that we could not refrain from tears; and when I asked his pardon for my wife, he embraced me, and said: "If the king of Poland has even taken Riga, he shall not retain it: I will wrest it out of his hands."'

At the end of June the prince Khilkoff was sent as envoy to Stockholm. On the way, according to his instructions, he secretly reconnoitred Narva, and reported that it had been repaired, but there were only 300 soldiers in it. Another envoy was sent to Berlin to inform Frederic III., in a secret audience, that for many wrongs the tsar was about to make war on the Swedes, and to invite him to join an offensive league on the basis of the

friendly agreement made (in A.D. 1697) at Königsberg; adding, that the tsar was ready to give him the title of king.

The king of Poland was now importuning Peter to act. At the beginning of June he went himself to Riga, and sent general Langen with a letter, of 25th July, to Moscow, desiring the tsar at once to invade Ingria, so as to make a diversion. Meanwhile Charles XII. (who was only seventeen years old) had made quick work with the Danish war. He was hunting when he heard of the Poles and Saxons attacking Riga, but he went on, and took fourteen great bears. Then came the news that the Danes also had commenced hostilities. He went against them, and threatened Copenhagen; and on the 8th Aug. the king of Denmark submitted, and made peace. On the same day that the treaty for this peace was signed at Trauendal (Aug. 8th) the news reached Moscow that a treaty of peace, or truce at least for thirty years, between Russia and Turkey had at length been concluded at Constantinople, and signed on the 3d July: and on the 9th Aug. Peter wrote to his ally, the king Augustus, that now the hindrance was at an end, and he had given orders for his troops to march upon the Swedish frontier. He wrote also to Voronege to Theodore Matv. Apraxin: 'We celebrated here on the 18th the conclusion of peace with the Turks by some splendid fireworks, and on the 19th we declared war against Sweden' (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. p. 370, &c.).

Peter having besieged Narva, received there at once a rebuke for his perfidy, and for the art of war a rude but valuable lesson. For Charles XII., with only 8500 men, routed the besieging army of 40,000, taking nearly the whole force of the Russians prisoners of war, with all their siege guns, and their stores, and their camp. Charles, however, after this success, as if he had no longer anything to fear from the Russians, released, after disarming them, nearly all the prisoners he had taken, and devoted himself solely to the execution of his threat of dethroning the king Augustus. Thus he left Peter free not only to reorganise and recruit his army,[40] and to recover himself, but also to make conquests in Carelia, Ingria, and Livonia.

After a time Peter found it necessary to make his league with the king Augustus more stringent, so as not to leave him

[40] At this time he took the bells of the churches to be cast into fresh cannon, to replace those taken by the Swedes.

free to make a separate peace; and to try, if possible, to engage the Polish nobles also in the war. For this end he proposed a personal interview with the king and with the Polish grandees, and they met in Feb. A.D. 1701 at Birgi, in the riding of Dinaburg, where the two sovereigns made merry together in long-protracted banquets, and treated at the same time of grave matters.

On the 14th Oct. A.D. 1702 the Russian army under Boris Pet. Sheremetieff (the tsar himself being with it), took Noteburg (renamed Schlüsselburg), on an island in the Neva, where it issues from the Ladoga lake; and on the 1st May A.D. 1703 they took Kantsi on the Neva.

A few days later, 16th May A.D. 1703, on one of the small islands of the mouth of the Neva, a little below the site of Kantsi, there was heard the sound of the axe, and they began to erect a small wooden town. This small town was Petersburg, the capital of the new Russian empire. Muscovy was no more (Solov. *Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 349).

We have now before us Peter the Great, self-educated, self-formed; for the commencement of the Swedish war and the foundation of St. Petersburg may be joined together to mark the time of his complete development. But for the tsar Alexis, who had sinned against his own better qualities and against his conscience, to have a son and successor, born with the greatest natural gifts and with the brightest promise, developed into a savage, doing acts of monstrous cruelty, lawlessness, and impiety, was certainly a punishment: and for the boyars, the okolniks, the people of the council and of the prikazes, and all the hereditary nobility who had been guilty of covetousness, oppression, and sacrilege, and for the streltsi and the hierarchy who had been accomplices or servants of iniquity, it was a punishment to have such a hero-savage set over them as a legislator and a destroyer.

It is related of Peter, that once—perhaps more than once—after a violent fit of rage, when he came to himself, he said: 'I can govern others, but I cannot govern myself.' And there is another anecdote of him related by Solovieff thus:

'Once the empress Elizabeth, going into the room of her nephew Peter Theodorovich (afterwards Peter III.), and finding him at work drawing, kissed him, and said: "I cannot tell you

how much pleasure it gives me to see you employing your time well: I remember how my father, when he once found me with my sister at our lessons, said with a sigh: "Ah! if only when I was young I had been *properly taught!*"[41]

These words of Peter had a far deeper sense than any that we can suppose to have been present to his own mind. He was far from understanding either what with a proper education he might have become for good, or what for want of such an education he had actually become for evil. He did not foresee that the fittest successor to complete his work of civilisation and patriotism was to be a German princess entirely unconnected with Russia, who, after murdering for the good of '*the country*' the last of his illegitimate descendants, as he had himself murdered his own legitimate son, was to glorify his memory by an equestrian statue set up outside the palace in the midst of the capital of new Russia—his creation—and to enshrine at the same time within the palace the library and the sitting statue of the atheist Voltaire. He did not understand that through him from the death and tomb of the old Byzantine schism in Muscovy there was to emerge, as a moth from its chrysalis—not without birth-pangs and some drops of blood—an Eastern antichristian empire, imitating, and in some sense even outrunning, the developments of Western apostasy—of that apostasy which scoffs at popes and cardinals, and of which the chief political representative is Prussia, the eleventh and latest kingdom, rising after the ten older kingdoms of the Western Roman empire renewed in Charlemagne.

[41] In a report of the state of things in Muscovy, presented in A.D. 1707 to the Pope, by one of the Jesuit fathers maintained by the emperor at Moscow, we read: 'It is a *sad pity* that such a fine natural disposition has not been cultivated by a better education; but he has had no proper education; and hence he has retained some of those imperfections in which he was bred up, and which obscure his fine qualities' (Theiner, *Monuments*, &c., 1859, p. 410).

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I. (*July 10th*, A.D. 1658.) *See p.* 127: '*Here Nicon ceased to read*,' &c.

IF, as is asserted in some of the depositions taken afterwards, Nicon, as he read or spoke, 'shed tears and wept much;' and many who saw this, orthodox Christians, having in their hearts the fear of God, shed tears also, as they looked on him their patriarch, they manifestly heard and understood more or less of what he read and spoke. And this is shown also by the fact that some distorted fragments of what he read or said—chiefly words capable, if taken alone, of being turned to suit the purpose of his enemies—appear in those same depositions which were taken afterwards; though in general it seems to have been required or expected of the deponents that they should depose only to the fact of Nicon's having resigned the patriarchate, but should have heard from him no other words whatever.

Even if he had added nothing of his own, those words of St. John Chrysostom which he then read, shedding tears, taken together with the circumstances of the time, suggest their own application. Nicon, equally with St. John Chrysostom, and much more, would disclaim all thought of applying to himself, or to men like himself, that glowing description of the true and good shepherd which he had been reading, and which in its fulness suited only such shepherds as Paul, Peter, or Moses. Yet, how little soever their humility might lay claim to it, it is plain that both Chrysostom and Nicon himself had in fact no slight share of that same love for the flock, of that same zeal and self-devotion, on which they both so earnestly enlarged and insisted. Nicon therefore also, if any deadly plague were threatening his flock—whether it were only a literal plague, as in A.D. 1654 and 1655; or those far worse moral plagues of injustice and immorality, of popular superstition, or of antichristian state-supremacy—was ready, like Abraham and Moses, like David and Samuel, to intercede for the people, and to expose himself to dangers, and to wish to sacrifice himself rather than see them sin or suffer.[1] And not only so; but *even when they had sinned, and deserved the punishment* inflicted or impending, he would be the first to '*accuse himself in the first instance*,' taking the sin to himself as his own,[2] '*because he had not*' betimes, or not sufficiently, '*corrected them*,' and claiming to suffer the punishment in

[1] So he had actually done in A.D. 1650, in the insurrection at Novgorod.

[2] In this spirit it was that he wore about his body a heavy chain from the time of his quitting the patriarchate to his death. The chain itself may still be seen hanging up over his tomb under the Calvary at Voskresensk.

their stead; mourning, of his affection for the tsar, the tsar's spiritual apostasy and rebellion, even as Samuel mourned for Saul, or as David mourned for the death of his rebellious son Absalom, and wishing that he could have died for him; and, of his affection for the people, wishing himself to be cast out of the ship, like Jonah, if only so the storm might cease, and the ship's company be saved.

But we have more than that application which the Moral Instruction of St. John Chrysostom of itself alone might suggest: we have also statements made by Nicon himself respecting his own discourse, and fragmentary notices in some of the depositions taken by order of the tsar, which, though distorted and untrustworthy as they stand alone, have light thrown on them either by the text of that homily which Nicon read, or by Nicon's own statements; so that some of them, after being explained and corrected, may be accepted as true or probable, while others, which appear of themselves to be false, are traced to the original source of the mistake or misrepresentation. And if we add to Nicon's own statements such other notices as are discoverable in the depositions, explaining and correcting these latter, and putting them together, we may make out even now with sufficient accuracy the substance at least of what Nicon said in the church when he was about to leave the chair.

Thus, that Nicon accused himself of having sinned, of having been an incapable and negligent pastor, and even unworthy of the priesthood; that he said he would go away into retirement, and do penance on account of his unworthiness; and even that he exclaimed at the end of his discourse, 'I am no more your pastor!' and, 'Yea, yea' (an asseveration which might be misrepresented and turned into an oath or curse), 'henceforth I am no more patriarch of Moscow' (though thus only one side and aspect of what he said is exhibited), appears all intelligible and probable enough after one has read that homily of St. John Chrysostom which had preceded. And, besides, it is confirmed from other sources. For instance, when Troubetskoy, having heard like words from Nicon's own lips, in answer to his official inquiry, 'Why art thou going away?' asked again, '*What* is thine unworthiness?' and Nicon replied: 'If *thou wishest it*, I will make *to thee my confession*.' This answer of Nicon is given in the deposition of Troubetskoy *without that question of his own which led to it*; but it implies of itself all that had preceded. And Nicon's answer may be illustrated both from that quotation in the discourse of St. John Chrysostom where it is said that the good pastor *accuses himself* for the sins of his people, and from some words in another deposition where Nicon is said to have accused himself of all, '*because he had not corrected*' those who needed correction—that is, first and principally the tsar, and the boyars who surrounded him. So, if Troubetskoy had *wished* it, he would have heard the patriarch accuse himself, not indeed of such negligence as his conscience might suggest towards the tsar (for of *this* he would not be so likely to speak publicly), but certainly of something which he might have done, but had not done, for the correction of *the boyars*—that class to which Troubetskoy himself belonged. And before the council in Dec. A.D. 1666 Nicon, when it was objected against him that he had said, 'I will be no more patriarch; if I be again patriarch, let me be anathema!' replied:

'I did not say that. I said: For my *unworthiness* I go away' (vol. iii. p. 419). On the other hand, that Nicon testified openly of the tsar's unjust wrath against him, and of wrongs done to the Church, his own remonstrances against which only increased the tsar's wrath; and that the motive for his retirement was properly and principally this—to give place to that unjust wrath; this, though not one word about it is to be found in any of the seventy depositions taken by order of the tsar, is stated over and over again by Nicon himself; is indicated by all the circumstances; and is clearly implied by Paisius Ligarides, who is an unexceptionable witness, as having been the tool and agent of the boyars. For he writes that 'Nicon, after celebrating the liturgy, stood in the middle of the church, and began to belch forth *publicly* words of *madness*; words which it was *an absolute duty* for him *not to utter, if it had been possible for him to be silent*. He showed that he had no idea of attending to that verse which says: "Bridle thine *anger*, lest thou *lose thy senses*." And so, after that his *stale*[3] and *rotten* and *long* harangue, he attempted of his own will to divest himself of his patriarchal power,' &c. (vol. iii. p. 411). These words certainly refer to something very different from self-accusation for his own unworthiness, and retirement from the priesthood into the place of penitents, whether with or without an imprecation and vow never to return to the chair. The 'words of madness' publicly belched forth *contrary to all duty*, the *irrepressible anger* of Nicon, the utter *loss of his senses*, clearly point to his difference with the tsar and the boyars, and to words uttered against them—in a word, to his *insubordination*. When therefore Nicon is made to say in the deposition of Troubetskoy that 'there was no wrath whatever of the tsar against him to occasion his departure,' this is simply false. When, too, Nicon is made in two of the depositions to say of himself: 'I ate the milk, I clothed myself with the wool, and the fat ones I killed, but the flock I did not feed,' one sees that this is said in the spirit of Nicon's enemies. For him to have said that against himself would have been an exaggeration bordering upon nonsense: for he lived throughout personally the life of an ascetic; and he loved that life. Whatever love he had for outward magnificence in the ceremonies of the church, it was for the sake of religion; and whatever money or lands became his personal property, he expended nothing of it in worldly or carnal indulgences, but 'gave it all to God,' as he also testifies of himself. But we can see what was the source of the false assertion alluded to. For those words, though not uttered by Nicon as a confession against himself, had really been *read* by him in their original form as quoted from the prophet Ezekiel. Again, in one deposition the subject of that homily which Nicon read is said to have been 'about the way in which a bishop may leave his see.' But about this that homily contains nothing; only on that occasion it was read by Nicon, when he was about to leave his chair, in connection with his intention of leaving it. Some of the deponents said that it was 'about the qualities or character requisite for a pastor;' and this is not incorrect: but when it is

[3] '*Stale*,' because the dispute about the independence of the spiritual authority is, as he says elsewhere, an old one; '*rotten*,' because those who contend against the supremacy of the state have a bad cause.

added, 'and about the evil consequences which result when a pastor is bad or incompetent,' the allusion must be chiefly to something *said* by Nicon himself afterwards, there being no words in the 'Moral Instruction' read by him which would of themselves justify such a statement. So, too, of certain words about the rudder being rotten and breaking, and the ship being wrecked, which in one deposition are incorrectly mentioned as if they belonged to the Instruction of St. John Chrysostom. On the other hand, when in one of the depositions Nicon is represented as saying with the prophet Samuel, 'Whom have I wronged,' &c., the statement, probable in itself (since it makes nothing to the purpose of Nicon's enemies) and not likely to have been invented by any deponent, is rendered still more probable by the fact that the words used are not a simple quotation, but altered so as to suit Nicon's times and circumstances. It is remarkable that Nicon himself in his own statements (vol. i. p. 22, 24; and vol. iii. p. 386, 419, 421) speaks only of 'going away,' and says nothing of renouncing the patriarchate. He denies having ever uttered such a word as 'abdication' or resignation: and he always, by the confession of his enemies themselves, consistently and emphatically denied having declared or vowed, whether with or without any oath or imprecation, that he would never return to the chair. Nevertheless, it is clear that he uttered words, such as, 'I am no more your pastor,' 'I am no more patriarch of Moscow,' capable of being taken and turned against him by his enemies in a sense different from that in which he spoke and intended them, and which they would of themselves suggest, if taken with their context. The patriarch Nectarius of Jerusalem saw plainly enough, even from the accounts of his enemies, that what he had really done was not to renounce the chair or the flock, but to renounce '*him only that was disobedient*,' and to *rebuke disobedience* (vol. iii. p. 353). And Nicon himself, when pressed on the subject, and asked, as if he had denied it altogether, 'Didst thou then *not* renounce?' replied, 'I renounced in a sense of my own.' And again, when they insisted on the fact that he had in writing to the tsar styled himself '*late* patriarch!' he replied, 'Well; *for the tsar* I am to-day also, as when I wrote that, *not* patriarch.' If the questioners cried out: 'And for all of us equally thou art *not* patriarch!' that exclamation of theirs proves only that they adhered, from whatever motives, to the tsar and to the boyars, and joined them in saying, in answer to Nicon's rebukes: 'He has resigned: we take him at his word: it is too late for him now to go back from it.'

APPENDIX II. *In connection with the oukazes of the tsar to the bishop Callistus, and to the hegoumen Ignatius of Polotsk* (A.D. 1659 *and* 1660), *given at p.* 163 *and p.* 180.

There is also an oukaz of Dec. 10th, A.D. 1659, to Callistus, bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk, commanding him to promote and consecrate to the rank of archimandrite the hegoumen Ignatius Jevlevich, and to institute him to be archimandrite at once of the Borisoglebsk and of the Theophany monasteries:

'From the tsar, &c., to Callistus, bishop, &c. We command thee to

make Ignatius, now hegoumen of the Theophany monastery at Polotsk, an archimandrite, and to set him over the Borisoglebsk monastery, which is at the same place. And as soon as this our imperial letter reaches thee, thou art to make the said Ignatius an archimandrite, and to institute him to the Borisoglebsk monastery, and bid him have jurisdiction over the monks and servants and dependents. And on the same day that thou doest this, thou art to write a report thereof to us to Moscow: and thou art to direct the report to be delivered to the *patriarchal rozriadni prikaz*, to the patriarchal boyar Boris Iv. Neledinsky and to the diaks Ivan Kokoshileff and Ivan Kalitin. Written at Moscow A.M. 7168 (A.D. 1659), Dec. 19th.' Attached to this letter is the *patriarchal* seal, a *hand in the act of blessing*; the inscription being: 'To our beadsman Callistus, bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk' (a fac-simile is given of the seal).

A letter of the bishop of Polotsk, Callistus, dated Jan. 15th, A.D. 1660, and addressed to Ignatius, archimandrite of the Borisoglebsk and hegoumen of the Theophany monasteries, shows that he had obeyed the tsar's command:

'We, Callistus, by the mercy of God, great hospodin, most reverend bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk, by the grace of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, given to us through the all-holy and life-giving Spirit, *and* by oukaz of the great hossoudar the tsar, &c., Alexis Michaelovich, autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, have blessed and instituted Ignatius, hegoumen of the Theophany monastery at Polotsk, to the monastery of the holy martyrs and grand princes of Russia Boris and Gleb, named in baptism Romanus and David, in the honourable spiritual office of archimandrite. And ye all, the hieromonachs and hierodiacons of the said monastery of the martyrs Boris and Gleb, the sons and fellow-ministers of our humility, and all the brethren there in Christ, and the servants and peasants and bobils, and all orthodox people who come to the church there and to the convent, are to honour the said archimandrite Ignatius, and hearken to him, and obey him sincerely in the Lord with all spiritual conscientiousness and cheerfulness, as your true lord and father, and teacher, pastor, and superior, as we have found him well certified of in all things, and pious, and of good and pure life, and distinguished for orthodoxy. He is to perform all functions proper for a priest and archimandrite, to govern in all ecclesiastical matters, to direct in all that relates to the buildings and property . . . and also to maintain in all things towards *us* spiritual love and reverence, and obedience, as to his pastor and teacher and father of fathers, and to labour for your kindred and immortal souls, and to guide you to salvation by every good work. It is the duty also of the said archimandrite Ignatius to preach the word of the Lord to all orthodox Christians, and teach them to live according to God's commandments. And to this end we give him this our letter of institution, to fix him in his place. And the Divine Wisdom, and the prayers of the holy martyrs and wonder-workers and grand princes Boris and Gleb, and of our holy mother Euphrosyne of Polotsk, and of all the saints, and the blessing of our humility be with thee, and with all the brotherhood in Christ who are under thy pastoral charge, now and ever, Amen. Written in Polotsk,

at our episcopal palace adjoining the cathedral of St. Sophia, A.M. 7168 (A.D. 1660), Jan. 15th.' Subscribed: 'The humble Callistus, by the mercy of God, bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk, with my own hand.' And the great episcopal seal of the see is attached.

There are two letters of the tsar of the dates 27th and 30th Sept. A.D. 1660 given to Ignatius, archimandrite of the Borisoglebsk and hegoumen of the Theophany monastery, but addressed to the bishop Callistus and to the voivode of Polotsk respectively. In the first of these, which is to give Ignatius power over both the above-named monasteries, the tsar says to the bishop: '*By our imperial oukaz*, thou, *by the grace given thee* from the only-begotten Son, the Word of God and Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, by the coöperation of the all-holy and life giving Spirit, hast made Ignatius, hegoumen of the Theophany monastery at Polotsk, archimandrite for the monastery of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb. And now we have given command that the said archimandrite Ignatius is to live in Polotsk, in the Theophany monastery, as before, and is to build and restore both those two monasteries, and to govern the fraternity and exercise jurisdiction over them, and over the servants and dependents and all the labourers of the monasteries, and the peasants and the bobils on the estates which we have given by oukaz to both those two monasteries. Wherefore, so soon as this our imperial letter reaches thee, thou, our beadsman the bishop Callistus, art to command the said archimandrite Ignatius of the Theophany to live according to our oukaz in the Theophany monastery, as before, &c. And so long as the said archimandrite Ignatius shall continue to live in the Theophany monastery, thou art to cause and order to live in the Borisoglebsk monastery as archimandrite-vicar whomsoever the archimandrite Ignatius shall choose. And thou art to command the monks and servants and dependents, and all the labourers and peasants and bobils on the estates of both those monasteries, who are now or shall be hereafter, to obey the said archimandrite Ignatius, and reverence him in all things as their true pastor, father, and teacher . . . and his vicar-archimandrite. . . . And thou art to read this our imperial letter, and to have a copy taken of it, and to keep that copy in thy archives, returning this the original letter to the said archimandrite. . . . Written at Moscow A.M. 7169 (A.D. 1660), Sept. 27th.' Sealed with the tsar's seal of the *prikaz* of the *bolshoi dvoretz*, and signed by the diak Denis Sabloukoff; corrected by the podiak Alexis Onophrieff.

The other letter, addressed to the voivode to put the archimandrite Ignatius in possession of the ruined Borisoglebsk monastery, with all its former estates and dependencies, and rights and privileges thereunto appertaining, has, after the tsar's title, the following words: 'Our beadsman the bishop of Polotsk petitioned us, and his petition set forth that in A.M. 7168, just ended, by our imperial oukaz and letter, and by the grace and gift of the all-holy and life-giving Spirit given to him, he blessed and instituted Ignatius, hegoumen of the Theophany monastery, to be archimandrite of the Borisoglebsk monastery, which latter is in a ruined state; and he, the bishop our petitioner, had previously held it, with all the estates belonging to it, by virtue of our oukaz: but now,

in obedience to our imperial oukaz, he has given up the said Borisoglebsk monastery, with its estates, to be restored, administered, and governed by the said archimandrite Ignatius. And he has prayed us to be pleased now to make an order that the said archimandrite be put in possession of that monastery, with its estates and all that of old belonged to it, and to give our imperial letters to this effect to the said archimandrite. Wherefore, so soon as this our imperial letter reaches you, you are to give order that the archimandrite Ignatius build and restore and hold the Borisoglebsk monastery, with its ancient estates, &c., so that henceforth the said monastery be no longer a ruin. And ye are to give orders to write off all the estates, rights, &c., formerly belonging to that monastery, from the registers of the estates of the house of St. Sophia (*i.e.* the cathedral of the see of Polotsk), and enter them in two books (*i.e.* in duplicate), and send a report and one of the books to us to Moscow, with orders to deliver them into the prikaz of the grand principality of Lithuania, to our boyar Simeon Lucian. Streshneff and our diak Bogdan Silen; the other book, that is, the duplicate, word for word identical, being left at Polotsk in the *prikaznaia izba* (*i.e.* the government office). Ye are to read this our imperial letter, and then to return it to the archimandrite Ignatius and the community; that he and the other archimandrites who shall succeed him may build and hold that monastery, and have possession of its estates. Written in Moscow A.M. 7169 (A.D. 1660), Sept. 30th.' With the tsar's seal of the *bolshoi razriadni prikaz*. Signed by the diak 'Bogdan Silen;' and, 'Revised by Laska Basilieff.' Addressed, 'To our voivode at Polotsk, &c., with his colleagues.' 'Presented at Polotsk, and entered in the register A.M. 7169 (A.D. 1661), March 18th.' The tsar's letter was presented by the diak Philaret.

It is noticeable that in these two letters of Sept. 27th and 30th, A.D. 1660, the tsar mentions his own oukaz first, as the original, initiating, and efficient authority; and the grace and gift of the Holy Ghost afterwards, as the secondary, subordinate, ministerial, and instrumental agency controlled and directed by him: and he seems to represent the bishop Callistus as having, in writing to the tsar, observed the same order; while the bishop, in his letter of institution given to the archimandrite Jan. 16th, A.D. 1660, dissembles the fact that in what he does he has been subordinating, and is still subordinating, the grace and gift of the Holy Ghost to the tsar's oukaz, and puts *the divine authority first*, and *the tsar's second*, and professes to institute the archimandrite because he had been credibly certified of his being a fit and proper person, &c. Also in charging the archimandrite to pay to himself due obedience as to his true and rightful pastor, he omits to allude to the tsar's oukaz of Feb. 21st, A.D. 1659, by which Nicon's patriarchal constitution of March A.D. 1658 was reversed, and on which alone the bishop Callistus's claim to exercise jurisdiction over the Theophany monastery was based. The imperial orders relating to mere property and to the civil possession of it which occur in these documents are, of course, irrelevant to that difference between Nicon and the secular government which the same documents are here adduced to illustrate.

APPENDIX III. *In connection with what is related at p.* 164 *about the procession on Palm Sunday*, A.D. 1659.

Nicon had misgivings about the ceremony of the procession on the ass on Palm Sunday, not by any means because he thought it unbecoming for the emperor to show his reverence for the bishop by leading his horse by the bridle, as was said to have been done also by Constantine the Great, but because he thought it too great a thing even for a primate or patriarch, without an express command, on that day so to personate Christ. What he thought of the ceremony as continued after the tsar had made himself supreme, when the tsar led his own delegate Pitirim by the bridle, Nicon shows at pp. 240 and 165 of his *Replies*, &c., where he writes that the tsar certainly can, if it pleases him, set Pitirim or anybody else on a beast and lead him about, but that will not make Pitirim to symbolize the conqueror of sin and of death and hell, nor show reverence on the part of the tsar towards Christ and His vicars, but only a hypocritical mockery and profaneness.

Under the titular patriarch Joachim, though he himself (like Paul and Hilarion) would have been glad to retain as much authority and honour as possible for his ill-obtained office, the ceremony of Palm Sunday was felt to be incongruous; and, after having first been limited to certain chief cities, it was abolished. In the patriarchal and synodal exposition on the subject put forth in March A.D. 1678, and printed in vol. vi. of the *Drev. Russ. Bibl.*, at p. 357, it is said: 'Of this custom we have not been able to find in the church-books any mention whatever, nor in the old chronicles: so probably it was introduced only a little before our own age, in the time of the troubles. Nevertheless, since our autocrats were pleased that it should be so, to show to the people a figure of their humility, and good submission of themselves before Christ the Lord (by leading with their sceptred hands the ass by the bridle), it was well. But that which was edifying and allowed for the piety of the sovereigns (themselves) has become a sort of law, so that in *time of vacancy of the patriarchate* other bishops do it; and they dare to do it in other cities also, where the ruler—it may be even a man of no great honour—representing the tsar's majesty, leads the ass. So, since it is not done by any fixed rule or rubric (*ustav*) of the Church, nor is practised in any other Christian states, wishing to put an end to the supposition of its necessity now existing, we have decreed thus: As not contrary to piety, and for the devotion of our most religious sovereigns, this custom is henceforth to be observed only in the capital city of Moscow by the *patriarch himself*, but by no other bishops, nor *during any vacancy of the patriarchate*. For it is not fit that what is allowed to the patriarch himself should therefore be done by any lower bishop. Nor is it to be done in any other cities; because in them there is not the presence of the tsar, nor any rule or precedent of old times. Therefore by all means, where this can be done without scandal, let this procession be suppressed as an innovation. But if anywhere it be apprehended that it would cause scandal to omit it, or the devout people greatly desire it, though this be of their ignorance, we, condescending to their devotion or ignorance or

obstinacy, allow that the bishop and clergy may go in procession according to custom to the usual place, and there, an image of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem being prepared, may sing a moleben, and bless palms and distribute them, and carry the image, going themselves on foot, with the usual singing. So honour will be paid to Christ, and *the honour of the autocrat will be saved*, and the wish of the people will be gratified.' This act is signed by the patriarch Joachim, Joasaph archbishop of Kazan and Sviajsk, Jonah metr. of Rostoff, Simon metr. of Vologda and Bielo-ozersk, Paul metr. of Siberia, Barnosophius metr. of Sarai and Podonsk, Simeon archbishop of Tver, Philaret metr. of Nijny Novgorod, and Joseph metr. of Riazan.

APPENDIX IV. *Precedents for abdication, such as it may have been hoped in Feb.* A.D. 1660 *to obtain from Nicon. See p.* 184.

1. *Letter of abdication of Gennadius, abp. of Novgorod*, A.D. 1504 (*from col. i. of 'Acta Archaeol. Exped.' p.* 488).

'To my lord the most reverend Simon, metropolitan of all Russia, I, your lowest beadsman Gennadius, archbishop of Great Novgorod and Pskoff, make my petition. For my weakness, my lord, I have given up my archbishopric *and the degree of my episcopate* of Great Novgorod and Pskoff: and henceforth, so long as God wills that I live, I desire no more to perform any episcopal functions, nor to meddle with any matters, nor to style myself archbishop, *nor to teach, but to be taught*: because I am now no longer an archbishop: for I have given up all episcopal acts, and by this my writing I have renounced and do renounce all: and I choose for myself to live in a monastery the life of a monk, abiding in obedience, and submitting myself in all things to my last breath, guarding my soul from the snares of the enemy, and from the spirits of malice, according to the word spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ: for no one, He says, who, after *putting his hand to the plough*, looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God. To Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen. This letter I, Gennadius, late archbishop, have subscribed with my own hand, and have set to my seal.'

2. *Letter of abdication of the metropolitan Daniel, dated March 26th*, A.D. 1539.

'Behold I, the humble Daniel, late metropolitan of all Russia, when I had been in the metropolitan chair at Moscow a sufficiently long time, and so after some years was scarcely in full possession of my faculties, having felt my understanding to be too weak for such an office, and my thoughts to be confused and inaccurate, do now judge myself to be incompetent to perform such episcopal functions; and I have renounced and do renounce the metropolitan see, and I desist from all episcopal acts: and I pray all the sacred synod, the archbishop Macarius of Great Novgorod and Pskoff, and all the episcopal synod in Christ, to forgive me (*i.e.* to allow me to resign), and not to condemn my abdication of the episcopate, but to request the hossoudar the grand prince to let me retire to a life of silence; and that so all may be done according to my thought. And now, behold, I go out from the metropolitan chair: and I

renounce entirely the episcopal title; and I leave to the hossoudar, the grand prince, peace and my blessing; and I desire their prayers for myself. Lastly, I also bless and pardon (or allow and recognise) him whom God shall choose to Himself as pastor and metropolitan, to preside in my stead over His Church. And in all may God be glorified who is hymned in Trinity, Amen. I, Daniel, have written this letter with my own hand in the year 7047, March 26' (*Acts of the Archaeol. Exped.* vol. i. No. 185, p. 163).

APPENDIX V. *In connection with the convocation of the tsar's pseudo-synod in Feb.* A.D. 1660. *See p.* 184.

Address made by the bishop Callistus of Polotsk to the tsar Alexis at Moscow in the spring of A.D. 1660.

'When I approach the relics of the Moscow saints and the sacred icons, and thy bright eyes, O hossoudar, &c., fearing and shedding tears for my unworthiness, I cannot but tremble; but, on the other hand, I am filled with ineffable joy and inward exultation at the grace and affection which vouchsafes to my unworthiness such great gifts, to see often the bright face of thy majesty. We rejoice that while praying for thee, and especially for thy state affairs, at Polotsk, we hear continually—not for any worthiness of our prayers, but for the intercession of the Mother of God—of thy victories, and feel that God of a truth subdues all adversaries under thy feet. And, the disobedient and hard of heart, if anywhere they assemble as to one net, for a time opposing thy heaven-bestowed power, if they are not converted and show outwardly their true repentance, not only will they, as a flower, as grass, as snow, as a dream, soon vanish, but also, for their injustice, not being truthful, they will perish for ever. For the Lord resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. I think that hereafter *God*, the ruler of the universe, *will not endure proud minds and wills*,[1] any more than He that sees the hearts endures vacillation and inconstancy from disregard of conscience, such as is shown by all the adversaries of thy majesty.' And he wishes that the tsar may conquer 'not only these regions, but also all others,' &c. &c. (*Drev. R. Bibl.* vol. iii. No. 44).

APPENDIX VI. *Greek form of deposing a bishop. In connection with p.* 281. *See too vol. ii. p.* 13, 384; *and iii. p.* 181.

A.M. 7168, Aug. 13th (A.D. 1660), the great hossoudar (the tsar Alexis), &c., ordered Pitirim metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and Hilarion archbishop of Riazan and Mourom, to confer with the Greek bishops, the metropolitans of Paros and of Thebes, Cyril abp. of Zadonsk, and Nectarius abp. of Rodora, and with Dionysius archimandrite of Iviron (*i.e.* of the monastery of the Georgians on Mount Athos), and to inquire how with them the removal of a bishop is managed, and in what form after the removal of a former patriarch it is proper to subscribe the synodal act.

And the Greek bishops, the metropolitan of Paros, and the arch-

[1] *i.e.* your majesty may count on my services against Nicon.

bishops Cyril and Nectarius, and the archimandrite Dionysius said: 'The bishops meet in the cathedral, and put on their epitrachelia and omophoria; and they set the gospel in the midst of the church. And the bishops go forth from the altar, and stand each in his place according to their rank. And the presiding bishop begins Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν (Blessed be our God, &c.). Then Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε and the Τρισάγιον, and the Πατὲρ ἡμῶν (as at the beginning of all the daily and occasional offices): and after the Πατὲρ ἡμῶν the troparia, Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν and the troparion of the church. Δόξα, κ.τ.λ. and Ὅταν κατῆλθες τὰ ἔθνη διέσπειρες, κ.τ.λ. Νῦν καὶ ἀεί, κ.τ.λ. and the kontakion of the church. Then the Ἐκτενὴς, and the Ἀπόλυσις with the cross. Then they read the *synodal act*, the first bishop reading it, or any other bishop whom they choose: and after it has been read the bishops subscribe it with their hands in the order of their rank.'

APPENDIX VII. *In connection with the footnote at p.* 289. *The affair of the black deacon Theodosius* (A.D. 1660).

In the year 7169, Sept. 5th (A.D. 1660), the great hossoudar, &c., ordered the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, and the doumni dvorianin Procopius Kouzmich Eleazaroff, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff to examine the black deacon Theodosius and the master-tailor Timoshka Gabrieloff upon the memorial of the patriarch Nicon, and the former answers of the same deacon and the same Timothy, and the petition of the same deacon owning himself guilty of the charge against him.

And in his examination the master-tailor Timoshka said that he, under the direction of the black deacon Theodosius, made a mixture; burned some wheat flour, and plucked some hairs from his own head, and wetted them with his sweat. And he, the deacon, bade him make that mixture for s——, and for attracting to one's-self man and woman; and (he said) that he had a thought against the monk Laurentius. And he bade him rub himself with that mixture, and utter at the same time the words as is written in the original procès verbal. And he, the deacon, then showed him a moderate-sized root of yellow colour: and he, Timoshka, asked him what that root was? and what he was going to do? and the deacon said to him that when this matter should be effected, then he would tell him, and also teach him something else. But who gave him that root he did not tell him.

And the black deacon Theodosius, being examined, said that he did not instruct the tailor Timoshka to make any mixture, nor show him any root; and there was nothing to show him, because he had no root. In all that the tailor Timoshka simply slandered him.

When they were confronted, the tailor repeated his former assertions, that he made the mixture under the direction of the deacon, and that respecting that mixture he, the deacon, presented to the patriarch a petition confessing himself guilty, and after that he also in examination owned himself guilty, and those his replies under examination exist subscribed with the deacon's own hand.

But the deacon Theodosius, when confronted with the tailor and

questioned respecting his petition and his replies under examination, denied all, and said that he wrote that petition owning himself guilty under dictation and unwillingly, by compulsion of the Pole Nicholas Olshevsky; and he was beaten with plitts nine times; and he set his hand to his replies under examination also unwillingly, and by compulsion of the same Olshevsky. And the answers to the questions of the examination were read to him after he had set to his hand. And he, the deacon, when he had set to his hand, said: Though the great hossoudar should make order to have him confronted with the metropolitan and the archimandrite, he knows nothing of that matter imputed to him.

But the tailor Timoshka said that he, the deacon, gave the petition owning his guilt to the patriarch before he was beaten, and that he was beaten about the roots.

And the deacon said that he gave a petition owning himself guilty to the patriarch before he was beaten, but not that which was connected with this cause, but about another matter which he, the deacon, said he had heard from some of the inferior monks and gave information of the same. And that petition was not received from him.

And the great hossoudar the tsar, &c., having heard the answers to the interrogatory, and those made when the parties were confronted, ordered that the tailor Timoshka and the deacon Theodosius should be examined about that felonious compound with the threat of tortures, and should be tortured.

And when examined at the rack, Timoshka owned himself guilty, and said of the deacon Theodosius that the said deacon had not instructed him to make any compound, nor had shown him any root; but he was told to depose against the deacon about the compound and the root by the sotnik of the Sabbino monastery Osip Michaeloff, who is now with the patriarch. And for that (to compel him to do that) he tortured him: and together with him, Osip, the Pole Nicholas Olshevsky *by order of the patriarch* tortured him, and instructed him to depose against the deacon about the compound and the root. But he who really taught him to make the compound was the patriarch's smith Kuzemka Iv. Ostashkovetz, who is now living in the Krestnoy monastery.

And Timoshka was hauled up and tortured: he received twelve blows; and was scorched with fire: and while being hauled up, and struck, and scorched with fire he said the same as before, that he had been bidden to say against the deacon all that he had said by the sotnik Osip Michaeloff and the Pole Nicholas Olshevsky; but that the deacon had really done nothing of that; nor had he been shown by him any root; and he spoke against the deacon only as they instructed him.

And the black deacon Theodosius in presence of the torture said that the metropolitan and the archimandrite never sent him to the patriarch, nor gave him any roots; and he neither saw nor knows any German. But he went from the Choudoff monastery because he, being among the strangers, had a quarrel with a black pope. And he wrote the petition owning himself guilty, under fear, and at the dictation of the Pole Nicholas Olshevsky, from a form set before him: and this form of the petition owning himself guilty was written by the podiak Vaska

Larionoff with Nicholas Olshevsky; and he wrote the petition owning himself guilty from his, Vaska's, hand. And together with the same Nicholas there came also and beat him the sotnik Osip Michaeloff. But after that petition owning himself guilty (had been written), the sotnik wrote the replies made under examination, and beat him; and they forced him to set his hand to those replies made under examination; and he, not being able to stand out against the violence used with him, set to his hand against his will.

And the deacon being hauled up and tortured *sharply*, received fifteen blows, and was scorched with fire; and while being hauled up and struck and scorched he said the same as before, (repeating that) he had *not* instructed Timoshka to make any compound, nor had shown him any roots. But when they were at Kargopol Timoshka already before now said that he had falsely accused him, the deacon, and was taught not by him, the deacon: he spoke of another; but of whom it was he does not know. Timoshka must know.

In this year 7169, Dec. 20th, the voivode Eustathius Zibin wrote to the tsar, &c., from Kargopol, and sent, in pursuance of a letter of the late patriarch Nicon, the prisoner Mishka Poliakoff, and he wrote that this prisoner was involved in the same sorcery with the deacon Theodosius and the tailor Timoshka.

But in the former letter of the patriarch Nicon, in which the deacon and the tailor were named, he, Mishka, was not named; and in the answers of the deacon and the tailor made in examination and under torture his name was not mentioned.

And in the posolski prikaz he, Mishka, was interrogated who he was? and by birth a native of what town? and on what business he was sent to Kargopol? And Mishka said that he was by birth from Kolmogori; but he was at Moscow in the prikaz of Yakoff Solovtsoff as a streletz; and from the streltsi he ran away to the patriarch, to the Krestnoy monastery, and lived in that monastery two years; and the patriarch sent him to Kargopol because he had taught the tailor Timoshka words of incantation.

In the year 7169 the great hossoudar ordered that that prisoner should be kept in the Semenoff under guard till farther order.

The prisoner was sent on that same date with a guard of the Novogorodski Chet *Porphyrius Perekoff*.

And Jan. 31st the prisoner, being examined in presence of the torture, said that he taught Timothy the tailor words of incantation to incline a woman towards a man: but it was Timothy himself who spoke to him about such instruction; and he, Mishka, learned those words from a half-witted man, a vagabond, about a year before that time. That vagabond came to hire himself at the Krestnoy monastery as a labourer; but the stroitel of the Krestnoy monastery did not hire him to work: he knew that he was a vagabond rogue. But what that vagabond's name was, or to what town he belonged, or where he is now he knows not; for he slept in the Krestnoy monastery only one night. But except Timoshka he never taught such words of incantation to anybody else; nor has he ever himself used those words for any evil purpose against any one; nor

does he know any other felonious words whatever. And Mishka was tortured: he received fifteen blows; and under torture he said the same as when examined before.

APPENDIX VIII. *In connection with p.* 380. *Notices of Nicon and the tsar Alexis and of Morozoff; and List of the boyars, &c.: from Baron Meyerberg and his chaplain Glavinich, May* A.D. 1662.

Under a drawing of Nicon (No. 59) taken for baron Meyerberg, and no doubt, like that of the tsar, from some picture of him, there is the following inscription: 'The patriarch of all Russia, Nicon, who at the time of our stay, being in disgrace, was absent from Moscow. . . . For his distinguished natural gifts and his learning he was chosen to be a metropolitan . . . . he is now living in the monastery of Voskresensk or New Jerusalem, 40 versts or 8 German miles from Moscow.' And in the text of his book the same baron Meyerberg writes that 'in time past the respect of the tsar for Nicon and the confidence he reposed in him were so great that he seemed all powerful: but having by the vicissitudes of life at court lost the tsar's favour, he withdrew to Voskresensk, where he now lives hidden in the monastery without any hope whatever of rising again, yet with a mind generously courageous, and not cast down.' Into the causes of Nicon's disgrace baron Meyerberg does not seem to have gained much insight (his chaplain Glavinich writes of him 'homo *vafer*, et a natura *callidi ingenii*'); and most of what he writes on this subject is not worth transcribing, though one may detect under it some slight hints of the sources of his information or misinformation. He writes: 'About the causes of his fall there are different accounts given by different people. There is most likelihood in the account given by them who ascribe his fall to his passion for *innovations*, and his restless disposition, whereby he drew Russia into war first with Poland and then with Sweden.' [But in the Questions sent against him in A.D. 1663 to C.P. nothing is said of his having caused wars: but his attempt to set limits to the interference of the imperial power with the spiritual, his disallowance of the code of 1649, and various other things connected with these, or with the exceptional position and influence and title given him by the tsar, are denounced as *innovations*. See vol. iii. p. 323, 346.] 'The representations made by his enemies on *this* [not really the wars, but the other *innovations* and restlessness] to the grand duke drew down the anger of this latter on Nicon. But to the *people* they said that by introducing in the schools newly established by him the Greek and Latin languages, by changing divers ecclesiastical ceremonies, by the severity with which he rose up against various popular customs, and by many other *innovations*, he was endeavouring to unsettle the Orthodox faith (suspiciosis Moscovitarum animis et priscæ consuetudinis tenacibus haud obscura conceptæ in religionis dogmatibus innovationis indicia accumulaverat). By these means they succeeded in drawing upon him universal displeasure: and as through the insinuations of the tsaritsa and her father, who for private reasons of their own had long been his enemies, the patriarch had gradually lost the favour of the grand duke, they did not any longer think it necessary to show towards him any condescension.' 'Propter quæ omnia omnibus

exosus, et *ad exilium* communibus votis expetitus, patrocinium nullum invenit in animo Alexii, cujus animum sensim abalienaverunt jactis in longum odiis uxor et soceri illi ob privatas causas infensi.' (Adelung, p. 252; and Meyerberg, *Iter in Moscoviam*, &c. p. 82.)

Archdeacon Coxe, who accompanied Lord Herbert as his chaplain, in his *Travels in Poland and Russia*, &c., printed in 8vo in London A.D. 1792, gives an account of the patriarch Nicon derived chiefly from baron Meyerberg, from whom (vol. ii. p. 24) he quotes the passage just given, and from his own contemporary, Muller. He extols the patriarch Nicon as a man of extraordinary ability, enlightenment, and virtue, as a courageous patriot, and as a most faithful counsellor and servant of the crown, whose fall was caused by the envy and malice of the courtiers, who could not endure his superiority. Only it was a pity—the Protestant archdeacon thinks—that such a man should have thought it to become him to live a life of narrow-minded *asceticism*, which might equally have been practised by any common ignorant monk. So it is without any appreciation of those religious and ecclesiastical principles for which Nicon contended, and merely for his political character, that Coxe, and perhaps Meyerberg too, not only justified him against the boyars and the crown, but even admired him as a sort of hero.

It seems, then, from the fact, that such a man as baron Meyerberg heard nothing of the real nature of the difference between Nicon and the tsar, that the tsar and the boyars were not willing that it should be publicly known, or known to foreigners, what Nicon was claiming, and for what he was contending.

Baron Meyerberg, as an eye-witness, describes the tsar's person at this time thus: 'The person of the grand duke is well proportioned, somewhat inclining to corpulence: his expression of countenance is good-natured; his complexion fair; his cheeks are ruddy; his hair blond, and beard bushy; he is strongly and well put together; but one must fear that his present disposition to corpulence, he being now thirty-six years old,[5] increasing with years, will produce an unfavourable effect on his bodily constitution and weaken him.' The drawing of him taken for baron Meyerberg, which is no doubt from a portrait, is very like that portrait of the tsar Alexis which is still preserved in the armoury hall at Moscow, and which is supposed to be the original of all the known representations of him. Of this drawing Adelung writes that 'in it the tsar Alexis is represented as well-looking in his outward appearance, but somewhat older than he could look during the time that Meyerberg was at Moscow. His aspect is grave, but not fierce; while in his eyes and about his mouth there are indications of bonhommie' (*Baron Meyerberg and his travels in Russia, with copies of the drawings taken for him from the R. Library at Dresden*, edited by Theod. Adelung, Petersburg, 1827, p. 243).

Of his mental character Meyerberg writes: 'Full of goodwill and condescension, he not only finds no pleasure in punishing criminals, but sincerely wishes that there were no offences needing to be punished. Of

[5] That would imply that this was written in A.D. 1661 or 1665; but baron Meyerberg left Moscow on the 6th May A.D. 1662, when the tsar was only thirty-three years old.

his natural temperament he is a lover of peace. As zealously attached to the faith of his fathers, he fulfils with all his soul its rules and its doctrine in all his actions. Visiting diligently the churches, he with exemplary piety observes there all the sacred ceremonies. Often he rises in the night, and, like David, bowing to the ground, occupies himself till the morning with prayers. At the same time this is indeed worthy of admiration, that though invested with supreme unlimited power over a nation used to submit without murmuring to the will of its ruler, and to every movement of that will, this tsar has never allowed himself to injure any one of his subjects either in their persons or in their property and honour. Though, like all great people of lively feelings, he is subject at times to ebullitions of anger, yet even then his expression of it goes not beyond the giving of some cuffs or kicks (Quamvis ab irâ, ut omnes delicati sensus heroes, aliquando abripiatur, ultra pugnos tamen et calces numquam se sinit asportari).' And see what Collins writes in his book published in London after his death in 1671, reprinted in our vol. iii. p. 529-537.

Of the boyar Boris Iv. Morozoff, baron Meyerberg, who came to Moscow 25th May A.D. 1661, little more than five months before he died, and who was in Moscow at the time of his death, writes thus, p. 85: 'After having retired in consequence of his health being quite broken from public affairs, he retained perfect all the activity of his mind and power of conversation: and hence the grand duke not unfrequently visited him *secretly* to consult with him about matters of prime importance. From his natural intelligence and great experience, he would have been the man most capable of directing the government, if only he could have bridled his excessive covetousness. During Morozoff's last illness the grand duke visited him every day, and attended his funeral' (Adelung, p. 279).

At p. 152 of Theod. Adelung's account of baron Meyerberg's *Iter in Moscoviam*, &c., and its drawings, Petersburg, 1827, he gives from Meyerberg a list of the boyars, &c., in A.D. 1662, as follows:

Boyars.

Prince Yakoff Koud. Cherkassky, died A.D. 1666.
Prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, died A.D. 1663.
Prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, died A.D. 1689.
Prince Gregory Sem. Kourakin, died after A.D. 1682.
Prince Theodore Theod. Kourakin, died A.D. 1680.
Prince Gregory Sounch. Cherkassky, murdered A.D. 1672.
Peter Bas. Sheremetieff, died A.D. 1686.
Prince Ivan Sem. Prozorofsky, murdered A.D. 1670.
Elia Dan. Miloslafsky, died A.D. 1668.
Michael Mich. Soltikoff, died A.D. 1671.
Peter Mich. Soltikoff, died A.D. 1683.
Laurenti Dmitr. Soltikoff, died A.D. 1662.
Ivan Ivan. Soltikoff, died A.D. 1670.
Prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, killed A.D. 1682.
Prince Ivan Iv. Romodanofsky, died A.D. 1671.
Prince Basil Greg. Romodanofsky, died A.D. 1670.
Prince Ivan Iv. Lobanoff-Rostofsky, died A.D. 1664.
Prince Boris Alexandr. Repnin, died A.D. 1670.

Prince Ivan Bor. Repnin, died A.D. 1686.
Prince Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, beheaded A.D. 1682.
Prince Ivan Petr. Pronsky, died after A.D. 1681.
Simeon Lucian. Streshneff, died A.D. 1666.
Basil Bor. Sheremetieff, taken prisoner A.D. 1660; living 1681.
Nikita Al. Zuzin, banished A.D. 1665.
Ivan Andr. Miloslafsky, died A.D. 1684.
Prince Theodore Theod. Volkonsky, died A.D. 1665.
Prince Ivan Andr. Khilkoff, died A.D. 1681.

Okolniks.

Prince Boris Iv. Trockouroff, died A.D. 1671.
Theodore Bas. Boutourlin, died A.D. 1673.
Andr. Bas. Boutourlin, died after A.D. 1670.
Prince Daniel Step. Velikovo-Gagin, died after A.D. 1667.
Prince Dmitri Alex. Dolgorouky, died A.D. 1673.
Prince Peter Alex. Dolgorouky, died A.D. 1669.
Prince Theodore Theod. Dolgorouky, died A.D. 1664.
Prince Joseph Iv. Scherbatoff, died A.D. 1667.
Prince Timothy Iv. Scherbatoff, died A.D. 1662.
Prince Ivan Dmitr. Pojarsky, died A.D. 1668.
Prince Gregory Greg. Romodanofsky, killed A.D. 1682.
Michael Semen. Volhinsky, died A.D. 1669.
Basil Semen. Volhinsky, died after A.D. 1681.
Jdan Bas. Kondireff, died A.D. 1667.
Theodore Kouzm. Eleazaroff, died A.D. 1664.
Theodore Mich. Rtischeff, died A.D. 1673.
Ivan Athan. Gavreneff, died A.D. 1663.
Michael Alex. Rtischeff, died A.D. 1673.
Ivan Theod. Streshneff, major, died after A.D. 1682.
Ivan Theod. Streshneff, minor, died before A.D. 1670.
Prince Andrew Theod. Litvinoff Mosalskoy, died A.D. 1664.
Rodion Matv. Streshneff, died A.D. 1685.
Basil Mich. Eropkin, died A.D. 1667.
Procopius Theod. Sokovnin, died A.D. 1662.
Theodore Yak. Miloslafsky, died in Persia, A.D. 1665.
Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, died A.D. 1684.
Alexis Dmitr. Kolicheff, died A.D. 1662.
Osip Iv. Soukin, died A.D. 1669.
Prince Ivan Petr. Bariatinsky, died after A.D. 1681.
Basil Alexandr. Choglokoff, died A.D. 1667 at Olonetz.
Bogdan Matv. Khitroff, died A.D. 1680.

Domnie Dvorianini.

Ivan Theod. Eropkin, died A.D. 1666.
Athanasius Laur. Ordin-Nashchokin, monk A.D. 1671; died 1680.
Ivan Iv. Baklanofsky, died after A.D. 1677.
Procopius Kouzm. Eleazaroff, died after A.D. 1676.
Ivan Paul. Matiushkin, died after A.D. 1676.
Ivan Athan. Pronchishcheff, died A.D. 1670.
Gregory Mich. Anitchkoff, died A.D. 1671.

Komnatnie Stolniki.

Kravchi—Prince Peter Semen. Ourousoff, died after A.D. 1681.
Prince Yakoff Nik. Odoefsky, died after A.D. 1690.
Ivan Bas. Boutourlin, died after A.D. 1681.
Prince Youry Mich. Odoefsky, died A.D. 1685.
Prince Youry Iv. Romodanofsky, died after A.D. 1681.
Basil Yakov. Golochvastoff.
Leo Yak. Golochvastoff.
Ivan Yak. Golochvastoff.
Theodore Bas. Lodijensky.
Theodore Alex. Polteff, died A.D. 1676.
Theodore Mich. Rtischeff, minor.
Athanasius Iv. Matiushkin, died A.D. 1676.
Prince Michael Your. Dolgorouky, killed A.D. 1682.
Peter Iv. Matiushkin, living in A.D. 1681.
Prince Ivan Alex. Vorotinsky, died A.D. 1681.
Gregory Nikiph. Sobakin, died A.D. 1689.
Basil Nikiph. Sobakin.
Prince Alexis Andr. Golitsin, died A.D. 1694.
Prince Ivan Bor. Troekouroff, died after A.D. 1689.
Prince Ivan Theod. Khvorostinin.

Doumnie Diaki.

Almiaz Ivanoff, died A.D. 1669.
Semen (Iv.) Zaborofsky, dismissed A.D. 1664; died 1677.
Larion (Dmitr.) Lopouchin, died A.D. 1671.

APPENDIX IX. *In connection with p.* 439.

Detailed statement given by Roman Fedor. Babarikin, A.M. 7171, *May* 5, *to the most holy patriarch Nicon* (*appended by Nicon to his petition or memorial dated on or after June* 16*th*, A.D. 1663).

In the selo of Voskresensk in the old church, votive icons of my setting up for the time of prayer: the festivals of our Lord and of the Mother of God, and of all the saints: icons for the monthly menea of all the year; and twenty-one icons set and glazed with leaves of talc.

And from other estates of mine corn was carried by force to the Voskresensky monastery and threshed: from the selo of Voskresensk, and from the selo of Kashina, and from the waste of Podsosenie, and from the seltso Boborevo corn was carried from the fields, and from the old stacks: in all the places, there was threshed of rye in past years at one time or another 1952 cheti; and of spring wheat in all 2100 cheti: and of hay and grass in two years there were carried 500 average-sized cocks; and to the amount of 150 like cocks more was trodden down or grazed on my meadows at the same times that they cut (the rest), and on another occasion when they came with many people after the grass with carts. And when I was in the suite of the great hossoudar, in the campaign before Riga, Amelka Antinieff, a peasant of the village of Kotelnikova, came to my house, and railed at my wife and insulted her without cause. And

he, the same Amelka, being drunk at the time, struck violently a woman of my household, Elizabeta Gregorievna, who was his own godmother, and crippled her, without cause, and plucked her hair from her head till he was covered with her hairs. And besides this, when the most holy patriarch was in the Voskresensky monastery, and in his absence, the peasants of Kachaborova and Veliaminova, belonging to that monastery, beat and crippled my nephew Stephen Yoroponoff and my people Aleshka Semenoff with twelve men of his fellows; and there was taken from them as a fine money at the rate of three rubles in silver money, and a new net of so many sagenes in length. And my agent Mishka Tatarin went with Basil Salmanoff, an officer of thy prikaz, after a woman of mine who had been enticed away, to take her, and thy peasants Philemoshka Alexeyeff and Yaroshka and Larka, herdsmen of Mishka Rogacheff, with their fellows, in the village of Richkova, beat and maimed my agent above named. The wounds are still to be seen on his head. And the peasant Mishka Semenoff, of the same village of Richkova, enticed away Dunka, a woman of my household, wife of Grishka Timotheeff. And he gave up that woman in person, and she is still detained in person; but there was nothing stolen found upon her. And Luchka Aristoff, a peasant of the village of Poleva, enticed away my man Aleshka Semenoff, and that man of mine so enticed away is now with me in person. That peasant gave up the icons belonging to my man whom he had enticed away, and his cattle and all his household goods and implements; but there remained which he had not given up four men's shirts, and four pair of drawers, and four women's shifts, and a chetvert of rye, and a pood of salt, and an axe for cutting wood, and a pair of men's boots worn. And in the selo of Chernevo the pope and the peasant Mishka, with his fellows, beat and maimed my people Mark Andreeff and Andriushka Kondratieff. And Timoshka and Petrushka, sons of Bogdashikoff, of the village of Richkova, with their fellows, stole from me three horses, and those horses my people Panka Tatarin and his fellows, by following their traces, tracked up, and took them away from them. And Kostka and Eleazarka, sons of the pope of the village of Kotelnikova, and the peasant Moska Varjin stole a quantity of hay from my wastes of Podsosenie and Sniegino, and from my meadows.

And in pursuance of this affidavit and amicable agreement, I desire of the patriarch that he give orders to restore those icons, and give order to make compensation in full for all those robberies and thefts, and to give redress against those peasants.

And if the most holy patriarch, in pursuance of my petition and affidavit, will make a composition with me, and give redress against his peasants, and order compensation to be made for their robberies, I on my side will forego all my direct complaints against himself, for the affronts put upon me at thirteen different times that I went to him in former different years at different dates, on account of his instigating (his peasants) to deadly outrage; whereas, according to the Code, for once going in person, if the other party does nothing in consequence, it is enacted that such should be punished, that they should be beaten with the knout, and that for the affront the damages sued for should be exacted to a double amount.

My fourteenth complaint I forego, viz. that thy peasants at various places without cause beat and maimed 44 of my people and peasants.

My fifteenth complaint I forego, viz. that thy peasant Sereshka Basilieff, of the village of Kachaborova, with his fellows, having driven off from my field 35 cows of mine caused their deaths.

My sixteenth complaint I forego, viz. that the monk of the stables of the same monastery of Voskresensk, Flavian, having come with a great number of people to my estate, beat and maimed my people and peasants, and bound and carried off with him to the monastery my agent Mishka Tatarin and three other men of my peasants, viz. Tereshka Timotheeff and his fellows, and kept them there with themselves and ill-used them in the monastery two whole days and nights, separately bound in chains and iron, within the walls and the prison, and carried them bound to Moscow, and kept them bound and confined in the Voskresensky podvorie. And by oukaz of the great hossoudar that my agent and the peasants were taken out from the podvorie of the Voskresensky monastery by the tsar's podiaks and commissioners, and restored to me from the prikaz. But thy poursuivant (strapchi) made no charge before the prikaz against that my agent and the peasants, to justify his having so dealt with them.

My seventeenth complaint I forego, viz. that, from violence done and from want of food, horses and cows and other live stock of mine died to the value of 600 rubles in silver money.

My eighteenth complaint I forego, viz. that thy peasants, in carrying grass from my meadows in their carts (there being a great many people with them) trampled down my spring wheat.

My nineteenth complaint I forego, viz. that thy fishermen, fishing in my lakes, took out the fish I had put into preserves there.

But by oukaz of the great hossoudar and by the Code it is enacted that whoever carry any other man's corn by violence, they are to be made to pay for the corn and for the insult twice the value, and that the same people are to be also punished by being beaten with the knout. And that, my twentieth complaint, I forego likewise.

My twenty-first complaint I forego, viz. that thy peasants of the monastery cut wood in my woods to sell. But now (I pray thee) be pleased to make a strict order to all the monastery peasants, as aforetime, that henceforth they cut no wood whatever of mine to sell.

The original detailed statement was written by Roman's agent.

Order of the most holy patriarch Nicon made in consequence of the receipt of the detailed statement of Roman.

In the year 7171, this same date, there came Roman Theod. Babarikin to the Voskresensky monastery, and petitioned the great hospodin the most holy patriarch Nicon against the peasants of the villages Kachaborova, Veliaminova, Poleva, and Richkova, on the estate of the monastery of Voskresensk, for violence and insult and all manner of robbery, praying that the hossoudar the patriarch would be pleased to order redress to be given him against those peasants. And on the 6th day of May the great hospodin the most holy patriarch Nicon ordered the archimandrite of the Voskresensky monastery Gerasimus and his sin-boyar Nicholas Olshevsky to get together those peasants, and after making examination to give such

redress as should satisfy Roman. And on the same date the archimandrite Gerasimus and the sin-boyar Nicholas Olshevsky went to the village of Kachaborova, and called him, Roman Fedorovich, to be present, and offered to give such redress as he pleased against the peasants. And he, Roman, in presence of them, the peasants, forbore to press any charge against them of all the charges he had made (*lit.* forgave them); and only asked for redress against three houses, and that without examination, and without any kind of evidence, viz. against Sereshka and his sons of the village of Kachaborova, against Luchka Aristoff of the village of Poleva, and against Mishka Rogacheff and his herdsmen of the village of Richkova.

And he, Roman Fedorovich, said: 'I bought that estate of the boyar Basil Petrovich Sheremetieff, and I gave for it 1000 rubles. But I forego to him, the great hossoudar the bishop, my claims for all the injuries done me by them, the peasants, and for damages to the amount of more than 20,000 rubles.' And he, Roman, spoke of fresh injuries which he charged against the peasants. They had cut, he said, an oak-tree in his wood by violence; and now they have that oak-tree lying with them on the road-side. And he desired that the great hospodin the most holy patriarch Nicon would be pleased to order redress to be given him against those who had done this violence, that for the future they might not make a habit of thus trespassing and playing the rogue. 'And if they shall say that they did not cut it in my woods, let them be called upon to show the stump from which they did cut it. If it turn out to be true that it was not cut in my wood, I will make any satisfaction that may be desired for my false accusation.' And he, Roman, said that in the deed of sale for his village of Saurova there was no specification of the wastes Visokoe and Yakovitsa and the others, the names of which he does not remember; and the hossoudar the patriarch is without any rightful claim trespassing upon those wastes, and seeking to possess himself of them by force. And he, Roman, presented a detailed statement, and said thus: 'If the great hospodin the most holy patriarch Nicon will make a composition with me in accordance with this my detailed statement on all points, I will forego all further complaint against those three houses which have been named above. But if the great hospodin the most holy patriarch Nicon declines to make a composition with me in accordance with this my detailed statement, I desire in that case that he, the hossoudar, be pleased to order redress and instruction to be made to me against all for those my injuries and damages.' But of the peasants who were personally confronted with Roman Babarikin this is the list:

Of the village of Richkova, the peasants Philomoshka Alexeyeff, and Yaroshka and Larka, and Mishka Rogacheff, and Mishka Semenoff.

Of the village of Poleva, Luchka Aristoff.

Of the village of Richkova, Timoshka and Petrushka, sons of Bogdashikoff.

Of the village of Kotelnikova, the sons of the pope, Kostka and Eleazar the deacon, and Moska Varjin.

Of the village of Kachaborova, Sereshka Basilieff, with his fellows.

Of the village of Veliaminova, all the peasants.

And of the selo Chernevo, the pope and the peasant Mishka.

Of the same matter.

In the year 7171, on the same date of the month of May, detailed note of the most holy patriarch Nicon for the nunnery, (ordering) how it is to be, and respecting the stone (*i.e.* brick) church, a copy of this detailed note being given to Roman Fedorovich, word for word. If Roman shall not be willing for the forgiveness of his sins to remove the nunnery to the old site (of Voskresensk)—the wooden church, that is, and the cells and the precinct—the patriarch will give his own carpenters to take them to pieces and to put them together again, but he, Roman, shall transport the materials either by his own peasants or by hired labour, as he may prefer; and when the monastery is finished, the patriarch will give orders to measure off and allot land for the priest and the other clerks equal to the old measure which was given when the property belonged to Roman. What allowance in money and bread for the priest and the other clerks and for twenty nuns he, Roman, may be willing to make for his own soul's health he is to specify, and to secure its payment for the future, so that the priest and the clergy and the nuns may be able to reckon upon it as a certain provision. The patriarch shall erect a brick church of the length inside of 30 feet, and (the same) across (in the trans-pts); the altar (sanctuary) with its recesses to be in length 12 feet, and in breadth the same as the church: there shall be a porch, inner and outer, that inside 9 feet in length, and in it doors: and to the church itself there shall be three doors, to the west, to the south, and to the north. For the brickwork, the thickness of the wall of the church from the height of a man's waist shall be four bricks; the height to the arches 24 feet: within there shall be four pillars (or piers) in size up to their capitals (or tops) like those which are now in the Voskresensky church within the altar; and the design shall be the same: the bands shall be of oak: there are no iron ones; and iron ones cannot be bought. There is a strict order from the hossoudar not to sell any to us; and if it were not so, there is no place here where one could buy them. The work shall be done in two years: in one year it cannot be got through with—so far as his (the patriarch's) work is concerned. But he, Roman Fedorovich, shall give the money which he received for the estate for the expenses of the building; and after his life he shall give also his estate there and his house to the same nunnery for a perpetual commemoration of his soul and the souls of his parents. And of this he, Roman, shall give security in writing, and the patriarch gives the like on his side.

At the same date Roman Fed. Babarikin gave a detailed statement respecting the establishment of the nunnery, of his inconstancy, to the effect that such a proposal could not by any manner of means be agreed to, not remembering his own soul and his word that he had given in time past, and what had passed in words between him and the most holy patriarch respecting that nunnery. But the patriarch gave him a detailed proposal in accordance with his former verbal engagement respecting that nunnery; and he, Roman, refusing to make a composition with the patriarch, and choosing to do himself justice in his own fashion, and to

get possession of all (that he pleased), writes in his detailed statement, without fearing the judgment of God, contrary to his own original word.

On the old site of the church there shall be built a brick church with pridiels (side apses, or lesser sanctuaries) upon vaults, with an under-crypt; one pridiel to be capable of warming, for winter, like that at Rojestvo: and as regards its measurements, the church proper shall be 30 feet long, and the trapeza 24 feet: and the inner porch and aisle all round the church proper shall be 9 feet wide: and the height of the church, and of the pridiels, and of the bell tower over the porch, shall be in due proportion; and round the church there shall be built a brick wall, 300 feet (in circumference), and in height like that of the Zvijensky monastery at Moscow; and in the wall there shall be constructed ten cells. And between every two cells there shall be a porch 9 feet across; and in those porches there shall be made two store-rooms, and one necessary in each: and to those ten cells there shall be made provision chambers. And the church, and the wall of the precinct, and the cells shall be begun and raised above ground in this present year 7171, and shall be finished, that is, the church and the cells in 7172, and the precinct in 7173: and the church and the cells shall be roofed with two planks of an inch thick, and the precinct wall shall be finished off (or covered) with brickwork. And to that church the images and books and vestments, and church vessels and bells, and all other church furniture shall be given from the old church; and whatever of the old church furniture shall not be found forthcoming in serviceable condition, all such things shall be provided and given new. And to that church there shall be given all the Boyar's Lodge and garden and threshing-floor, and where were the former houses and gardens of the people and the priest; and that land also shall all be given which the most holy patriarch gave at first from the land of Savatoff, twenty chetverts (at the rate of ?) in the field, and hay cuttings shall be given from the lands of Richkova from the middle road, and down on either bank of the Pesochna to the village of Trusova. And for that building of the church and of the precinct, I gave in addition 1000 rubles in silver money; with the understanding that for the priest of that church and the other church clerks, and for the nuns, what has up to this date been given, as also for candles and incense and church wine, shall be given in future from the Voskresensky monastery, and in addition what may be needful. I will write out also from my old gift for that building of the church according to my first agreement with the most holy patriarch: Of the price which the boyar Nikita Iv. Romanoff paid me for that one estate of the selo Voskresenskoe, with its villages and its wastes, viz. 8000 rubles in money, I gave back (*i.e.* undertook to give back) for the above-mentioned building of the church 6500. And the village of Kashina was sold by me without the corn (on the ground) for 1100 rubles; and the most holy patriarch in payment for that my estate sent only 700 rubles in money; and I remitted to him the other 400 rubles for the same building of the church. And now I give up for the same building of the church the corn that has been reaped (of my sowing) from the fields of Savatova, Kashina, and

Podsosenie, or carried from the old stacks, to the amount of 3452 chetverts: I also remit for the same building of the church, according to the terms of my petition, all my demands for compensation for trespasses and occupation of my lands and woods, and for all other damages done me; but (for the future) redress is to be given me against the peasants according to former agreement. Moreover the most holy patriarch took from me by force the monastery waste of Kirdeyeva, and asked me to consent to give him that waste for ten years, and the meadows which were held by the boyar Nikita Iv. Romanoff and the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy. But if the most holy patriarch shall not, in accordance with the terms of this detailed note, consent to build the brick church, he shall remove (taking this upon himself) from the nunnery the church and all the buildings, and set them up on the old site of the church, and give up all the images and books and vestments, and all other church furniture which came from the old church; and he shall give to the same church the lodge and the land and all the other rights and advantages, according to the first paragraph of this detailed note; and for the 3452 chetverts of corn from all the three estates (above mentioned), and for 324 other chetverts of corn which remained and have never been paid for on the land of Bobireva, and for the loss incurred by me by the death of live stock from ill treatment and want of food during two years, and for trespass and occupation of lands and woods, and for thirteen (fruitless) personal applications, and for affronts done to myself and my nephew, and for all other damages done to me, he shall (as compensation) cede to me all the land, with its peasants, which lies along the Pesochna on both sides of it; and for the waste of Kirdeyeva, tenanted by the monastery, they shall pay rent according to this detailed note, as is written in the first paragraph.

But if the most holy patriarch will not consent, then as a third offer for agreement, I will make an exchange with him for that my estate, and he shall give me instead of it Nachabino and Chernevo, which is now possessed by him, all of it; (and he shall give) for the monastery waste according to the first detailed note. But farther concessions than these or any other (more favourable) composition I cannot make. But if no amicable compromise is made (in other respects), but the nunnery is removed and established for the future on the site of our old church, with all the foundations attached to it by the most holy patriarch, and with the money allowances, so soon as the nunnery shall be established on that site, my promise of what I would give to it shall bind me. To this I can consent.

APPENDIX X. *In connection with the mention made at p.* 418 *of the Servian Youry Krijanich* (A.D. 1659-1676).

In A.D. 1617, in Austrian Croatia, either at or near Obverch, on the Ribnik property of his father, in the voivodstvo of Zagreb (Agram), the blagochinia (rural deanery) of Goritz, the *joupa* (volost, or liberty) of Lipnitz, in the parish of St. Elias, was born Youry Krijanich, called in Russia 'the Servian.'

The family had been known from remote antiquity. In the thirteenth century it was ennobled by Biela IV. of Hungary voivode of Slavonia, and it took for its heraldic device a *crayfish* between *two rivers*. This was varied afterwards, some descendants omitting the rivers, and others substituting a *fish*, from the name of the town *Rib*nik (*riba* in Slavonic being a *fish*), which might be rendered in English *Fish*bury. The family split into four branches: 1. the Klokotchskys, 2. the Greznovskys (both these two became extinct in the sixteenth century), 3. the Mratslinskys, and 4. the Nebliushskys. The Krijanichi belonged to these last.

In the sixteenth century, of three brothers, one, Vouk, fought like a hero with the famous Ban Youry Zrinsky against the Turks; another, Youry, bought, or held, of count Zrinsky large estates in the joupania of Zagreb, about Ozlic and Ribnik, and among them Ribnik itself, and Obverch, Yourievo, &c. He died early, and left a young son, Gaspar, whose guardian managed to take to himself nearly the whole inheritance, and Gaspar came in for little but the house and land of Obverch. He had by his wife Susanna one son, Youry, and a daughter, Barbara.

At the age of sixteen (about A.D. 1633) Youry lost his father: his mother had died before: his sister was married to a pomieshchik named Youry Sandrich, who claimed everything that the father had left; and Youry, while still a minor, was obliged to appear in the court of the Ban of Zagreb, to protest against this injustice.

The only schools were those of the clergy, and especially of the Jesuits. Their chief school was at Zagreb, whence youths went to the college at Vienna. But the bishop of Zagreb Benko Vinkovich (1637-42) had established at Vienna a separate Croatian seminary, in which he taught himself from 1624 to 1635. Soon after becoming bishop, he sent Krijanich, then aged twenty (about A.D. 1637), to this seminary; and there he completed his first course of theology, having been prepared for it at Zagreb, and learned German.

At that time all along the Turkish frontier there were free bands of Servians and others of the Greek rite (like the kozaks of the Polish Oukraine), who appeared and disappeared, or settled on waste lands within the Austro-Croatian frontier. Their affinity of race, and the popular character of their Slavonian ritual, made the intermixture of these schismatics very formidable to the Latin clergy; and some of the latter, the bishop of Zagreb especially, desired to set up the *United* Slavonian rite, as an antidote, in order to change the free bands of settlers from enemies to brethren.

Krijanich seems very early to have become a patriot, though at first in a narrower sense than afterwards: he perceived how the vulgar dialect was full of German and Italian words, and how the loss of civil independence had caused the loss or absence of nearly all those words which belong to a higher cultivation and literature; and he wished to improve and unite the Croatians, Servians, and other Slavonians, by improving their language, going back to the old roots, eliminating corruptions and foreign words, and substituting new native words regularly formed. He also had already a strong antipathy for foreigners, for Greeks as well as for Germans, and a great zeal for the extension of the United Slavonian

rite, seeing in it an instrument not only for the extension of Catholicism, but also for the union of the Slavonian tribes.

With the project of a Slavonian grammar and lexicon, and a Slavonian history, already in his mind, and with the hope of becoming himself a priest of the United rite, he, in 1639, with the bishop's permission, left Vienna for Bologna, where there was an Hungro-Croatian college maintained by native contributions. There, in 1639 and 1640, under his countryman Ivan Bourich, he studied theology and law, and learned Italian; and of this time he wrote afterwards to the bishop (3d Apr. 1641): 'Omnia quoque reliqua mea studia eo semper collimabant, ut *communi patriæ bono* esse possent.'

At the end of 1640 he suddenly, without writing to the bishop, or to the chapter of Zagreb, went to Rome. There is no sign that they were displeased; but there are signs that they regarded him as a young man who was following a line of his own, and who was not to be reckoned upon as an instrument by others. He indeed writes as if he were working to serve his own local Church; but to this there is no response; and he himself writes only very briefly of that which they considered to be the proper business for him as a student, but he enlarges on other interests and studies of his own.

At Rome, instead of applying at the German and Hungarian college, he applied for admission at the college of St. Athanasius, founded in 1577 by Gregory XIII. for Uniats, and then directed by Jesuits. But he found that, being of the Latin rite, he was inadmissible, and that he could not change from the one rite to the other. After four months he was with difficulty allowed to live in the college as a boarder.

On the 3d April 1641 he wrote to the bishop of Zagreb: 'Non alienum a meo munere esse, sed vero etiam meæ obedientiæ incumbere opinabar, efficere, ut minimè lateret V. R. Dominationem qualiter et quem ad finem ex Collegio Bononiensi me huc Romam ad Collegium Græcum transtulerim; quo mihi primo nudiustertius patuit ingressus, post summas difficultates, quas mihi opponebant, quod extaret quædam Bulla prohibens ullum admitti, nisi esset de nationè prædictâ, quantumvis ego non ut alumnus, sed ut convictor futurus aditum postularim. Tandem itaque post quadrimestre intervallum morarum, quas Romæ traxi, vix assecutus sum introitum in hoc Collegium.' He writes also: 'I have composed a treatise on grammar and on arithmetic in the vulgar Illyrian dialect, without admitting a single foreign word; and I have added several hundreds of words *wanting* in our dialect, and some hundreds of our proverbs: and I have at odd times been working at translating one or two small books from the Italian into our language. I have also, when there was an opportunity, paid attention to singing. Hoc autem et insequenti anno totus jam ero in Theologicis ordinariè; temporibus autem extraordinariis dabo me Græcis.' Vinkovich let him go on, but probably he did not understand exactly what he was after.

Again he writes: 'Ad Græcam autem linguam *controversiasque* schismaticorum subsecivis tantum horis incumbam.' And again: 'Jam enim a principio Græcarum litterarum fermè mediotatem mihi superare contigit; unde favente Deo ipsum quoque finem spero me non ægre

obtenturum. Ad hoc itaque tentandum illa me a principio movit ratio, ut omnes Græcorum res, ad *quos se nostri Valachi*[6] semper referunt, in ipso fonte penitius pervestigarem; atque ita habiliorem me redderem *ad exequenda mandata*,' &c.

He seems to have been ordained priest on the eve of Pentecost, 18th May 1641, in the basilica of St. John Lateran; and that would be of course according to the Latin rite, in which (though after a fashion strange to the eye of any Eastern Christian) all those who are ordained priests con-celebrate, or at least finish the mass, and consecrate, together with the bishop who has ordained them.

After his ordination, owing to the insufficiency of his own means, he petitioned to be appointed to some canonicate in connection with the cathedral of Zagreb.

At that time the chief correspondent and officious agent at Rome of the bishop of Zagreb was the Franciscan Raphael Levakovich, a countryman of Krijanich, but thirty years his senior, who in 1622 had been recommended to Rome by Glavinich, superior of the Franciscans at Trieste, and who had since been employed to correct the Croatian church books then printed and written in the Glagolitic character. He had written too of local Croatian history, and on the Illyrian origin of St. Jerome, and in favour of the Unia. To this Levakovich the bishop of Zagreb, in a letter dated 28th Dec. 1641, writes: 'Dominus Krisanich binâ vice per suas litteras apud me institit ut eidem canonicatum aliquem Zagrabiensem conferrem: cogito id facere prima datâ occasione.' And accordingly Krijanich, having shortly afterwards been appointed a canon, writes on the 1st Feb. 1642 his thanks, begging at the same time that the bishop's secretary should not direct letters to him with the title of canon; 'Cum mihi ob tenuitatem impensarum non liceat illud nomen gerere in hoc luxu Italico pro decore gentis et patriæ.' The ease with which he obtained his canonry (while others often found much opposition) is a sign that he had no *party* at home, and that nobody was afraid of his being *troublesome*. At this same date he writes to the bishop: 'Ex urbe quidem quam potero ocissimè me expediam, quod expirante æstate spero adfuturum, ubi nonnulla ad modicum hoc studium quod in Græca impendi, in ordinem redacta habuero. In Græcanico *sermone* . . . amplius non immoror, sed in id duntaxat incumbo, quâ ratione possim quinque illa dogmatum capita quæ nobis cum schismaticis controvertuntur, Bellarminiana methodo in Slavonicum idioma transfundere, quod quidem experimenti tantum gratia de Purgatorio jam elaboravi. De reliquis hic in urbe non me premit sollicitudo, dummodo me libris ad ea requisitis instructum reddidero.' Again they probably would not understand him at Zagreb.

But there was also a petition relating to one of his main objects, without an answer to which he would not leave Rome. To this he alludes in the same letter to the bishop of Zagreb: 'Imprimisque ubi jam Græcam et Russiacam liturgiam addidicero, facultatemque (concessu quidem perdifficilem) *sacra ritu Orientali peragendi* obtinuero; quod confido tum

[6] So the Turks called the Slavonian Christians; and the Latins so called the Slavonians of the *non-united* Greek rite.

ad meum scopum, tum ad linguæ Slavonicæ cognitionem aliquod momentum allaturum. Difficultatem eam, si tantæ molis fuerit, spero quod reverendissima dominatio vestra me superare sua auctoritate juvabit. Missam quidem *nondum celebravi hactenus;* primis autem Quatuor Temperum feriis, annuente Deo celebrabo.'

In fact, immediately after his ordination he had presented to a congregation held in presence of Pope Urban VIII. a petition to be allowed to celebrate his first mass in St. Peter's, and *according to the Eastern rite.* For Levakovich, in a letter to the bishop of Zagreb dated on the 24th May (*i.e.* Friday in Whitsun week A.D. 1641), writes thus: 'Dominus Krisanich nescio quid meditetur; nam in proxima Congregatione præsentis hebdomadæ coram Sanctissimo habitâ dispensationem sive facultatem petiit Græcorum ritu sacra peragendi. Resolutio petitionis remissa fuit ad Congregationem S. Officii sive *Inquisitionis.*'

The answer, which came only after a long delay, was a refusal: permission was granted him to say his first mass in St. Peter's, but it was to be an ordinary Latin mass, on the 26th of March A.D. 1642; and on that day accordingly he said it. Of this Levakovich, in a letter dated the 27th, informs the bishop of Zagreb thus: 'Dominus Krisanich heri primitias habuit (quibus interesse non potui) ad Sanctum Petrum, ubi celebravit.'

From that time his interest in the Unia ceased, and he never so much as mentions it again. Nor is there any trace of his having continued to say mass according to his own Latin rite; though this does not justify the inference that he purposely abstained from doing so; especially as we shall find him ending his life as a priest in Poland.

It is strange that he mentions scarcely any of those persons with whom he had been acquainted at Rome, not even of those Slavonian and Ruthenian fellow-students among whom he there studied the Slavonic church books and dialect (which he calls 'the Russian'). Nor does he ever mention his seniors of the same race, however distinguished; not even Mauro Urbini, who in A.D. 1600 had published his book *Il Regno degli Slavi*, nor Levakovich.

Levakovich on the 16th of August 1642 wrote to the bishop of Zagreb: 'The bulls I will send either by the post or by Mr. Krijanich, who will be starting soon.' Krijanich, however, did not start; and before long (2d Dec. 1642) the bishop his patron died. Affairs in Croatia became more and more troubled; years passed, but the intended champion of the Unia did not appear in the field. Indeed, he seems now to have resigned his canonicate. He found that his Greek work was by no means finished; but he left Rome, where he had not been understood, and had failed of his chief object, where it was no longer necessary for his literary purposes to remain, and where the cost of living independently was beyond his means. An interval of ten years follows, during which we cannot trace him exactly. Only we know that he went to Constantinople, and there studied thoroughly the Greek Church; so thoroughly indeed that a metropolitan of Philippi and Zambra thought him as capable as any native Greek of forging for him a patriarchal letter of recommendation, and actually forced him to compose such a letter[7] in the

[7] This letter, however, was to be written out afterwards by a Greek.

name of Joannicius, who was patriarch of C.P. in A.D. 1651 for ten months; and again for a short time afterwards.

Besides Constantinople, he alludes in his later writings to Florence and to Venice, and to the libraries there.* And as he returned from Constantinople to Rome, and finally went from Rome to Vienna, there would be three different times at which he might naturally pass through Florence, and through Venice, making longer or shorter stays, and frequenting the libraries. Wherever it was acquired, his knowledge of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, was extensive; and as his time at Rome seems to have been too fully occupied for such extensive reading, we may suppose that much of his patristic learning was acquired elsewhere, between the end of A.D. 1642 and A.D. 1652.

At Constantinople he was acquainted with the dragoman Nicholas Panagiotti, a zealot for 'Orthodoxy' (the same who in A.D. 1662 printed at Amsterdam in Greek the *Orthodox Confession* of Peter Mogila, as corrected and approved by the synod of Jassy of A.D. 1643). And while studying the Greek Byzantine ecclesiastical writers and historians, he learned also to read even Turkish books. He seems to have regarded the later Greek Church as essentially orthodox; that is, as having never synodically denied any article of faith which it had before explicitly held: but 'this did not prevent him from observing all the defects of its historical development,' which he traces back, *beyond the time of Photius*, to the jealousy of the Greek emperors and their clergy against appeals to Rome, such as were made by St. Athanasius and St. John Chrysostom. He is for ever inveighing against 'the new Greek theologians,' as he calls them; that is, the teachers of the Greek Church since the seventh Œcumenical Council, and the disastrous division. They provoked him by their narrow-mindedness and by their '*malice*,' which prompted the invention of many absurd calumnies and fables. But what most of all repelled him from the Greeks as a living and acting community, and kindled in him an hostility inferior only to that which he felt against the heretical Germans, was their deep enmity towards the Slavonian nationality. 'How often,' he exclaims in one place, 'have I not been obliged to listen in silence, not without a burning heart, and to hear out to the end from Germans *and Greeks* a tissue of the foulest abuse of the Russian and the whole Slavonian nation!'

Wounded to the depths of his soul in his feelings of nationality, and thinking also to serve the cause of eventual unity by translating into Latin those writings on which the modern Greeks most insisted, he determined to return for a time to Rome. Possibly this determination may have been connected also with the circumstance that a countryman of his named Nicholas Philippovich, who had been his fellow student in the seminary at Vienna, had been sent to Bologna, and had been made, like himself, a canon of Zagreb, was in A.D. 1652 elected an honorary member of the 'Illyrian community or congregation of St. Jerome' at Rome. For through his recommendation Krijanich also was made a member of the same community, and was entered 10th Nov. A.D. 1652 as 'late canon of Zagreb.'

* He alludes also to the library of Paris.

About this same time Levakovich too returned to Rome from a journey which he had undertaken, in order to promote the Unia, to Wallachia and to Lemberg. But instead of being suitably employed among the non-united Slavonians of the Eastern rite, he was soon afterwards set aside, and ended his days in retirement—perhaps in the convent of Ara Cœli—with the empty title of archbishop of Achrida. 'This was a lesson'—adds Mr. Koukoulevich, whom we are now following—'for Krijanich; one that must have touched him closely.'

But what was Krijanich doing during his second stay in Rome? The answer is given by a discovery made by Mr. Ivan Koukoulevich Saktsinsky in the library of the Minerva in A.D. 1857, when he as yet knew nothing about the life or the other works of Krijanich. He found there, under the heading '*Miscellanea*, xx. ii. 19' of the catalogue, two MSS.; the first entitled '*Nilus Thessalonensis Archiepiscopus Schismaticus, Libri duo*, i. *De Causis Ecclesiasticæ Divisionis*, ii. *De Principatu Papæ: Latinè reddita a Crisanio.*' The second is the *first part* of a very extensive work, entitled '*Bibliotheca Schismaticorum Universa, omnes schismaticorum libros hactenus impressos duobus tomis comprehendens: primum quidem a xii. auctoribus tribus linguis, Græcâ antiquâ, Græcâ modernâ, et Moscoviticâ composita, et in pluribus codicibus impressa. Tomi prioris pars prior, Georgio Crisanio interprete, Romæ, Julii*, A.D. 1656.' 'Only this first part of the first volume is now preserved in the Minerva library,' as Mr. Bezsonov observes. But very likely this first part is all that was ever written. In this work Krijanich says nothing about himself; but he writes with great warmth about the schism: 'Non erunt ultra duæ *gentes*, nec dividentur in duo *regna*, sed fiet unum ovile, et unus Pastor.'

He might have gone on with his work, but circumstances occurred which caused him to break off, and finally to leave Rome. The name 'Illyrian,' properly meaning Servian and Croatian, was then used as equivalent with 'Slavonian.' The *Slovenzi* of the Austro-German districts refused to contribute towards the support of the community of St. Jerome, alleging that *they were not Slavonians*, but *Germans*, and that their youths ought to go at Rome to the *German* college. The members of the college of St. Jerome said: 'If so, we will no longer admit members from those *German* parts (viz. Kraina, Koroutaria, Styria, and Istria), but only natives of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia.' Krijanich voted with a minority against this exclusion, and they even appealed to the Rota; but in A.D. 1656 the decision of the majority was confirmed; and Krijanich thereupon resigned his place in the community: indeed his name appears no more *as taking part in its proceedings* after 30th March A.D. 1655. And hence his bitter expressions afterwards about these Germanised Slavonians. Besides this, in the summer of A.D. 1656 a plague broke out in Rome; and of the members of the community of St. Jerome some died, and all the rest were dispersed.

What was Krijanich to do? In any case he would stay no longer at Rome. He had created to himself an ideal language, an ideal nationality, an ideal empire, of which practically Muscovy was the only possible head, and the headship of which he in thought now offered to Muscovy; and

lastly he had created also an ideal Church, to include all the Slavonians, and even the Greeks eventually; though he had done no personal *act* inconsistent with the duty of a Roman Catholic Latin priest.

In Dec. A.D. 1658 the priest Youry Krijanich Neblushsky appeared in Vienna at the hotel of the Golden Bull, where the Muscovite embassy of Lichareff was then staying. It had been sent to congratulate the emperor Leopold after his coronation: it stayed at Vienna from 18th Sept. to 2d Dec. A.D. 1658, and then returned by way of Hamburg and Archangel. Krijanich writes of insults to the Slavonian nationality and to the Russian empire, such as made him gnash his teeth. When the embassy of Chemodanoff in A.D. 1657 was at Venice, the nobles used to come masked to the hotel to watch the Muscovites as they ate, and while they were at Florence the journals there printed about them foul lampoons. 'At Vienna in A.D. 1658, when I went into the Golden Bull,' he writes, 'there was such a stench as could scarcely, I think, have been found elsewhere in the whole world. In the yard there was a sort of open sewer, and the stench seemed to come from that; in the apartment itself, when you had penetrated to it, there was nothing offensive;' so he infers that they were put there on purpose.

At Vienna he no doubt saw Glavinich (who was soon to go himself to Moscow as chaplain to the embassy of baron Meyerberg); and leaving, as we may suppose, about the same time with the Russian embassy (*i.e.* about 2d Dec.), he went through Hungary to Lemberg, and thence through Gallicia and Little Russia to the Oukraine, which he reached in Feb. A.D. 1659. At Lemberg he made some stay, and added a number of Polish books to the books which he had brought with him from Italy and Vienna. He travelled in company, for he writes in the plural 'we.' He writes: 'They called me in the Oukraine a vagabond unjustly, for I was going to *my own tsar*, to my own country, where alone my works could be useful; I mean my *Grammar* and *Lexicon*, and translations of books into Slavonic.'

From Lemberg he went to Koretz, and thence E.N.E. to Kieff and to Niejin. Perhaps he went off southwards from Kieff to Lisianka and Chigirin, to see there the hetman Vigovskoy and the metropolitan Dionysius Balaban, and returned again to Kieff, and so went to Niejin. He seems also to have gone on in the direction of Moscow to Borzna and Batourin, and even as far as Glouchovo. Southwards he went (whether from Kieff or from Niejin) to a fair at Lisianka, and northwards as far as Doubrovno.

On Thursday in the first week of Lent, 17th Feb., he was at Lisianka; about three weeks later, in the week of the Adoration of the Cross, 6-13th March, he was at Borzna (which is beyond Niejin eastwards), and thence he returned to Niejin. At Kieff there was then no metropolitan; Dionysius Balaban, not being recognised by Moscow, was probably with the hetman Vigovskoy at Chigirin; nor were there at Kieff any Catholic clergy for him to mention, Bogdan Khmielnitsky having some years before exterminated there both the Latins and the Uniats, a ferocious manner of proceeding against which Krijanich repeatedly protests. He found that region in a very disturbed state. Vigovskoy had already made his terms

with the Poles, and the people were hesitating between Moscow and Poland; the clergy too hesitated between the fear of a renewal of the Unia and the attraction of the privileges to be obtained for them by Vigovskoy. Sheremetieff was jealously guarding Kieff for the tsar. After being at Lisianka, Krijanich, still in February, followed in the rear of Vigovskoy as he marched on the east side of the Dnieper, to act with his confederates, near Mirgorod, Lochvitsa, and Roman, against Romodanofsky and Kourakin and Bezpali: and under cover of the hetman's baggage (*obos*) he went, between the Dnieper and the line of military operations, northwards to Niejin. Waiting here, and hearing of the increasing success of Vigovskoy, he in March (6-13th) went to Borzna, not certainly for the fair only, but on his way to Moscow; for he wished to see Moscow; and he could return later to the Oukraine. But in March there came from Sievsk to Pontivl the prince Nikita Alex. Troubetskoy with more than 100,000 men, blocking up the way to the east. Still Krijanich went on, only bearing more to the north, to Glouchovo. There he was stopped by inundations. So he returned to Niejin, and waited till after the disaster suffered by the Muscovites at Konotop (28th June), and till after the bad turn taken subsequently by the affairs of the hetman. There are signs that between March and September he visited also White Russia and Lithuania, and thence returned to Niejin.

It is pretty clear that he had been on good terms with Vigovskoy, and probable that at one time he had an idea of becoming a professor in the Catholic academy sure to be founded at Kieff in the new kozak state, in which the Latin and the Greek rites were to be on an equality. But when that vision was at an end, while he was detained at Niejin, where all were for the tsar, and where he was in relations with both the chief men of the place, the polkovnik Basil Zolotarenko and the protopope Maxim, Krijanich too, like others, but certainly on independent grounds of his own, *changed his view of local politics*. That is to say, he gave up Vigovskoy, and desired the success of Bezpali and of Youry Khmielnitsky, turned definitively to Moscow, expressed unbounded trust in her, and sought only how to reconcile her sovereignty with local rights and liberties.

With these views he wrote his first political composition, consisting of two short pieces,[1] one of which may be regarded as an appendix to the other, intended seemingly for immediate circulation among the kozaks.

The first of these two pieces was entitled '*Description of a Journey from Lemberg to Moscow*;' but its purpose was to offer suggestions respecting the election of a fresh hetman, rendered necessary by the treason of Vigovskoy. The second piece, which takes a wider range, is entitled an '*Address to the Kozaks as if by a Kozak*,' this kozak being Krijanich. There are clear signs that these two pieces were written after August, at the beginning of the autumn. And Krijanich in his treatise *De Baptismo* mentions that in A.M. 7168—that is, in the later months of A.D. 1659 (after the 31st of Aug.)—he was with Zolotarenko at Niejin.

[1] Solovieff (*Hist.* &c. vol. xi. p. 77 and 466) has inserted an extract from this MS. (a foul copy), which he found in the archives of the F. O. at Moscow: 'Affairs of Little Russia, 1659; Rolls of the prikaz of Little Russia, No. 5843, 5845.' But Solovieff does not name the writer.

At the end of Aug. A.D. 1659 Zolotarenko and the kozaks of the east side swore again allegiance to the tsar: on the 9th Oct. the young Youry Khmielnitsky crossed the Dnieper, and joined Troubetskoy at Pereyaslaff; and on the 17th he was by a *rada* elected hetman for both sides of the Dnieper.

In his *Description of a Journey*, &c., Krijanich wrote thus: 'Beginning from Koretz, and coming nearer in this direction (*i.e.* towards Kieff and Niejin), wherever there had been fighting between the kozaks and the king of Poland, one saw extensive wastes for a length and breadth of some days' journey. And on this (eastern) side, during the present hostilities (between Vigovskoy and the Tatars on the one hand, and Bezpali and the Muscovites on the other), very many towns have been altogether ruined and deserted. And the kozaks, considering this, feared lest they should all utterly perish. This is the foremost and chief reason for which they inclined to give again to the tsar due submission. . . . Though the kozaks profess the Orthodox faith, in their customs and manners they are like wild beasts. The cause of this is a heresy—not a religious but a political heresy—which has originated with the Poles. From them the kozaks have learned it, and hold it strongly, and nearly all the nations of Europe too: they have taken it into their heads that to live under the glorious Russian empire is worse than to be under the Turkish tyranny, worse than the bondage of Egypt. Such a diabolical persuasion is inspired into them also by the ecclesiastics and by the Greek metropolitans (who come among them), as we have ourselves heard from more than one of them. We have thought that it would be useful to write a book[9] against such lying diabolical suggestions, that people may be preserved from such a terrible error and calumny, which has been the cause of all the present bloodshed. But of books we shall find hereafter a fitter time to discourse: *now* let us offer our poor judgment *how one* ought *to deal with the kozaks*.' The description of the journey is here broken off, and he begins to *instruct the voivodes who shall come from Moscow* and—*the tsar himself* (!):

'The kniaz who shall be sent hither from Moscow in the name of the tsar's majesty to settle with the kozaks a solid peace and the bases of their submission and of the tsar's government over them' (after their defection with Vigovskoy and their fresh oath of allegiance) 'may first of all enlarge upon the tsar's great satisfaction at their return to their duty. He may, for instance, speak thus:' . . . And then, after making the tsar's commissioner describe all the calamities which had resulted from their defection on both sides, he is to continue: '"The cause of all this has been your crime, a sin after which there might seem to be no place for repentance, as they who fell by following Lucifer found no place for repentance. But the mercy of God's vicar (the tsar) far exceeds your transgression. He has forgiven it to you, and he now forgives it, and he forgets it for ever. . . . Only henceforth be ye true to God and to his majesty, not allowing yourselves to be seduced by the enemy, nor leaguing yourselves with the accursed pagans." After this preamble, passing to the practical matters of the election of a hetman, and of legislation, it will be

[9] Such, that is, as his *Politica*, which he did write afterwards, and of which he had now conceived the plan.

to the purpose to speak thus (Mr. Bezsonoff gives the substance): "You fell away chiefly from *fear*, lest the tsar should *deprive you of your old liberties*. On the contrary, he confirms them in all their fulness; secondly, he grants also all that you ask for that is reasonable; and, thirdly, over and above what you ask, he grants of himself still more."' Here the writer breaks the thread of the commissioner's speech, and enumerates in his own person the concessions which it would be proper to add, thus: 'The grants which might be made to them, over and above what they ask, are such as these: 1. The tsar might institute for them a special prikaz at Moscow, *in which the chief officials should be all kozaks*. 2. The hetman or voivode of the kozaks as now elected for life might well be called a *tsar* for the stricter government and repression of the kozaks after their liberation from the Polish military occupation. But now, if there are no foreign troops among them, *there is no need either of any troops being stationed there from Moscow*; for the presence of such troops could not fail to cause difficulties and disturbances among them (the kozaks), since they have been used to live *by themselves* and *in freedom*.' To avoid having either such a hetman as would be practically an independent tsar, or Muscovite voivodes stationed among them, 'for security against their malice and turbulence,' he says that 'there is no need of a hetman for life, but he might be chosen for three years, and it might be said to them: "If the hetmanship had not been for life, Vigovskoy would never have thought of aspiring to become an independent sovereign (and all these calamities would have been avoided). The hetmans therefore henceforth shall be chosen only for three years. Thus you officers of the hetman (who have only one cry, of Liberty and freedom) will have *more liberty* (for there will be a greater number who may hope to be elected); and the people of the country volnosts and of the towns will gain in point of security, and the districts and towns now waste will be sooner repeopled. 3. The tsar will not disdain himself to take the title of Life-hetman of the Dnieper, Volhynia, and Podolia; for such a hetmanship is quite equal to any grand-principality, or even kingdom (*tsarstvo*). 4. Among you there has always been dissension; and now some of you (of the east side) are for Khmielnitsky, others (of the west side) for Bezpali, and about this you are ready to fight again. On this account the tsar promises to Khmielnitsky the hetmanship *after a time*, when he is of riper age and experience. But it is now more suitable that he should *go to Moscow* and *take service* for a time *under the tsar*. And then for Ivan Bezpali, the tsar names him hetman[10] for three years to come, because he has always been faithful, and has deserved this honour. But you of the west side, who have been the most guilty, be not angry because a hetman is chosen not from your side: have patience, and your turn shall come: it is not reasonable to give you the preference over those who have not gone wrong." 5. 6. It would not be amiss either if the hetmanship were *divided into two*—one for each side of the Dnieper: and for this there is now a good opportunity, for Bezpali may be the hetman for the east side, and some one of the newly-converted polkovniks for the west; only with equal rights. 7. But the cities of

[10] At Niejin they wished Khmielnitsky to be made hetman, with Bezpali as his guardian for a time.

Kieff and Chernigoff shall be simply under the tsar and his voivodes. 8. The towns and selos which are now waste, after being resettled, shall not be left on the footing of the kozak liberties, but shall be placed under the direct government of the tsar (partly as some punishment for the defection, and for the damage done by it, and partly because these lands and places have been acquired directly by the tsar's sword); and therein the tsar can create pomiestia as he pleases, and grant them not only to kozaks, but also to his faithful Russian boyars.' So ends the *Descriptio Itineris*.

The *Address*, &c., is divided into two parts: 1. Of the *oppressions* which the kozaks must suffer from the Poles. 2. Of the *liberties* to be expected from the tsar.

'The oppressions are these: 1. The Poles will quarter among us their own troops, *and Germans*. 2. Their *jolners* will commit violences and robberies. 3. The Polish *shliachta* (nobles and gentry) will seek to regain their pomiestia. 4. The shliachta will wreak their vengeance upon us; but the Muscovite boyars do nothing beyond the tsar's oukaz. 5. Under the tsar there will be no reason to fear the Poles, who are weak; but if we were under the king, we should not be secure against Moscow. 6. The Poles from kozaks will make us all slaves (*kholopi*); not only 60,000 as the envoys agreed, but their thought is to turn us all into mujiks. 7. If we make any raid against the Tatars and the Turks, the Poles will hunt and punish our comrades, and we in that shall have to help them. 8. There will be incessant war between our people and the Russians. And if we kozaks have to fight against our own kozak brethren, that my lords the Turks and Poles may sit quietly and feast, and also have to war incessantly against Muscovy, against *our own Russian Orthodox empire* (*tsarstvo*), *of the same race and of the same faith with ourselves*, the Turks, the Tatars, and the Poles will certainly be delighted. Thus our Russian nation will all perish, and will be subjected to those its enemies. 9. If we stand for the king, we shall live all our lives and die in perjury; and so we cannot be saved. The oath taken to Muscovy (under Bogdan Khmielnitsky) was prior, more general, more popular, more deliberate, more voluntary, &c. That is the oath which binds us! 10. If we stand for the Poles, we shall live in continual transgression of God's commandment; for we shall live under a king who is an alien, a German, a Swede, a Lithuanian, a Frenchman, a Hungarian, &c. For it is impossible that a native Pole or any other of our Slavonian race should ever become king there. But to subject ourselves without need or compulsion to an alien is directly contrary to the command of God.' Here are ten *oppressions* for you!'

The second part consists of '*Observations about the tsar's majesty*, or *objections* expressing the mistrust of the kozaks, and *Answers* intended to do away with it: 1. We fear for our liberties. *Answer*. We have no reason to fear. First, the tsar Alexis is very God-fearing and religious: he is ever fasting, going on pilgrimages, praying, and giving alms. It would not be reasonable to think that such a religious sovereign would *break his oath*.' (From this high ground, however, Krijanich with great agility descends to the most matter of fact calculations not altogether favourable to the most serene and most religious tsar.) 2. 'Again, *we might stipulate*

with him that no voivodes nor other officials whatever should be sent hither from Moscow. With such an engagement our liberties and properties will remain always in our own hands, and the tsar cannot possibly take them away, *unless he begins a new war* (with us): but this he will never do merely to become master of our properties: for our army is much more valuable and serviceable to him than our properties could be. 3. There is no use in trying more to do anything with Moscow; cannot you see? Only look around you: all leads to it: make haste to submit yourselves voluntarily, and while you may still make some terms for yourselves, before they compel you to submission.' (It is a curious harangue to be addressed to kozaks, 'those moral wild beasts:' they could scarcely appreciate such thoughts as coming to them from the mouth of a kozak; and he must have seemed a *very queer kozak* to them, one extremely unlike themselves.) 'Every nation or empire has its own fortunate star or planet; that is, it has preordained for it by God a fixed time, in which it may more rapidly arrive at its full growth, and attain the highest point of power and glory. And at that time it receives also a tsar endowed from God with special good fortune and power; to oppose whom is—impossible. Examples of this may be adduced in numbers, both in Christian kingdoms and in others. Such fortunate and unconquerable kings were Cyrus and Alexander, such was Solomon, such was Constantine, such among the Romans was Julius Cæsar, among the Germans Charlemagne, among the Spaniards Charles V., &c. Now the case is clear, that the tsar's majesty is the most prosperous and the most glorious sovereign of all who hitherto have reigned over the Russian people. By the grace of God he has so extended and glorified his empire as had never been seen in all ages past. And if he is so preëminently religious, and besides more powerful and more fortunate than all his predecessors, and what is more, still young, so that he may long wage wars and conquer his enemies, it must needs be, if you only think, that now is the time at which the happy planet has risen for the Russian empire. Hence he who resists it will be resisting God; and as the end of all, he will only hurt himself, and all the same perforce confess the truth. Observe besides that towards this glorification of the Russian empire we ourselves have most zealously contributed. Now, if we seek to destroy our own work, we shall be like those little children which make dirt houses and then destroy them, or like swine which after getting out of the mud and becoming dry go down into the same mud again. So we also shall be doing if, after having extricated ourselves from the Polish servitude at the cost of so much bloodshed, we now return to it.

'You have the alternatives of *oppressions* and of *liberties* from the one side and from the other set before you. What is to be done? Decide and say!'

Krijanich might have offered these his suggestions to the kozak *rada*, and to the tsar's voivodes; and he might have submitted them to the Muscovite throne itself. It may be that he thought of printing them at one of the printing-presses of the South.[11] If he had, they would have

[11] But what would the *agents of the Muscovite government* with whom he was in relation at Niejin have said to a proposal even to circulate freely such free discussion of matters of state, even in MS.?

been read with interest by the Poles and Lithuanians, by the inhabitants of Little and White Russia, by Nashchokin, Rtischeff, Morozoff, Matveyeff, Epiphanius Slavenetsky, and Simeon of Polotsk and by the patriarch Nicon. But how would this production be viewed at Moscow, in the palace, and in the posolski prikaz?

Among the 'intercepted Polish letters and writings' there came to Moscow in A.D. 1659 from Little Russia this composition of Krijanich. Like all such papers which reached the posolski prikaz, it was no doubt subjected to an inspection, which was usually noted officially by the words, 'Read to the hossoudar and the boyars,' or, 'Known to the hossoudar, and read to the boyars.' But what followed after that?

What followed was this: Krijanich found his way to Moscow with his books and papers: how he obtained admission at the frontier is nowhere mentioned; but we may suppose that he had a passport as an Austrian subject, allowing him to go to Russia, and that he entered at the frontier *in the tsar's name*—that is, as if for the tsar's service, and to become his subject for life. We cannot fix the exact date of his arrival, nor consequently the length of time during which he lived at large at Moscow: all that we know is this, that he saw more than once and conversed familiarly with the boyar Morozoff, the tsar's brother-in-law and former preceptor (who, however, in A.D. 1660 had entirely withdrawn from public life, and was in bad health, and getting near to his end); and that he made acquaintance with the learned men of the Andreyeff monastery, the foundation of Theodore Rtischeff.

What might not have been the results for the patriarch Nicon, for the tsar, and for Russia, if Nicon, while still in power, had had an opportunity of conversing freely with such a man as Krijanich? Certainly other obstacles to the election of the tsar Alexis to the crowns of Poland and Lithuania besides that caused by the custom of rebaptising Poles might have been done away; and an era of enlightenment and civilisation based on better principles than those of Peter the Great might have been inaugurated. It seems as if Nicon and Krijanich *ought* to have been brought together; as if that had been *the intention of divine Providence*.

But when Krijanich reached Moscow—supposing him to have come thither early in A.D. 1660—the tsar and the boyars had already expelled Nicon from his chair. Nicon was then far away in his Krestnoy monastery in the isle of Kia in the White Sea: and the tsar had convoked a pseudo-synod to confirm that ecclesiastical supremacy which he had practically usurped and exercised ever since the 10th July A.D. 1658.

As for Krijanich—who before entering Muscovy had first been on good terms with the hetman Vigovskoy, and had then volunteered to advise the tsar's commissioners and the tsar himself, 'meddling with matters not belonging to him,'—who while zealous for Muscovy had yet suggested to the kozaks to make such stipulations as to *secure* their liberties, and who spoke and wrote not only with freedom, but with asperity, of the faults of the Muscovites and of their government, being all the while neither kozak nor Muscovite, nor of the 'Orthodox' communion, but an Austrian subject and a Catholic Latin priest—he would be at Moscow an object of

suspicion to all. The natural and inevitable disposition there would be to lay hold of such an enterprising and independent genius, and to *remove him*. And this they did, but without anger, and even with a certain kind of considerateness. He says not a word in his writings of any offence having been imputed to him; nor was he conscious of any particular circumstance or indiscretion which might have caused his banishment: 'And perhaps,' adds Mr. Bezsonoff, 'those who banished him would have been as little able as he was to state in terms the cause.'

'In A.M. 7169, 8th Jan. (A.D. 1661), by a minute from the prikaz of *Livonian Affairs* (then under Ordin-Nashchokin), countersigned by Denis Sabloukoff, there was sent to Siberia, to Tobolsk, the foreigner Youry Ivanoff,[12] the Servian; and by oukaz of the hossoudar it was ordered that he be at Tobolsk in the hossoudar's service, such as may be suitable: and for his maintenance there be allowed seven rubles and a poltina monthly[13] (a very liberal allowance at that time). Thereupon there was given to the Sibirski prikaz (then under the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy) an order for the sending of Krijanich to Tobolsk, and for the payment of the expenses of his maintenance on the road. 'Jan. 20th, by oukaz, &c., there were sent off to Siberia the Servian Youry and the *patriarchal* diak Theodore Trophimoff;[14] and there was given the tsar's allowance for them from Moscow for the journey, 30 rubles and 2 altines; viz. to Youry at the rate of 6 dengi or 3 kopecks (equal to 30 kopecks now), and to the podiak with his wife at the rate of 8 dengi per day; to both for four weeks.' This was then the usual fixed rate of allowance, besides the free government carriage. So to Krijanich for four weeks 84 kopecks (which now would be 8 rubles and 40 kopecks), and to the podiak 1 ruble 12 kopecks (now 11 rubles 20 kopecks). Four weeks was the usual fixed time, the road lying through Pereyaslaff, Yaroslaff, Vologda, Totem, Oustiog-Veliki, Sol-Vichogodskaia, Kai-gorodok, Sol-Kamskaia, and then the Siberian towns Verchotourie, Tourinski-ostrog, and Tiumen, to Tobolsk, where he arrived on the 8th March A.D. 1661. He was taken, separately from the diak Theodore, to Tobolsk by the kozak 'Mitka Labountin of Berezoff,' as was reported by the voivode (the prince Ivan Andr. Khilkoff) in A.D. 1661 to the Sibirski prikaz.

At Tobolsk there were then above 2000 exiles, Poles, Lithuanians, White-Russians, kozaks, Little-Russians, and Muscovites: among them there were three Vigovskoys (A.M. 7168 and 7169), two Nechays (A.M. 7169), the pope Vlas from White Russia (A.M. 7167), the *zemlz* Shishkeyeff from Lithuania, and the Polish Jesuit Andrew Kovachissky (A.M. 7167), various Zaporog polkovniks, esaouls, and privates (among them *Shablensky*) for treason (A.M. 7168, after the affair of Vigovskoy and Youry

[12] There was an '*Ivan* Yourieff, a Servian,' who was head of the hetman's guard and a polkovnik of kozaks, and who had been detained not long before this at Moscow. Hence perhaps a confusion of the two names.

[13] This is so stated in a return (covering the space from A.M. 7162 to 7169) made to the Sibirski prikaz in A.D. 1661. The 90 rubles allowed for 12 months to Krijanich would answer to 900 rubles of Russian money now, more than the salary for many important appointments at Moscow.

[14] Mentioned above at p. 207 as one of those examined in Feb. A.D. 1660 about the 'abdication' of Nicon: his statement is No. 57.

Khmielnitsky), a number of *patriarchal* diaks and singers, on account of the affair of Nicon, the kliuchars Job of the cathedral of the Assumption and Gerasimus of the Znamensky, with their families (A.M. 7174, A.D. 1665-1666), and the raskolnik protopope Abbakoum (whom Krijanich saw at Tobolsk on his way back from Daouria to Moscow), Theodore, the patriarchal diak above mentioned, with his wife (the companions of Krijanich's journey, and afterwards of his stay in Tobolsk), and lastly the raskolnik pope of Roman Lazarus, with his wife and three children, for whom the allowance made for their journey was 1 ruble and 30 altines (or 1 ruble and 90 kopecks). 'Krijanich,' Mr. Bezsonoff observes, 'was banished *as a foreigner*, a foreign subject, and with the recognised rights of such. He was not appointed to any fixed service, but might be appointed to any which he desired, and which seemed suitable.' But the same words of the oukaz or minute occur also in other cases where it was certainly not left to the *exile* to choose his own service, or not to serve at all, as Mr. Bezsonoff thinks was the case with Krijanich.

'Krijanich,' Mr. Bezsonoff writes, 'lived two hundred years *too soon* to be appreciated; and perhaps the best thing that could have happened then to him was what did happen, viz. that he was sent to live with leisure, and not destitute either of books, to work for all the Slavonian world of the future in Siberia.' For if (this is his meaning) he had not so been banished, we should scarcely have had from him those works which have now in a wonderful and most interesting way been discovered, and are beginning to be known and appreciated.

That Krijanich was a panslavist, two hundred years before panslavism was heard of, and an enthusiastic panslavist, is certain: but his panslavism is of a kind which, after the first interest of the discovery has subsided, is not likely to call forth any true or deep sympathy from political or literary panslavists now.

'Contemporary Slavonian writers,' says Mr. Bezsonoff, noticing what Krijanich writes about Rome, viz. that there are two Romes, one secular and another spiritual, and adding, 'Romam *mundanam* sperne, *spiritualem* tene' (and more besides, which they misunderstand and misapply to the Roman *Church* and to the chair of St. Peter, while Krijanich meant and wrote it of the 'political heresy,' as he calls it, of extolling the doomed Roman *empire*),' and appreciating in all this a *noble religious indifferentism*, point with enthusiasm to the *preference and superior importance* which he manifestly attached to questions of nationality, society, and politics.' It is true, indeed, that he devoted his life, with unwearied industry, with heroic patience and magnanimity, not so much to a spiritual as to a secular work; as if a man who seemed in the natural order of things called to be a priest had devoted himself instead—let us say, to astronomy. Instead of giving himself up *unreservedly* to Christ and to the Church and to the successor of St. Peter, he gave himself up, so far as he could without manifest sin, to politics, to the cause of *Slavonian nationality*, and to the autocrat of Muscovy. Well; for this he received such a recompense in this life as the world is apt to make to the more generous of its servants: he was sent to cool his head in Siberia, and kept there fifteen years. So his mistake, or fault, was punished, that he might be

saved, we trust, as if by fire (with the loss of his visionary schemes), in the world to come.

But if we examine his panslavism, and compare it with that zeal for the political union of nationalities which is now so popular, the two are based on directly contrary principles—that of Krijanich being based on faith, while that of the nineteenth century is based on utility and materialism. Again, Krijanich desired, no doubt, the ultimate union of all the Slavonic races under one sceptre, a desire which, if it had spread, might have offended German princes as well as Turks and Tatars: but he would have taught the Muscovite autocrat to pursue this object only by *just* means; while the modern enthusiasts for nationality not only think nothing about justice in the case of a state making war, but even justify and praise individual rebels who commence what one may call private wars, killing and robbing only to give effect to their own political theories. Lastly, Krijanich idolises complete absolutism or autocracy as the most perfect form of government, calling it the rod of Moses, with which the ruler, if only he fears and obeys God, and *is not proud*, can work even miracles, enacting good laws and correcting bad; but those who under the pretext of national patriotism are now sapping the foundations of Christian society are all kings and gods to themselves. The theory of Krijanich, *with certain corrections and modifications*, might have been adopted and carried into effect in the seventeenth century by the tsar Alexis in conjunction with the patriarch Nicon, or by the son of Alexis, Peter the Great, if Peter had received a different education: it was *not* unsuited to *that* age. But if it were only devised *now*, after the creation of a new irreligious and materialistic empire by Peter the Great, the deviser of it would really be coming two hundred years *too late*. Panslavism *now* might indeed be encouraged by the Russian government; but if it were so, this could only be done hypocritically, with the view of using it as a subordinate instrument towards certain particular aims and intrigues. Russia is now an empire in which the foreign or German element, so hated by Krijanich, with its 'noble religious indifferentism,' is the *head*; and the Greek religion (which out of a politic regard for the beards and long dresses of the mass of the people is made compulsory for all who have inherited it) is annexed to this foreign head as the tail (to use Krijanich's own illustration) is annexed to the backbone of a dog. To say nothing of individuals who may dream of a religious reaction in favour of nationality and Orthodoxy, panslavists of the nineteenth century have, generally, more affinity with Peter I. and Catherine II. than with Nicon or Krijanich, though they are now outgrowing the tutelage of such foster-fathers and mothers 'of their country,' and are in danger of becoming ungrateful to those who in time past used what Krijanich calls the rod of Moses, not to work good miracles productive of real happiness, but to cover the earth with serpents and frogs, and with swarms of spiritual flies and lice, renewing in the midst of Christianity the plagues and the darkness of pagan Egypt.

After arriving at Moscow Krijanich had immediately begun to collect materials respecting Muscovite history and internal affairs, with a view to that political work, of writing which he had already, in the summer of

A.D. 1659, conceived the plan. And at Tobolsk, from 8th March A.D. 1661, he employed himself for a year and a half or two years in studying and transcribing historical sources, Muscovite and foreign, to serve as a basis for his *Politica*.'

i. Part of these collections are still preserved, and were in A.D. 1857 discovered by Mr. Bezsonoff in the Synodal library at Moscow, in a thick MS. volume of full folio size, which had belonged to the library of the priest Nikiphor, director of the pechatni dvor (who died 17th March A.D. 1686), and afterwards to that of Sylvester Medveydeff. It had been catalogued in A.D. 1692 among the 'Polish books' (because written with the letters of the Latin alphabet) as '*Russian History*, without beginning or end;' and these words are marked upon it in the hand of Medveydeff at the bottom of what is now the first page, but was properly the 23d page. There is also an earlier note by Krijanich himself of the paging 'from p. 23 to p. 610.' The volume contains, or contained, sewn together, first, a *Russian Chronicle*, from the earliest times of the Scythians, &c., to the election of the patriarch Nicon in A.D. 1652, seemingly identical with one found by Mr. Bielaieff in the Pogodin library, and perhaps transcribed from that very MS. in Latin letters by Krijanich, who besprinkled his own transcript with a thousand remarks of his own, both in black ink and in red. At the end of the Chronicle he has written 'Bogu chwala! (*i.e.* Laus Deo!) A.D. 1662, Jan. 8.' The second part of the same volume consists of *Extracts on Russian history collected from foreign sources;* and there are notices of dates: *e.g.* 'Begun 1 Sept. 1661 studies on Kromer, with extracts:' then, 'Russian Chronicle, finished transcription of, and study, Jan. 8, A.D. 1662.' 'Return to Kromer, and continuation of work from his book, A.D. 1662, Jan. 13 and 16;' 'Study of Peter Petreius in German text, Leipzig ed. of 1620; also in A.D. 1662, Jan. 21-23 *mane*;' and farther on, 'From Baronius, from the earliest times, by stages, through the region of Polish history to A.D. 1662, and to the Russian tsars;' 'Plan of a Russian History with Slavonian and Russian ends;' 'Studies of A.D. 1662, Feb. 13:' and later, 'Feb. 16,' he turns to 'Philip de Comines and'— Here the cahiers are broken off, but there were certainly more of them. It is at fol. 293, p. 610, that the MS. now breaks off.

ii. In July A.D. 1857 Mr. Bezsonoff found in the same Synodal library another thick folio written in the same hand, in the Servian or Croatian dialect, but with many Russian words and idioms, and in places with long passages in Latin; with dates of the same years; only going on farther, from 15th April 1663 (*i.e.* immediately after the other MS. folio, the end of which is lost); the same persevering historical labour, only now not employed on the collection of materials, but on the use of them: and where? At Tobolsk! This was a foul copy of the *Politica*, which was not finished till after 22d Oct. A.D. 1664, since that date is marked ten leaves before the end. It appears that he meant to offer it to the sovereign of Russia, the head of the Slavonian race, who was called, according to the conviction of the writer, to save all the Slavonian world, on condition of correcting certain local defects. Bezsonoff in A.D. 1860, by the help of Mr. Ivan S. Aksakoff and the *Russkaia Besieyda*, edited, in two vols. 8vo, about half of the contents of this MS. folio, giving them a new title

of his own, *Russkoe Hossoudarstvo*, &c., i.e. *The Russian Empire in the middle of the Seventeenth Century*. The MS. has on the binding the name of Sylvester Medveydeff in his own hand, and also above this note, '*Poloma-Latinskaia, Of Divisions*' (divisions, that is, of the Slavonian nationality). Another foul copy of it, wanting the beginning, which once belonged to the metropolitan Paul, has not been preserved.

iii. After this the Slavonian *Grammatica*, on which he had been employed 'for more than twenty years,' was remembered and returned to, seemingly as a rest and recreation after his political work. He wrote it out fair, and prefixed to it a preface, '7th Oct. A.D. 1665,' that is, a year after finishing the preceding works. This fair copy is still preserved. It has the name of the priest Nikiphor written in it with his own hand. It seems afterwards to have remained untouched in the library of the *pechatni dvor*, and unnoticed, without interesting anybody till it was published in A.D. 1844 by Mr. A. N. Vodiansky in Book i. of his *Readings*, &c.

iv. In the *Politica* Krijanich had treated only the most necessary ecclesiastical questions, and those from an historical point of view, not dogmas, canons, and laws. However, he had made the end of the *Politica* to bear upon *secret or unknown sin* as the cause of all the calamities of the Russian and Slavonian divisions, or in other words, of the schism of the Churches; and, besides other insertions or appendices, he had begun, without ever finishing it, a *Dialogue* between two persons *about the Causes of Victories and Defeats* (*De Victoriis et Cladibus*). This he now returned to; and in A.D. 1666 and 1667 he composed a book, *De Providentia* (begun 25th May A.D. 1666, and finished in A.D. 1667), showing that divine Providence directs the calamities of kingdoms to this end, that they should perceive and confess their secret sin, especially sin in matters concerning the Church, moving them at the same time to reëstablish the lawful and canonical course of things, and by good legislation to seek the grace of God, and obtain again success and prosperity. Such is the substance. Of this work, *De Providentia*, Mr. Bezsonoff found in A.D. 1858, in the Synodal library, two copies in full folio; and in March A.D. 1860, by the help of Mr. B. A. Panin, he published an exact account of their contents, and a full extract of all that relates to the author, to Russia, and to the Slavonians, and to history in general, omitting, as he tells us, only the details of the quite abstract theological arguments, which, however, make perhaps the bulk of the work. On its first pages one reads also these headings: 'De Causis Victorinrum et Cladium,' 'Peccata incognita plerumque causæ flagellorum,' 'Exempla cladium et aliorum flagellorum divinorum,' 'De originibus auctibus et infirmatione aliquorum regnorum.' One of the two copies of this work, a foul copy, had belonged to the library of the metropolitan Paul of Kroutitz (who had known Krijanich personally, and who died 9th Sept. A.D. 1675). Both it and the other, which is a fair copy, but incomplete, as well as the foul copy of the historical volume mentioned above, were in the hands of the priest Nikiphor when he died 17th March A.D. 1686, and after that, in A.D. 1692, they were catalogued among the books which had been left by Medveydeff.

After composing his work *De Providentia*, Krijanich began to write out and nearly completed a fair copy of it, dedicating it, '10th Oct. A.D.

1667,' to the eldest tsarevich, Alexis Alexievich, then aged thirteen years and eight months. And (in the foul copy) he sketched the plan of a petition to be allowed to return to Moscow, a petition intended to interest not only the tsarevich, but also the tsar himself, and all the court, through a certain *secret*, which was—the suppression of the custom of giving military commands to foreigners (*xenostrategia*): then, when this should operate, and the author should be recalled, was to come the grand secret (*principale arcanum*), that is, '*De monstro*:' and then, if they desire it of him, certain secret suggestions (*arcana monita*) not to be trusted to writing nor sent in a treatise. But this plan failed. On the 17th Jan. A.D. 1670 the tsarevich died. Krijanich somewhat later (in the same foul copy of his work) transferred the dedication of it to the prince Ivan Bor. Repnin (who was voivode at Tobolsk from A.D. 1670 to 1673); but he met with no encouragement from the voivode, and he did not even complete the fair transcript of his work, nor finish its last part about the composition of the army. To this disappointment of his hopes, and to other similar disappointments, he alludes later (in his *Refutation of the Solovetsky Petition*, fol. 24, p. 43), when he writes: 'I could not find any man who would either *send* or *report* to the tsar's majesty my tears and my petition.'

v. But in these same years, when he had finished his work *De Providentia*, and in the bitterness of his soul was ready to consign it to oblivion, news came from Moscow which excited him to fresh hope. The custom of rebaptising the Poles and other Latins, introduced by the Stoglav council, and confirmed by the patriarch Philaret, though synodically condemned and prohibited by Nicon in A.D. 1654, 1655, and 1656, had never been eradicated; and after the withdrawal of Nicon from Moscow in A.D. 1658, those who pleased would disregard his enactments more boldly than before. Krijanich had pointed out already what an obstacle there was to the acquisition of Poland and Lithuania in this ignorant and offensive custom; and personally he was treated as an heretic, not only as a layman, but as one unbaptised. But in A.D. 1667 the tsar's mixed synod of Greek and Russian bishops, after deposing and degrading Nicon, reconfirmed his correction of the church books; and definitively condemned and prohibited the custom of rebaptising the Latins. It seemed then to Krijanich that as this custom had still many partisans, and was much insisted upon by all the raskolniks, it gave him an opportunity of at once rendering to the tsar and his clergy an acceptable service, and gaining for himself that hearing which his other writings and petitions had hitherto failed to obtain, though some of them had been sent to Moscow. So he once more set to work; now no longer on philology or on Christian history and politics, but on a practical question which much occupied men's minds, and on which the official authorities could not afford to despise any efficient support, from whatever quarter it might come.

Immediately after the news of the Synodal decree had reached Tobolsk, or at least soon after the publication of the newly-corrected *Slujebnik* of A.D. 1668, and the *Staff of Rule*, in which were given extracts from the *Synodal Constitutions*, he wrote a short treatise, *De S. Baptismo*, an

original MS. copy of which is in the Synodal library, where it is now No. 86. It is in 4to, on 96 leaves, all written by Krijanich himself, though with some corrections carefully inserted. It is in form a '*Conversation between Milosch* (the author) *and Bogdan*,' in cursive *Cyrillic* letters, and with fewer Servian peculiarities than occur in other earlier writings of the author. In this copy the work seems to be not quite complete. In the earlier part he only diverges occasionally from the form of a dialogue, writing in the margin: 'See, my lords, ye bishops!' but afterwards, in section xv., which is closely connected with the rest that follows, he has cancelled the former heading, and, hasting no doubt to send the MS. to Moscow, has written instead the following curious appeal from himself:

'To the hossoudar the most holy patriarch, and to the sacred synod, my lamentation and humble proposal: Most holy Vladiko! and ye, O sacred synod, justice-loving and gracious hossoudars!' &c.

In this treatise, besides going to the bottom of the whole question of rebaptism, he gives also, as was natural with that double purpose which he had in view, various glimpses of his own former life: he mentions his residence in the Oukraine, the sacrifices he had made, and the ill-treatment he had suffered owing to his convictions about the impropriety of rebaptism, his forlorn and destitute condition, in hunger, nakedness, and shame, an object of reproach and loathing for all, called an heretic, in danger of dying in exile, and, worse than all, without confession and absolution, and of being buried after death like a beast. Also he names as former acquaintances, and with special respect, the bishop Lazarus Baranovich of Chernigoff, the protopope of Glouchovo (who was then living at Moscow), Epiphanius Slavenetsky, *Simeon of Polotsk*, and other fathers from White Russia of the monastery of St. Andrew. He brings out well the history of the Stoglav, the circumstances which influenced the patriarch Philaret and the metropolitan Jonah, the political motives of the patriarchs Hermogenes and Joseph; the place to be assigned among similar acts to the corrections made in the books by Nicon, and the danger which was then threatening from the new schismatics (the *raskolniks*), especially those of the Solovetsky, whose designs (and their *Petition* itself) were already well known to him. There are appreciations of the *Book of the Faith*, the *Kormchay*, the Pechersky *Patericon*, the *Trebnik* of Peter Mogila, the works of Innocentius Gizel, the *Staff of Rule*, the *Prologue*, the Russian *Extracts from Baronius*, &c.; also many quotations from the works of the Greek Fathers and of the Latin, and from other Western writers, even down to the *Postills* of James Buik published at Cracow, &c.; vehement expressions against 'the new theologians,' meaning the later Greeks, and those who have of late come into Russia; a comparison of the degrees in which the Latins, the old heretics, the Westerns (*i.e.* the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Socinians), and our Solovetsky schismatics stand relatively to the one true Church; the ecclesiastical relations of Kieff and Moscow; and lastly, in conclusion, his own personal appeal to the Russian bishops to hear the voice of a man who professes all readiness to communicate with the Orthodox Church, only *on lawful terms*. It is written throughout with warmth, with conviction, often with sharpness of expression, with acuteness, and even sometimes with

humorous sallies, which damage the effect of the general tone. It seems in its earliest form to have had attached to it some appendix about Easter. No result followed; and though this work found its way into the palace, that was late, only in A.D. 1674-1675, a little before the death of the tsar Alexis.

vi. On the 22d Oct. A.D. 1667 the famous *Petition*[15] from the Solovetsky was presented to the tsar: by an oukaz dated 27th December all their estates were confiscated; and from that time till its final reduction in Jan. A.D. 1676 the monastery was in open rebellion. At some earlier time Krijanich, as he mentions of himself, had petitioned to be allowed to go from Tobolsk to Solovetsky; but his petition never reached the tsar. That of the Solovetsky community would become known at Tobolsk in A.D. 1668; and it opened to Krijanich a field still more important practically and more conspicuous than that of rebaptism, on which to show his loyalty and his zeal against open rebels and schismatics. He wrote then, no doubt at once, immediately after finishing his dialogue on rebaptism, a treatise entitled '*Of Schism, and of the Unity of the Church*, being a *Memorial* addressed to the venerable fathers the monks of the Solovetsky on their *Petition* sent to the great hossoudar in 7176: Youry Krijanich, called the Servian, humbly does his obeisance to them (lit. knocks his head).' This memorial,[16] which was probably sent at once to Solovetsky, was not likely to convert the ignorant and narrow-minded fanatics to whom it was addressed; nor did it either then excite attention at Moscow, though no doubt Krijanich did what he could to make it known there. It was divided, like its fellow treatise on baptism, into thirty five points, and it covers thirty-five pages (p. 42 to 77) in a MS. of A.D. 1671 in which a copy of it is preserved.

The first headings in the index, in agreement with the full title of the memorial as given above, are these: 'Of Superstition and Schism: Of the Apostolic Catholic Church: How the Lord of All and the Founder of the Church has promised and given to His Church perpetual infallibility.' Krijanich tells the monks of the Solovetsky that he has known the Greek Church of the Levant as an eye-witness, having been himself at Constantinople; and that he has seen too how things are at Rome, Paris, Venice, and Florence. 'By the mercy of God,' so he writes against the well-known accusations of the raskolniks, 'the Greeks, *though under the Turkish yoke*, have *not* corrupted nor changed the Christian faith. *Nor* have *they received the Latin faith*. But *such* as they had the faith *before the Turkish conquest*, *such* they have kept it to this day. . . . If the Greek books are printed at Venice, they are printed there by the Greeks themselves; and they contain no Latin opinions or heresies; but in more places than one refutations of Latinism. And not long ago Gabriel (bishop) of Philadelphia printed there books against the Council of Florence. . . . Beside the Church, and outside of the Church, it is impossible to be saved. But

[15] Printed in the Appendices to our vol. ii. p. 449 to 459.

[16] Reproduced with additions prefixed and appended to it in a MS. still preserved, which was dated by Krijanich in A.M. 7183 (A.D. 1674-5), and presented to Cornelius archbishop of Tobolsk, with the hope that it would find its way to Moscow. Of this we shall say more below.

ye, fathers, condemn as heretical all the holy Muscovite, Kiovian, and Eastern Church—in one word, all the Catholic Apostolic Church. . . . Your Church is Lutheran, and ye yourselves (by following private teachers) have gone over to the Lutheran kostel. You revile and accuse of heresy all the patriarchal Churches, and all the Catholic and Apostolic Church: anything worse than your schism there cannot be.' 'The root of your error,' he says, 'is confounding *ceremonies* with *faith*.' He defends also and praises the corrections made by the patriarch Nicon. He addresses himself chiefly to the kellar Azarias and the kaznachey (the treasurer) Gerontius. There is throughout great perspicuity and depth, and an unparalleled gentleness of tone. Defending himself against the imputation of 'the Latin heresy,' he says that from the heresy of the Hussites, the Lutherans, and the Calvinists, the only Latin heresy that he knows of, he is free, freer than they are themselves: but if by 'the Latin heresy' is meant 'the *Roman* heresy,' the heresy of all the Latin Church, no such heresy as that exists. Then he goes on to say: 'I am not such an obstinate Latin as not to be willing and glad to communicate from the priests of the holy Muscovite Church, if only they would receive me.[17] . . . I do not condemn the Church, nor do I separate myself from her, as ye do, but I remain in the Church, I stand by the Church, I fight for the Church, and I proclaim her infallibility. Though I am not a bishop, I think with the bishops, and I preach one and the same thing with them; and in this matter I, an unworthy sinner, am serving the whole Church, or rather Christ Himself. . . . Now by the will of God I am still living in Siberia, in the sight of God Almighty very sinful, for all the world unwanted, useless, unprofitable: for my sins I live separated from human society and counsel. . . . If I still continue to labour, I nevertheless, poor wretch, doubt, fear, and tremble, thinking of the hour of death, whenever it shall come, and it cannot be far distant, lest the Lord call me to account for the time that has been wasted, and for the talent that has been buried in the earth. But in this present matter I, unworthy sinner, am serving all the Church, or rather Christ Himself; and for this I hope to obtain from the Lord forgiveness of my sins. . . .

'"Let every one examine his own heart: if he loves his brother the Holy Spirit abides in him. Let him see if there be in him love for peace and unity, love for the Church which is diffused throughout all the world?" So says Augustine. By this sign ye also, very honourable fathers, may discern what spirit it is that speaks in you, and in me, who am a sinner, and in every man. . . . As for my teaching, I do not make myself into a teacher, but I bring forth my small talent. . . . Unworthy, and the last of men, of sincere affection, I wish with the help of God humbly to *remind* your honour and holiness of some profitable words well known to you in time past, but now, as it seems, forgotten. And ye, God-loving fathers, be not too proud to receive them from me; listen to what I shall say of division; listen with zealous attention, as if you were standing before Christ our Judge. Division is directly contrary to charity; but charity is the head, the mother, and the queen of all those virtues which make the moral strength and beauty of the soul. . . . If any

[17] *i.e.* without unlawful and *uncanonical* conditions.

one loves the law of God, and God, he strives to *reconcile* men, not to divide them; he makes not to himself a scandal out of words in which it is easier and better to find a good than a bad sense. But he who loves not the law of God, nor the unity of the Church, endures not a good interpretation, but wrests words violently to a bad sense. . . . Being myself very sinful, I conceal not the secret sins of others, but I condemn not maliciously my brother: if I calumniate any, I shall have to answer for that in the day of judgment.'

'This is an unique phenomenon in our polemical literature'—writes Mr. S. K. Smirnoff, in an article printed in 1860 in the *Trorenia Sviatich Otsev* of the Moscow Academy—'a Roman Catholic priest contending against the *raskol* in favour of the Orthodox Church.'

vii. Four or five years passed, still without any good result for the exile. At length in A.M. 7183, March 21st (A.D. 1675), he altered and enlarged his memorial to the Solovetsky monks, prefixing and appending to it fresh matter, and entitling the whole a *Refutation of the Solovetsky Petition*. This, fairly transcribed for the most part by another hand, but revised and corrected throughout by himself, he presented to the archbishop Cornelius, the successor of Simeon at Tobolsk. And now at last he had some success. This same copy was sent to Moscow to Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz, like other MSS. of Krijanich which had preceded it. Paul was the director of the pechatni dvor and of the printing press since A.D. 1664. And at his death, 9th Sept. A.D. 1675, among those books which had *belonged* to him, and which were then *bought* from his heirs for the pechatni dvor or *given* in without purchase (as were foul copy MSS. not legible or not considered to be of marketable value), there were the following works of Krijanich: 1. and 2. Two *Russian*[18] books, bound, written against the raskolniks, viz. 1. A MS. on white parchment, *Of Holy Baptism and of the Pasch*, full folio; and 2. *Refutation of the Solovetsky Petition*; also 3. *Grammatica*, a foul copy, in 4to, *given in*; 4. *Rodoslornaia* (Historical), on parchment, *bought*; 5. *Politica*, a foul copy, in 4to, *given in*; 6. Another copy of the *Politica*, marked 'Hungarian or Bohemian,' full folio, bought for 16 altines 4 dengi, or a poltina (which would be equal now to 5 rubles, a good price then. This MS. is still preserved). On three of these volumes, viz. the *Politica* and the two treatises against the raskolniks, there are notes in red, that they were taken up into the palace to the tsar, who may probably have heard of them from Simeon Polotsky, the preceptor of the tsarevich Theodore, as he lived in the palace; though he might indeed hear of them from the metropolitan Paul himself.[19] However, it is to be observed that, besides other circumstances which may have contributed to his previous bad luck, most of the Siberian works of Krijanich, even when sent written out fair (to say nothing of foul copies), were still written in the Latin alphabet, and so to Muscovites scarcely legible. We may suppose

[18] *i.e.* written in Cyrillic characters.

[19] Solovieff discovered from a record in the archives of the F. O. at Moscow that among the books from the palace bound by the foreigner Jahn Eukous, there was bound in A.D. 1674 'a *copy* from a small book ("knijitsa," or a large book, knijishtcha?) of Youry the Servian.'

that the original *Memorial* sent by him to the Solovetsky raskolniks in A.D. 1668 or 1669 was written out fair, so as to be legible for them, in the Cyrillic character; but of the six MSS. mentioned as having belonged to the metropolitan Paul, only two, the two treatises against the raskolniks, both probably sent together in A.D. 1674 or 1675, were in 'Russian,' *i.e.* in the Cyrillic character, and so legible at once for the tsar. Of the *Politica*, though of course it was the fair copy which was taken up to him, it would be necessary to have a transcript made in the Cyrillic character if he was to read any part of it himself.[20] But not long after he had called for these three books (29th-30th Jan. A.D. 1676) the tsar Alexis died, and the books after his death were returned to the pechatni dvor.

That manuscript copy of the *Refutation of the Solovetsky Petition* which is still preserved, and which is similar to the one presented to the metropolitan of Tobolsk in A.D. 1674-5, is thus described by Mr. Bezsonoff: 'It is now No. 889 of the Synodal library, a 4to, bound like the treatise *On Baptism*. The leaves are numbered from 1 to 118. On fol. 1 is a cross marked + (as was Krijanich's invariable custom), and then, in his hand, the title, *Refutation*, &c.; and below, in another hand, in Russian, "*The Corrector the priest Nikiphor, his book.*" On fol. 2 there is an *Index* of the contents. This and what follows is in a different hand; but all revised and errors corrected by Krijanich himself. On fol. 3 the headings, "Of Superstition and Schism," &c. (as above); and below this page, in his own hand: "Written by the priest Youry Krijanich, called the Servian, in 7183 (21st March A.D. 1675), in Siberia." Hence from fol. 3 to the end there is a paging by him, p. 1 to 231. At fol. 3 overleaf, p. 2, the *Solovetsky Petition* (which Krijanich would certainly not send with his *Memorial* of A.D. 1668 to those who had written and presented it) is given at length to fol. 20, p. 2-35. On p. 36-37 there is an *Index to the Solovetsky Petition*. Krijanich divides it into two parts: 1. "Of various questions;" 2. "All against the Greeks;" and at the end an "Address to the Tsar." At p. 38 to 41: "To the hossoudar the most reverend Cornelius metropolitan of Tobolsk, petition and poklon of his servant, &c., Great Pontiff!" &c.

'Then p. 42 to 77 the *Memorial* already described above, as originally sent in 1668 to the Solovetsky monks.

'Then from p. 77 to 231 there follows a more detailed *Refutation*, written no doubt later than the *Memorial*, and divided (like the treatise *On Baptism*) into twelve parts, and those again subdivided into points. Part i. Of the Church, has 17 points; ii. Of Charity, has no subdivisions; iii. Of the Unity of the Church, has 13 points; iv. Of Schism, 12 points; v. Of *Credentials* for a mission, 13 points; vi. To change a *prayer* and to change the *faith*—is *this* one and the same thing? 15 points; vii. Of the

[20] The same copy of the *Politica* in *full* folio (best) in Latin characters was again taken up to the palace after the tsar Theodore had visited the library of the pechatni dvor, 12th Aug. 1681; and 26th March 1682 a *copy* of the *Politica* in folio (poldest), written in Slavonian, *i.e.* Cyrillic characters, was taken by oukaz from the pechatni dvor to the masterskala palata of the *palace*-press, manifestly with the intention that it should be printed. But this copy is no longer known to exist.

klechanie of the Latin presidency, 20 points; viii. Of the leaven of the Pharisees—that is, of superstition, 25 points; ix. Of the faith of the holy Russian wonderworkers, and of Maximus the Greek, 9 points; x. Of the invectives (or blasphemies) of the Solovetsky Petition, 23 points; xi. Showing that prayers, customs, and canons are one thing, but faith another, 5 points; xii. Of the triple Alleluia, 20 points, to the end. The last words on fol. 113, p. 231, are these: 'I have not myself seen the books of Maximus, but I have taken these extracts from the pope Lazarus.' A notice which occurs in this MS., in the *Memorial*, of Krijanich having been fourteen years in Siberia (so written in A.D. 1675), and another, of the miracles which occurred at Tobolsk, Feb. 25th, 26th, and 28th, in A.D. 1675, in the *Refutation*, p. 207, show that the transcriber transcribed from the same foul copy in which Krijanich altered the first redaction, and made those additions which mark the second. No doubt the copy presented to the metropolitan Cornelius was a *fair* copy, without additions made after its own date, and without erasures and corrections: and a fair copy was probably prepared for the tsar, if that which had belonged to the metropolitan Paul was not such. The autograph in *poldest* (what we call folio, in which each leaf is doubled once) which belonged to the priest Nikiphor (the copy still preserved) and that of Polycarpoff are known; there may be also others. In A.D. 1860 Mr. S. K. Smirnoff published, in the *Trorenia Sv. Otser.* of the Moscow Sp. Academy, a detailed account of Krijanich's *Refutation of the Solovetsky Petition*, adducing also some extracts from his treatise *On Holy Baptism*.

viii. The tsarevich Theodore was now fourteen (30th May A.D. 1675); his interests, his cultivation of mind, and his general promise became known; Simeon of Polotsk rose higher and higher; and about him there was formed a group of active and new men. Again hope beamed on Krijanich, and he sketched on two leaves in Latin a letter entitled *Littera pro Liberatione*. He wrote: 'It will be well if I can obtain the possibility of rendering to the hossoudar a service for which, in the judgment of all, I should deserve to be liberated from hence. And if any say that the service rendered did *not* deserve it, then let the tsar send me back, or otherwise punish me. I will show how Russia is now threatened with a very great calamity, unless timely measures be taken to avert it' (that is, the same as in the *Politica*). The last words are these: 'Russia *quo spectat?*'—a momentous question! Mr. Bezsonoff, who discovered the draft of this *Letter for Liberation* by chance in A.D. 1860, asks: 'Was this letter ever sent?'

Whether it was or not, the *Refutation*, &c., marked with the date of March A.D. 1675, whether through the metropolitan Cornelius or otherwise, reached Moscow, and was already in the library of the metropolitan Paul before his death 9th Sept. A.D. 1675. Thence it went up to the tsar. At the end of A.D. 1675 it was known to the pechatni dvor; and copies of it were soon multiplied. In Dec. A.D. 1675 the archbishop Simon of Vologda, together with a letter to the metropolitan Cornelius of Tobolsk, sent to Krijanich 10 rubles (equal to 100 now, or 14*l.*), *perhaps* in aid of the expenses of his return. Krijanich received this money 14th Dec. from the treasurer of the metropolitan.

On the 23d Feb. A.D. 1676 the stolnik prince Kozlovsky arrived at Tobolsk, to administer the oath of allegiance on the accession of the young tsar Theodore; and on the 3d March there came letters by which it was ordered that Krijanich, together with others, should be set free, and that podvods should be given them to return to Moscow: and they accordingly left Tobolsk on the 6th. This immediate liberation of Krijanich we may ascribe without hesitation to the personal influence of Simeon of Polotsk.

ix. In a MS. sbornik, which had been transferred with other books from the Solovetsky monastery to the Spiritual Academy of Kazan, there was discovered in 1860 an article by Krijanich, which had been inserted and sewn in, so as to stand first before the other contents of the book, fol. 1-8. It is well written, in the Cyrillic character, with the *eri* often added, but often not, and with a frequent use of red ink. This is a *Letter to the tsar Theodore, an Address to him upon his happy Coronation* (and so written after the 18th of June), with thanks for the writer's liberation. In it Krijanich enlarges upon the deep sense of the words and the ceremonies of the coronation office: he again offers his own services, but at the same time petitions for *complete liberty* (which one who had entered Muscovy in the tsar's name had thereby lost), that he might go to the Relics of St. Nicholas (that is, to the shores of the Adriatic). We may suppose that this address and petition was presented not without the knowledge of Simeon of Polotsk, and that the petition was at once granted.

Krijanich no doubt had now influential friends at Moscow, in Simeon of Polotsk, whom he would see in A.D. 1676 for the first time; in the ex-archbishop of Tobolsk, Simeon,[21] who was over the pechatni dvor from Sept. 1675 till 1681; and the priest Nikiphor Simeonoff who succeeded him there from A.D. 1681 to 17th March 1686; and others.[22] Still, the minority of the tsar Theodore, when Ivan Miloslafsky with Dolgorouky and the Khitroffs were banishing Matveyeff and the Narishkins, and the patriarch Joachim was persecuting afresh his prisoner Nicon, promised no opening for the activity of Krijanich; and perhaps he had himself also now learned something from his disappointments and sufferings, and was inclined to end his days in a better way than in attempting, unbidden, to teach wisdom to tsars and boyars. At any rate he now disappears from Russia, leaving behind him at Moscow all those MSS., foul copies or fair, perfect or imperfect, of his different works which were still on his hands, and which he had brought with him from Tobolsk. Though written mostly in Latin letters, and in a dialect more Servian than Muscovite, they might nevertheless, if it so pleased God, be at some time or other useful in Russia, while elsewhere they would be neither useful nor acceptable to anybody, and to himself they would be

[21] He left Tobolsk 1st March A.D. 1663 for Moscow, and there threw up his see, 16th Feb. 1664, retiring into the Pokrovsky monastery. It was probably through him that those MSS. of Krijanich which were first sent from Siberia reached the metropolitan Paul.

[22] Theodore Mich. Rtischeff and Epiphanius Slavenetsky, whom Krijanich had known in A.D. 1660, had died, the one in A.D. 1673, the other in 1675, a little after the metropolitan Paul, viz. on the 19th November. Sylvester Medveydeff had not yet come to reside at Moscow.

only an incumbrance. Perhaps, too, he may have been glad to sell such of them as were saleable to his friends the archbishop Simeon and the priest Nikiphor,[23] and foul copies which were not saleable he may have given to them or to the pechatni dvor. Thus, too, the fair copy of the *Grammatica* may have been bought at the recommendation of the director for the library of the pechatni dvor. The price paid for it was half a ruble, a poltina, equal to five rubles now, being the same price that had been paid in A.D. 1675 for that fair copy of Krijanich's *Politica* which had belonged to the metropolitan Paul.

x. In his *Address* to the tsar Theodore on his coronation (in A.D. 1676), 'Krijanich'—so Bezsonoff thought and wrote—'is old, worn out, his sight and hearing are both failing: we are close upon the end: we can only say, Sit tibi Russica terra levis!'

But when he thus wrote there was still to be made one more final discovery, which came unexpectedly, after all the rest. 'We had obtained'—he writes again later—'*first*, notices of Krijanich and of his works between A.D. 1660 and 1675. Then there came additions, first belonging to A.D. 1659, and lastly belonging to A.D. 1676. The researches of the southern Slavonians gave us also notices of him from A.D. 1617 to 1656. . . . In the summer of this present year 1869 we at length received (from Lemberg) a copy of Mr. Koukoulevich's investigations, at the end of which, while expressing a vehement longing for farther details about the end of Krijanich, he writes thus: "Some friends from Russia have informed me that there are traces of his having lived afterwards (*i.e.* after A.D. 1676) in Poland, and that he corresponded with the celebrated geographer Nicholas Witzen, who has inserted Siberian notices written by Krijanich in his works, but of these I have failed to find a copy." The work alluded to by Mr. Koukoulevich is in fact extremely rare; yet there have been three editions of it, the first in A.D. 1692, the second in 1705, and the third in 1785, in Amsterdam, 2 vols. folio, entitled *Northern and Eastern Tartary*. But really it treats of Eastern Europe, Russia, Siberia, and all Northern and Central Asia. Witzen was himself in Russia with the Dutch embassy in A.D. 1666; he knew personally Peter the Great at Amsterdam, corresponded with him afterwards, and dedicated to him his work. In this work there are in truth inserted long descriptions of Siberia of the greatest interest, in the words of an eye-witness; and this eye-witness is Krijanich. But these insertions are extracts not from a *correspondence* (as Mr. Koukoulevich supposed them to be), but from a *whole work*, written by Krijanich, after his departure from Russia, *in the quality of a Polish priest*. The notices about this reach to the year 1680,

[23] In his catalogue of the books left by him at his death, 17th March 1686, there appear a foul copy folio MS., containing a *Russian Chronicle* and *Historical Extracts*, transcribed by Krijanich; and two copies, one foul, the other fair, but not finished, of his *De Providentia*: these are in *Latin* characters. There are also entered separately three other books (all three in *Cyrillic* characters), viz. a full-folio copy of the *Grammatica* (the same that is still preserved, and which was bought for the press for half a ruble), and, in Krijanich's own hand, in folio, his *Refutation* of the Solovetsky Petition, and his treatise *On Baptism*. Also another copy of the *Refutation*, a fair copy, but ill-written, in a Russian hand, has Nikiphor's name in it, though it is not in his catalogue.

and thence to 1683, to the famous victory of John Sobiesky over the Turks and the liberation of Vienna.'

Thus Krijanich has been traced from his native place near Ribnik in Croatia through Zagreb, Vienna, Bologna, Rome, Constantinople, Niejin, and Moscow, to Tobolsk in Siberia, and thence back to Moscow, and lastly to Poland, where he died, seemingly about A.D. 1684, while discharging the humble but practical duties of a Catholic priest, aged not less than sixty-six, about seven or eight years after he had left Russia and—*Dreamland*.

APPENDIX XI. *Extracts from that portion of Krijanich's Political work*[24] *which has been published by Mr. Bezsonoff.*

Krijanich, A.D. 1663, Apr. 13. *Conversations on Government.*

In the *Introduction*: . . . It is not enough for a good ruler to *preserve* his empire in its former state, but he ever strives to make it more *wealthy*, more *powerful*, more *honourable*, and more prosperous. . . . This is done much more by good legislation than by annexation of fresh dominions. p. iv.

'Let not the wise man boast himself in his wisdom, nor the powerful in his power, nor the rich in his wealth: but whoever boasts himself let him boast himself in this, that he knows me, saith the Lord.' That is: the first and most necessary thing of all is, to give God the glory, *i.e.* to know Him, and to love Him, and by good works to honour Him. At the same time the prophet Jeremiah also signifies that there are three things in which the world is apt to boast itself, and in which it considers its happiness to consist, viz. wealth, power, and wisdom: but he teaches that that worldly boast or glory is vain and pernicious, if any man puts his trust in it, and forgets God. But if any one does not depart from God, then these things are not bad, but rather good, and very useful and needful; and they are gifts of God; wherefore we shall divide this work into three parts, and make our *Conversations* turn upon *wealth*, *power*, and *wisdom* in connection with government. p. v.

But this is strange, and a great unhappiness, that scarcely anybody in point of fact seeks after that which is best and most profitable, that is, piety and eternal happiness.

The *wealth* of a ruler consists not so much in treasure as in the multitude and well-being of his people.

His *power* not so much in extent of dominions or strength of fortresses as in good legislation.

The worldly *wisdom* of a sovereign consists in these two maxims: '*Know thyself!*' and '*Trust not foreigners!*' p. vi.

Part I. Of *wealth*. § i. This empire, though so vast, is shut off from all other countries for commerce:[25] on the north we have the frozen sea

[24] Mr. Bezsonoff has given it a title of his own, thus: 'The Russian empire in the middle of the seventeenth century; a MS. discovered and edited by P. Bezsonoff at the expense of the *Russkaia Besieyda*,' 2 vols. 8vo, Moscow, 1860.

[25] Therefore, seemingly, a *just* war with the Swedes and access to the Baltic are desirable? 'No,' Krijanich would reply; 'to acquire a Lutheran German population is undesirable. They could scarcely be prevented from *mixing* with the Orthodox Slavonians, nor the Slavonians from mixing with them, and they would acquire influence.' *Answer*. 'The true Orthodox Church ought not to be

and sterile lands; on the east and south, barbarous tribes; on the west, in Lithuania and White Russia, nothing is produced that we want, except copper among the Swedes; in the south the commerce of the Sea of Azoff and the Black Sea (which might be most profitable for us) is obstructed by the Tatars of the Crimea, and that of Astrachan and the Caspian by the Nogais; while on the side of Bokhara and Siberia there are the Calmucks. So we have only the inland emporia of Novgorod and Pskoff, and the port of Archangel on the White Sea to be used freely and without danger. p. 8. . . . He thinks the government would do well to take all (foreign) commerce[20] into its own hands.

§ ii. p. 30. Of *arts and artisans.*

§ iii. p. 41. Of *labour and agriculture.*

§ iv. p. 57. Of *mines.*

Part II. p. 65. Of *power.* § i. The safeguards of kingdoms are twofold — ordinary, and superior. The ordinary or direct are fortresses, rivers, armed forces, and the like. The superior sources of strength are —1. *Piety of the king;* that the king, by his laws and for the interest of his treasury, be not to his people a leader or encourager of spiritual transgression, and for the multiplication of sins: 2. *Good government,* that his native subjects may be content with their condition, and that foreigners may envy it: 3. *National concord,* that the unity of the kingdom be preserved, and no division find way into it: 4. *Caution to avoid* the infatuation of *yielding to the influence of foreigners;* that the king and all the people trust not foreigners: 5. To be in league with some nations, if that should be profitable. For certainly a faithful and friendly neighbour is better than an annexation of territory; for such a neighbour makes us secure on one side of the empire.

§ ii. p. 66. Of *fortresses.*

§ iii. p. 70. Of *arms and armed forces.*

§ iv. p. 72. Of *military discipline.*

§ v. p. 82. Of *soldiers.* The help of God *ought to be* the only shield of hope, and the strength and the valour of Christian kings and soldiers.

§ vi. p. 86. Of *voivodes or commanders.* The commander should be *a noble,* and *a native subject,* not a foreigner nor of foreign extraction. Here in Russia is done what nowhere else in the world has been done or will be done: Niemtsi hold our cities, and all but the whole authority and command over the army; and the natives despair of promotion to any of the higher places. There is reason to fear, or rather we may be sure, that hence, sooner or later, there will be mutiny, treason, and bloodshed. The Roman empire was dissolved through the enlistment of foreigners and the commixture of different peoples. The kingdom of Poland, for the same cause, is now in a state of dissolution.

§ vii. p. 91. Of *military terminology, and array, or clothing.* He would forbid the official use of foreign words and names of rank and offices, &c.,

weaker than error; but rather it should show zeal to convert it.' Krijanich would again reply: 'That may be so; but the Slavonians as a race are in certain respects weaker than the Niemtsi, and are sure to succumb to them.'

[20] Renouncing, however, all monopolies of internal and *retail* trade, as we shall see elsewhere.

and substitute Slavonic: *e.g.* instead of *reitar*, say *konnik;* instead of *soldat*, *pieshetz;* instead of *sergeant, pomochnik*, &c. They should not speak of the hossoudar the tsar going to *service* (*sloujbou*), but of his going out to war (*na voinou*) or to the army. He would not have soldiers called, as now, by Greek and Jewish names, as Theophilus, Abram, Pachomius, &c., but either by plainly apostolic names, as Peter, Andrew, John, Paul, or by native Slavonic names; or they might have two names, one of each of these kinds, as *Andrew Bogdan, Ivan Liatorai*, &c. Our beards and hair and long dress are uncouth, inconvenient, and savage: he would introduce modifications, and *liberty* for considerable diversity in such matters. p. 94.

§ viii. p. 98. Of the *pay*, &c., and honours of the military. He approves of the system of pomiestia.

Part III. p. 104. Of *wisdom.* § i. God has given to man, in certain respects, less than to the irrational animals; but He has given to man two peculiar gifts—*reason*, to enable him to learn *wisdom;* and *hands*, to execute wise or intelligent works. . . . Charles V. confessed his error, that in his youth he had neglected to learn Latin. So Boris Iv. Morozoff, a man worthy of everlasting fame, once exclaimed: 'O that I were young, that I might learn something!'

But in this respect kings are not at all happier than the rest of mankind: but commonly they live in many prejudices and in great ignorance, which they have sometimes discovered when it was too late. It may be said that they have their counsellors. True; but they have also their flatterers, who fill them with vain confidence, and move them to unjust, tyrannical, and ungodly plans and measures.

Among the living there are few good counsellors to be found: dead counsellors are better and more faithful friends—that is, *books.* For books are not drawn aside by covetousness, nor by enmity or partiality; they do not flatter; they do not fear to tell the truth. Therefore there is need on entering the very threshold of life to set to work to obtain wisdom; and during the whole course of life there is need from time to time to call to one's help these dead counsellors, that they may freely declare to us the truth, that we may know how to lead our lives in a laudable way, to the glory of God, and to our own profit and that of all our people.

It is well for all the other people, but for the supreme ruler alone it is *not* good nor profitable, to learn wisdom from practical experience. For in such a method of learning there is verified the proverb that 'by mistakes and failures a man learns.' But the mistakes and failures of a king bring with them great and irremediable damage to the nation. A king, therefore, has need to learn wisdom from good instructors, from books and counsellors, and not from experience. p. 107.

Therefore we also have need of instruction, that, under the honourable reign of the religious tsar, &c., Alexis Michaelovich, we may be able to rub off the old barbarism, and learn arts, and receive a better form of society, and attain a happier state. . . .

In Russia we know not who first spread that error, or wisdom-impugning heresy, which makes many people say that theology, philosophy, and the study of languages is nothing else than heresy. But it is not this, but

just the contrary, that is taught by the Holy Scripture and the Fathers. p. 110.

Objection. Heresies arise among the learned. They also arise among the unlearned. Mahomet had no learning. . . . And in Russia now has not heresy arisen from stupid illiterate clowns? And the present schism in the Church, has it not come from senseless narrow-minded reasons? because *srachitsa* is changed into *saean;* and because to the *Alleluia* there is subjoined, '*Glory be to thee, O Lord!*' I say nothing of superstition, which is not much better than heresy. . . . p. 112.

§ ii. Of *wisdom*, of *knowledge*, and of *philosophy*.

Wisdom is the name given to the knowledge of the greatest and most important things, as of God, of heaven, of the world, of morals of men, of legislation, and of all great architectonic and very useful and needful things.

Philosophy is the love of wisdom, and a philosopher is a lover and seeker after wisdom, and—as things are known from their causes—after the causes of things. p. 113.

A tabular scheme of science and knowledge: 1. *Spiritual;* and 2. *Secular*. Spiritual science is either speculative theology, or scriptural, or moral. Secular is, *a*. philosophy, or *b*. mathematics, or *c*. mechanics (arts and manufactures, &c.). Of these, *a*. is subdivided into logic, physics, and ethics; *b*. into arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy; *c*. into arts, agriculture, and commerce. The four subdivisions of *b*., with logic subdivided into grammar, rhetoric, and logic proper, or dialectics, make '*the seven liberal arts*.' Of *a*., logic is subdivided as just stated; physics into notitia simplicium and medicine; and ethics into ethics proper, economics, and politics, to which he adds nomothetica or jurisprudence.

§ iii. p. 116. Of *political wisdom*. Its essence is expressed by these two maxims: *a. Know thyself;* and *b. Trust not foreigners*.

a. Know thyself.

§ iv. p. 124. Of *physical conformation*, &c.

§ v. p. 126. Of *language*.

§ vi. p. 129. Of *dress*, &c. He divides dress into Eastern and Western, long and short, p. 134. The Russian dress nearly the worst of all, p. 141.

§ vii. p. 144. Of *manners and customs*. Foreigners despise the Slavonians in general, and the Russians in particular, as barbarians.

§ viii. p. 153. Of the *country* of Russia: *Disadvantages and advantages*. The first and greatest advantage, the head of all the rest, is *complete autocracy*. This is the rod of Moses, by which the hossoudar the tsar can work all manner of miracles that may be needed. With this form of government it is easy to correct all errors, defects, and abuses or corruptions, and to establish all good institutions and regulations. And we shall show our sense of this advantage if we obey in all things the tsar as God's vicegerent, and if the hossoudar gives to the different orders and classes *suitable liberties*. And—what is of most importance—it is needful to keep peace with those who are peaceable, and to harm none without cause, to make treaties with such peoples as may be useful to us, &c. 2. Security of frontiers. 3. Good neighbours, as the Persians, and the Poles and Lithuanians, who would not molest us, if we did not begin: and we might

make a very beneficial treaty with them, of which elsewhere. 4. Capabilities for commerce. 5. Water communications. 6. Native products. p. 158.

§ ix. p. 159. Of *Russian laws or customs*, from Olearius; and of calumnies of the Germans: 'barbarism, immorality, brutal contempt of inferiors, shamelessness, drunkenness, corporal severities and slavery, and slavish manners, murders and robberies, inferiority as soldiers; rough and hard living; wasteful expenditure in embassies. They learn readily, so we (Germans) ought not to teach them.'

§ x. p. 165. Answers to the above (with very large admissions). Of the other Slavonian tribes they write little, knowing them better, as nearer neighbours.

§ xi. p. 172. Of the *general qualities and defects* of the people. . . . Our severity to inferiors, as a consequence of wasteful expenditure. Want of a generous pride. Excess in the use of power, as a consequence of the same tendency to extremes. Insufferable and pernicious inclination to meddle with matters not belonging to us; internal discord among the different Slavonian tribes.

He gives the Russian people a *middle* place between civilised and barbarous peoples. Our four chief natural defects are: 1. Want of eloquence or cultivation of language; 2. Laziness; 3. Intemperance in entertainments, and drunkenness; and 4. Wasteful profusion.

We are excessive: in some parts (in Poland) government is quite dissolved, and all is arbitrary violence and anarchy; in others (as in Muscovy) it is excessively strong, strict, and severe. The whole world can show nothing to compare with Poland for the one excess, or with Russia for the other.

We are set at variance among ourselves (*i.e.* Russians against Poles, &c.) by other neighbouring nations. . . . The Greeks and the Romans had of old time political reasons for quarrelling with one another: and those secular reasons they with falsehood and bad faith turn into spiritual reasons: and one country, to increase the mutual antipathy, invents imputations of heresy where there are no heresies. And we, not rightly estimating nor discriminating the truth of matters, follow them, and contend among ourselves without any limit or end. Brotherhood and affinity with foreigners (non-Slavonians) brings with it inevitably intestine discord among ourselves. And that it is which most of all damages us. p. 180.

b. Trust not foreigners.

§ xii. Of the infatuation of following and imitating *foreigners* (ξενομανία), as a dominant feature in the character of all the Slavonians.

§ xiii. p. 184. Consequences of the above.

§ xiv. p. 189. Of those *foreigners* who have sought alliances by marriage with the Russian crown.

§ xv. p. 193. Of having *foreigners* for sovereigns (as in Poland). So the Poles ought rather to invite the Slavonian tsar or tsarevich of Muscovy.

§ xvi. p. 205. Dishonour and injuries done to us Slavonians by *other nations*.

§ xvii. Of forming connections with *foreigners* by intermarrying. [This in the latest MS. revision of the work is put much lower down.]

§ xviii. How *foreigners* insult the royal dignity which should belong to our own people among the Poles.

§ xix. p. 228. How *foreigners* have insulted the royal dignity among the Chekhs, Bulgarians, Servians, and Slavonians.

§ xx. p. 231. Of *our national happiness*. The malignity of the foreigners goes so far that they even revile us for our good points and advantages; above all, for our autocratic form of government, our careful guarding of the frontiers, prevention of *idleness*, non-admission of heresies, firm maintenance of piety, banishing exiles with allowances for their maintenance. ... In general, the condition of the lowest class is *better* in Russia than in other countries.

1. Our first natural advantage is this, that our people are not ambitious of power, and do not seek violently to govern; and hence they are easily governed by a man who knows their nature, and easily made to do laborious service, and to face the dangers of war. 2. They are content with simple food to eat and drink in return for their labour. ... 9. In our laws and national customs there are some extremely good, of which the first and most excellent is complete autocracy. 10. Another good point is the closing of the frontiers, so that foreigners cannot freely come in among us, nor our people go freely among foreigners. These two institutions or principles are the two feet and two pillars of this empire. 11. A third is that no one is allowed to live in idleness, nor to free himself from public national services, from the court, from the prikazes, from military service; whereas among the Niemtsi and others there are very many nobles and citizens who live in idleness and luxury, for themselves only, and without doing anything to benefit either themselves or others. 12. A fifth good regulation is, that it is not free for any man to profess heresy. 13. A sixth good law, and the national happiness and our spiritual palladium, is, that of keeping the holy vigils, and going frequently to the matins and hours, and attending constantly the holy liturgy: of sleeping little, rising early, eating late, of mortifying the body by many reverences (*poklons*), and by fasting. These things appear to me to be the chief causes of the preservation of this empire. Therefore our sovereigns and ecclesiastical pastors ought to take great care that this strict observance of good ecclesiastical habits be never damaged by any infringement or relaxation. p. 234.

§ xxi. p. 237. Of *three social plagues*, with which the Niemtsi infect other nations, viz. heresy, softness of living, and impotency of government, or self-will; and of the powers and means to counteract these and to save us.

Many think that their property and time and strength, &c., are their own, to do what they like with: as respects their neighbours, this may be more or less true; but it is not true absolutely, nor towards God. As regards God, they are only stewards, and will have to give account to Him of all.

As the German abundance of heresies and of forms of self indulgence were of old unknown to other nations, so their dissolute *liberty* was unknown to the Greeks and the Romans. Only in course of time the Ger-

man princes, governors, and nobles took to aiming after license and freedom and arbitrary liberties to such an extent, that at last they destroyed all the power and authority of their kings, and remained entirely free from government, or headless: for they obey their king in nothing. With the same plague they have infected also the neighbouring peoples more or less, the Poles and the French: especially they have infected and deceived the Poles, to such a degree that nothing worse could be even imagined: and the Poles on this point have become absolutely infatuated. And as the Poles have much to do with us, our people suffer much damage from them in this respect, more than from the Germans themselves. For the Poles and the Lithuanians are incessantly reviling our perfect monarchy, and extolling their own disorderly and many-headed tyranny.

§ xxii. p. 213. That the Russian form of government is better than the Polish. 1. Praises of *autocracy* from scriptural and other precedents and testimonies of divine and human wisdom. The Jews, he says, did not sin in asking for a king, but in asking at an unfit time, and in rejecting Samuel: and again he writes as if the king had a *right* to do all that Samuel tells the people the king *will* do; though elsewhere he modifies and corrects this.

2. So this Orthodox glorious kingdom of our God-loving hossoudar the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, in Great, Little, and White Russia, is infinitely honourable, fortunate, and happy for this reason, that in it there is perfect autocracy; and consequently it is possible in it to correct all errors and defects or abuses which may hitherto, from inattention of the subordinate rulers or ministers, have passed into customs, and on account of which the people suffer and complain.

3. But nothing is so good as not to have its detractors; and so autocracy also has those who speak against it. 4. The Germans especially and the Poles revile it, and extol their own disorderly licentiousness; and they have made a proverb: 'By anarchy Poland subsists' (*Nerialom Polska stoit*). And he writes in Latin: Polonia est nova Babylonia, Tsiganorum Germanorum Armenorum et Scotorum colonia; Paradisus Hebræorum, infernus rusticorum; aurifodina advenarum, sedes gentium vagabundarum; mundi sentina, prodigorum popina; comitiatorum assidua hospitatio, populi perpetua inquietatio, alienigenarum dominatio, Quam despuit omnis natio. 5. And correction there is impossible. . . . 6. In Russia there is only one lord who has power of life and death; but among the Poles there are as many kings and tyrants as there are petty lords; as many judges and executioners as there are nobles: every one can put to death his own serf; and no one is called to account or punished (by any higher authority) for that, p. 246. . . . 8. Among the Poles heresy is free, and the heretics from all parts of the world flock thither: but in Russia such people cannot stay, nor come in; but the Orthodox faith by the mercy of God is defended. . . . 11. Among the Poles strangers are their kings, contrary to the divine command in Deut. ch. xvii.: but in Russia we have sovereigns of a native dynasty of our own. 12. If one were to search the world over, the worst government to be found is that now existing in Poland, chiefly on account of anarchical licentiousness, of infatuated imitation of foreigners, and of having foreign rulers.

§ xxiii. p. 249. Of the *regal dignity, office, and authority.* 1. As the heart in the breast and the eyes in the face, so is the king necessary in the people: for where there is no ruler the people perishes (Prov. xi. 14). 2. The king is the *shepherd* of the people. 3. All orthodox kings are not appointed from themselves, nor from the people, but from God: 'By me kings reign,' &c. 4. The ruler is the vicegerent and executor of God for the punishment of him that doeth evil, &c. 5. The king is as it were a god upon earth. 'I have said: Ye are gods, and ye are all the sons of the Most High.' 6. When the king himself judges, he is sanctified from God, that he should not err: 'Discernment is in the lips of the king; in judgment his lips shall not err' (Prov. xvi. 10).

Of the *rights of the king.* 7. Samuel set before the Hebrews the rights of the king, thus: (writing out from 1 Kings viii. 11). 8. For the king once anointed or crowned has no judge in the world over him *in the secular sphere.*

What, then, is to be done if the king is a fierce tyrant, who injures and oppresses the people? *Answer.* The people must ascribe their calamity to their own sin, and correct themselves, and pray to God for help, and also petition their king: for it is on account of the sins of the people that God gives bad kings.

Of the *duty of subjects:* 1. Tribute; 2. Obedience; 3. To pray for the king; 4. Fidelity.

§ xxiv. p. 253. Of the *different orders and classes of the people.* Nemo sibi vivit: all have to earn their bread by some officium. Consideratis officiis tres sunt status, viz. ecclesiastici, nobiles, plebeii. Officium ecclesiasticorum est Deum deprecari, et salutem animarum procurare; nobilium regis voluntatem cæteris statibus interpretari et cum imperio præesse; plebeiorum laboriosa et servilia opera exequi. Status i. is subdivided into bishops, priests, and monks; ii. into principes (*i.e.* the king's councillors, qui assistunt regi in consilio et in summa potestate), officiales, duces militiarum; iii. into stipendiarii, mercatores, artifices, agricolæ. Note that stipendiarii include all paid service without command, as scribæ, famuli, milites, &c. *Slaves*, not freemen, are different; some of these, as curiales, are higher, and rank with stipendiarii; some lower, and rank *with* or under agriculturists, as pastores, lixæ, et similes. Great commands should not be permanent, still less hereditary; about which we have a warning in Germany. Another division of the body politic is into 1. the conserving members; 2. the conserved; and 3. the diseased or unsound, as heretics, magicians, foreigners, thieves, robbers, and idlers. The conserved are the clergy, the women, children, maimed, and helpless, students of wisdom, and necessary foreigners or guests.

§ xxv. p. 262. Of the *duty of the king*, from holy scripture; duty, that is, to God. 1. *Not to be lifted up* to proud and violent wilfulness, above his brethren. 2. Not to multiply unduly horses, nor 3. silver and gold. 4. To love and seek after wisdom. 5. Woe to them that make unjust laws, and that wrong the poor in judgment. 6. Hear, ye kings, and ye judges of the earth: Authority is given you from the Lord, and power from the Most High, &c. (Wisdom vi. 2). 7. Thy princes are unfaithful; they are partakers with robbers, &c. (Is. i. 23, Zeph. iii. 3, Mic. iii. 1,

Ez. xxii. 27, Mic. iii. 9). 8. A kingdom is transferred from one nation to another, for injustice, wrong, and treachery (Sirach x. 8). How long shall the ungodly boast themselves? they have oppressed thy people, O Lord, and wronged thine inheritance (Ps. xliii.). For the complaint of the lowly, and because of the deep sighing of the poor, I will even now arise, saith the Lord (Ps. xi.). Shall they not know my punishments, they who do injustice, eating up my people as if they would eat bread? (Ps. xiii.). 9. Hear the word of the Lord, thou king of Judah, thou, and thy servants, and thy people: Do judgment and justice; deliver the oppressed . . . shed not innocent blood. If ye do thus, there shall enter in through the gates of this city kings of the line of David, sitting on his seat: but if ye will not obey these words, I have sworn by myself, saith the Lord, that this temple shall be a desolation (Jer. xxii. 2).

§ xxvi. p. 265. Of the *calling of a king*; of royalty, and of tyranny. (The law of God and public opinion are as supreme judges, as regards tyranny.)

In a king and in his counsel there are three powers of life—wisdom, power, and wealth: by these he commands and is lord over his subjects; over their wills by his wealth, over their reason by his wisdom, and over their bodies by his power. By wisdom he rules *first himself* and his own appetites, and then the rational minds of his subjects, when they see him earnestly doing his duty: his duty is to *make his subjects happy*.

Every creature is bound to give to the almighty and all-good God that highest honour which in Greek is called piety (εὐσέβεια, eusebeia), *i.e.* fear, love, and honour. The king is God's vicar: and his subjects ought in a lower sense to render to him also a similar piety (εὐσέβειαν), *i.e.* a sincere fear, love, and honour, subordinated to that which they owe to God, and to the saints of God; fear is due to his power, honour to his wisdom, and love to his wealth and beneficence.

As nothing so perverts the human heart in general as the love of money, so nothing is more mischievous to the king in particular than the attempt to acquire wealth by *all* means. . . . The way to govern well is to endeavour that every order and class may be content with its condition.

There are three methods or forms of good government, as has been said above; and of these the most important is autocracy. In like manner there are also different sources of bad government, and of these the most striking is *tyranny*.

1. From a republic or common government there arises *anarchy*, where all the people agitate and seek every man to take power to himself over his neighbour. 2. Of government by the boyars (or aristocracy) the corruption is *oligarchy*. 3. Of monarchy the corruption is *tyranny*, when one lord with covetousness and cruelty oppresses the people, and robs the whole nation. 4. *Gynarchia*, when women have the right to succeed their fathers in a kingdom. 5. *Xenarchia*, where foreigners are rulers or kings, &c. 6. The easiest of all to correct is tyranny, when it is only the will of one man that needs to be changed. 7. Among all the sins by which kings offend God and make themselves loathsome to the people, tyranny holds the first place: all people hate a tyrant more than any wolf or serpent.

What is a tyrant? *Answer.* A tyrant is a public robber, who fears no judgment nor punishment: he is an executioner without judge and law; he is a man who has cast off humanity; he is a demon in a visible body. For while he can, by a single word, do infinite good, without any damage to himself, and that with glory, he will not. In our tongue a tyrant is a *liudoderetz* (a waster of the people). 8. In holy scripture kings are called *shepherds*. . . . A king is he who governs his dominions for the good of himself and all his subjects; a tyrant is he who looks not to the common good, but only to his own personal gain. And he quotes Aristotle and Cicero. . . . 12. The king is not subject to any human law; and no one can judge nor punish him. But he is subject to the law of God, and to the voice of mankind (or public opinion). These, then, are the true bonds which bind the king, and remind him of his duty: justice and honour; or the law of God and fear of shame from the people.

§ xxvii. p. 271. *Common errors of rich men, and of many rulers;* of the convenience of things, and of unlimited power. 1. Rich men think their goods simply their own, to do what they like with. As regards other men they are indeed masters, but as regards God they are only *stewards;* and he adduces passages of the Scriptures. . . . Kingdoms are not for the sake of kings, but kings are established of God for the sake of kingdoms. 2. 'The Lord is high and to be feared; *He* is the *great king* over all the earth' (Ps. xlvi.). 'Jesus Christ, who is Lord of the kings of the earth' (Apoc. i. 5). And 'Lord of lords and King of kings.' With respect to his mortal subjects the king is a real lord of his kingdom; but with respect to God he is not a lord, but God's minister: God is the absolute and true Lord, the king is his deputy and officer. 3. If God will require an account from every man of all that he hath, much more of the king. 4. The business of the king is *to make his people happy.* That is, to guard and promote piety, to judge justly, to labour for peace, to provide for cheapness and plenty, to be careful for the national honour, and for all advancement of the public welfare. In brief, faith, justice, peace, plenty, and national honour are the objects of the king's care. By analogy he is called the *head*, and the *shepherd.* He explains at p. 278 that when Samuel set before the Hebrews what their kings would actually do, not all those things were good or right to be done; *e.g.* Ahab had no *right* to take the vineyard of Naboth. He observes how the tyrannical government of the Turks has brought the fairest part of the world to desolation.

§ xxviii. p. 280. Of *oppressive rule and tyranny:* maintaining laws once made, though bad; seeking gain to the treasury by all means: fancying that tyranny consists only in cruelty, and not also in bad laws, whereas these are even worse than mere cruelties; *e.g.* if a king were to take violently the wealth of his richer subjects and kill the more powerful, the laws might still be good (and a king may be personally a tyrant, and yet the general government under his laws no tyranny; but if there are bad laws he is necessarily a tyrant, even though he commits no personal cruelties). The oppression of the people, or tyranny, is punished by God by taking away the kingdom from the tyrant, or from his children and race. Examples: Solomon; and the tsar Ivan IV. Basilievich, against whom God

raised up to supplant him Godounoff: of three sons he killed one himself, another was imbecile and incapable of governing, and the third was made away with by Godounoff; and so the whole dynasty was extinguished. So, too, was the family of Godounoff extinguished, p. 283; and the scourge of God came upon Russia; and all that evil treasure was taken by aliens, and that tyranny hateful to God was rooted out and cleansed by the burning of all the city of Moscow. E contra pios et ab avaritiâ alienos reges (qualis erat David) Deus premiare solet *longâ serie regum, ut filii et filiorum filii succedant eis in regno;* et (ut loquitur sanctus Leo) patris dignitas et in indigno hærede non deficit.

In our time what has happened in this glorious kingdom of Russia? All the tribes or states of the empire of the Russian people (Little and White Russia) had returned under the sceptre of David, to their Russian kingdom, from which they had for some centuries been rent away. They cast off the yoke of the Poles, and in A.M. 7167[27] swore allegiance to the tsar. But what happened? The same as of old with Rehoboam. Some people[28] then counselled well and faithfully to lay no burden on those new subjects, but to account it a sufficient gain to have their forces to defend our frontier; but, on account of the old laws of the tsar Ivan IV. and the tsar Boris, the Council preferred to do otherwise, and the accursed kabaks were established there also; whereupon those new subjects all returned to their former connection with the Poles, and to judge from appearances, will never again for ages give themselves up to this country. Why? Because of oppression. They thought to bring the tsar a great increase of treasure, but they brought him instead a great loss. So things have been going on in this empire from the time of Ivan IV. Basilievich, who was the introducer of this rash and arbitrary government. The Son of Sirach says that on account of oppression and tyranny the kingdom is transferred from one nation to another, on account of injustice and wrongs: but the foulest thing of all is evil gain (x. 8). An example is the Roman empire (quoting 4 Esdr. xi. 42). A nearer example we have in the kingdom of Poland, which ought to move and alarm us much: for from excessive luxury and dissipation the Polish monarchy became a tyranny; and from a tyranny it has come to be a government by foreigners, and to that state of extreme dissolution and anarchy in which it now is. . . . I do not wish to be a true prophet, but (unless the world and human nature changes) I hold it for certain that in this empire also a time will come when all the people will rise up against the oppression of those godless oppressive laws of the tsars Ivan IV. and Boris, and that not without great disturbance and ruin, and great losses to all the nation: signs and precursors of which we have seen in the three disturbances of our time—one at Pskoff (A.D. 1650), and two at Moscow (in 1648 and 1662); and in three treasons, that of the Lower Dnieper, that of Berezova, and that of the Bashkirs.

§ xxix. p. 290. *The root of all evil is covetousness.* To increase the revenues of the treasury *by all means;* to underpay the officials, &c., which

[27] *i.e.* in A.D. 1659; but before that this had been done first in A.D. 1653.

[28] Krijanich himself for one, in his *Descriptio Itineris*, &c., written in A.D. 1659.

makes them of necessity all robbers. A poor podiak sits in the prikaz all day, and sometimes also nearly all night, and he receives an altin a day, or twelve rubles a year (equal to 16*l.* now); and he is required to appear on festivals in an official dress, which must cost as much as one whole year's pay. So they live by selling justice. And there are even fees paid to the government for justice(!), introduced by the tsar Ivan IV. For this tyranny we are in bad repute with foreigners, who invent all sorts of stories. Anno 1663, Julii die 26, narravit mihi quidam Germanus, homo mendax, et dicebat: 'Omnes, inquit, præcipui Russiæ barones habent apud se præparatum venenum, ut, cum intelligant imperatorem sibi irasci, possint illud sumere. Ita, inquit, ille baro qui fuit sub Kameneciâ (*i.e.* Basil Boutourlin in A.D. 1655), Kioviæ sumpsit venenum,' &c. And Olearius writes that the Russians are like beasts and asses, which must be cudgelled to make them do anything. From the oppressive government there have been produced bad customs among the people, p. 296. . . . Hence all the other nations loathe this empire and the Russian people. So the kozaks, though of the same tongue and faith with us, preferred to be under the Poles, on account of the oppressiveness of our government. The country is a desert compared with what it ought to be, for this same cause. The national vice of drunkenness is caused or kept up chiefly by the accursed kabaks (government places for the retail of spirits). Custom of keeping the festivals with drunkenness; and the court banquets. The tsar Ivan, perceiving that his tyranny was intolerable to the people, as a palliation invented and established the court banquets on names-days; and I suppose that the rest of the court banquets were introduced by the same tsar, or within a few years (six or seven) after him, for the same reason. And people are forced at them to drink to drunkenness. Certainly this is one of the reasons—perhaps not one of the least—for which this empire is punished by God. They even make the guests drunk first, before giving them anything to eat. The hossoudar thinks only of making his guests into swine as quickly as possible; and so they brew strong ale on purpose: he sets them round an empty table, and there they sit three or four hours, without bread or anything to eat, with only drink; and he himself goes round (standing, poor man, like a slave), and, without sitting or conversing with his guests, only makes them drunk.

§ xxx. p. 301. Of the *correction of tyranny and misrule*. A king should ever keep in mind this rule: 'So govern the people that they may not desire a change:' and if he wishes his memory to be honoured after his death, he should not only be personally good, but he should establish good laws, and give to all orders *suitable liberties or privileges;* because in no other way can he bridle the inordinate desires of his successors, nor the evil propensities of his servants, who give him counsels infected with covetousness and tyranny. I will mention therefore, he says, certain liberties or privileges which, I think, would be specially well-pleasing to God, and not only glorious for him, the tsar, and for all his Russian empire, and all the Slavonian race, but also in the highest degree profitable and advantageous. Though the king himself were an archangel, yet unless his ministers and officers were restrained by good legislation, that is, *by suitable liberties secured to all ranks*, it would be impossible to prevent the commission of

all sorts of robbery, injustice, and tyranny. And what is worst of all, the rulers and governors become openly the accomplices of robbers, since the officials take bribes to favour injustice, while the citizens have no power of themselves to punish robbers.

Objection. If autocracy is the best government, how can it be desirable for the subjects to have liberties or privileges? Answer. *Moderate* liberties are no damage to autocracy, but the contrary. *Excessive* liberties produce anarchy and dissolution, as among the Poles and the Germans, where there are as many tyrants as lords. But where there are no liberties, autocracy in its true and good sense cannot subsist, but inevitably becomes tyranny.

This or that particular king may be personally good, but his successors may be bad. Again, the king may be good, but of his ministers and officers many, and very many, will be bad. If they were all angels, there might be no need of liberties, but they are not; and their errors and excesses, besides offending God and drawing down His judgments, provoke all kinds of mischief among the people, insurrections, treasons, &c.

Example of Rehoboam, of whom the people asked, and not without reason, that their burdens should be lightened. It is the business of a prudent man and a good counsellor to look forward and backward, and not to consider only the need of the present moment. Who was the Russian Rehoboam? The tsar Ivan IV., inasmuch as he established oppressive and cruel laws. Another Rehoboam was the tsar Boris Godounoff, who confirmed the same bad laws, and added others like them.

One of the very worst of these bad laws, and the foundation of the rest, is that prescription of an oath by which all the tsar's officers and ministers swear, *by all means* in their power to devise or to execute, to seek to increase the tsar's treasure. This ungodly oath leads astray not only bad but also many good-hearted men.

What would be the benefit of the abolition of this bad law, and of an improved legislation? This, that the kingdom would be confirmed to the descendants of thy majesty for ages to come; thy conscience would be justified before God and before all the world, and thy government purified from the reproach of covetousness and tyranny, &c. And as regards the present time, the nobles and merchants and all the people, having their share in these liberties, will be zealous to relieve the present exhaustion of the treasury in order to a return to the silver currency and to a peace. And the Poles will be much more ready to make peace with us, and *to accept the tsarevich (as heir) to their kingdom.* And the nations, which now dread this government as the devil and hell, will then be willing and desirous to live under so good, reasonable, and humane a sceptre.

§ xxxi. p. 307. *Preparatory address of the tsar* to the people of all his empire.

'We have noticed that there are certain things in this our kingdom which are prejudicial to the general welfare of all the nation, and on account of which every order and class suffers and complains; and no one of them all is content with its lot and condition. And no wonder. After the conversion of Vladimir there were incessant and numberless civil feuds; then the Tatar yoke, till, by the mercy of God, the grand prince

Ivan Dmitrievich began to break their power, and later the tsar Ivan Basilievich broke it altogether. But the tsar Ivan was occupied by continual wars, and had a fierce and violent temper, and so was incapable of providing in all respects for his kingdom as there was need, or of establishing an improved legislation. After him there came his son, who was only half-witted; and after him a time of national suffering, in which two tsars perished, and their families were extinguished. Our father received the empire in a state of exhaustion and ruin and great weakness, and he did all that he could to raise and restore it; and he did much. And if he did not correct some laws which needed correction, the reason was this, that, in the calamitous state of the empire, he alone could not do all that needed to be done.

'The goodness of God does not all things at once, nor does He give to one man all gifts. He has given to us, though unworthy, at this present time, the wish to complete that which may be most to His glory, and most for the credit and advantage of our dignity (which He has been pleased to make His vicegerent in this empire), and for the general happiness of you and of all the Russian and Slavonian people (see p. 68).

'We wish, I say, in the first place, to put an end to the present system of kabaks, and to every other hurtful source of gain to the treasury by which we perceive the people to be burdened. We wish to give to every order and class of the people reasonable liberties, so that all may be content with their lot and condition (see p. 69). To the spiritualty we wish to confirm and enlarge their liberties. To the boyars to grant that in their pomiestia they have certain additional powers and liberties, and other marks of honour and distinction, as we have observed to be customary in other parts of Europe. To the dvorianins, in like manner, and to the military, there shall be given certain suitable liberties. To the citizens, lastly, and artisans in the towns, and to the labouring class in the country ridings, there shall be such graces shown as may make them well content.

'But, before this is carried into execution, there is need to consider by common counsel the foundations of public welfare and happiness, and then to legislate accordingly. And as a preliminary, before we put an end to government monopoly (of fermented liquors) and certain other burdens, there is need that you all, by common consent, declare to us what method you are ready to follow in order that the imperial treasury may obtain the revenues wanted for the defence of the empire and for all other public expenses.

'Secondly, before we suppress certain clauses in the oaths now taken by our officials, especially that for the increase by *all* means of our treasure, and before we grant the liberties we have spoken of, ye shall all swear to us never to call nor receive to the kingdom, principality, or hospodarship any alien. And in case of the failure of our line, if you have to come to a free election, that you will elect no alien, but only a man of Slavonian race, &c. And we will swear, and oblige our successors to swear, not to give our daughters in marriage to aliens, but only to rulers of Slavonian peoples and to princes and boyars of our own subjects; and, in like manner, not to take wives to ourselves from aliens, but only from

the daughters of Slavonian rulers and from those of the princes and governors and boyars of our own subjects.

'Thirdly, there is need to take counsel not only for the revenues, but also for the honour of this our empire and of all the Slavonian people; so as to give its due lustre to the national honour, if in any respect it has been obscured, *e.g.* respecting our imperial title, and appointment, and honour, and authority: what is the meaning of the titles *Tsar* and *Král*; and who has power to establish kingdoms (*kralestva*); and to appoint kings (*králs*), &c. After these three points have been considered we will grant you liberties.'

§ xxxii. p. 310. *Legislation* against the national reproach, and for other needs, and liberties to every order and class. (The tsar continues to speak to all:)

1. 'Let the bishops, popes, clerks, monks, nuns, and all people of the ecclesiastical and spiritual order be *exempt from the prikazes and from secular tribunals*; and let them judge themselves among themselves. Let them be exempt also *from all public burdens and services, from labours, and from all imposts*. For since they are dedicated to the service of God, they ought not to be forced to human services. The Lord says: "He who touches you touches the apple of my eye" (Zach. ii. 8). And even among the heathen Egyptians Joseph of old bought for the king all the land except the land of the priests; that is, the priests continued to hold their own former lands without any burden of service or tax.

2. 'We account the honour of our faithful servants, kniazes, governors, boyars, and all dvorianins, to be our own honour and credit: for the better and more honourable those over whom any one rules, so much the better and more honourable is he himself accounted to be. Therefore we judge it fit and good to grant special liberties (or privileges), and to raise the honour of our faithful servants and dvorianins. Examples: The existence of an aristocracy in France makes the king there more secure and more respected, while its absence in Turkey exposes the sultan to direct and personal danger and insults from the janizzaries. And so too it was with the old Roman emperors. And we have seen among ourselves twice popular insurrections, all owing to this, that the boyars have not such power and firmness as to keep in check the multitude.

'The Turks in their conquered provinces always give greater liberties and privileges to their own people than to the old inhabitants; but here it is just the contrary, which is extremely unsuitable and dangerous. In Poland, &c. . . . But those liberties which justice and reason every way demand here may now be given with advantage. *Now* the inhabitants of this country would fain pass over into Lithuania; but when those liberties are given, the Lithuanians will wish to come over to us.

'Privilegia in tantum debent concedi unicuique statui et personæ in particulari, in quantum prosunt toti communitati; et si aliquod privilegium non est utile communitati, nullo modo debet concedi, nec concessum unquam tolerari. Illa autem privilegia præcipuè obsunt perniciemque inferunt communitati, quæ quocumque modo tendunt ad dissolutionem perfectæ monarchiæ.

'So we must be careful herein not to go beyond the right measure.

And so, first, we will define, limit, and secure our own imperial liberties or prerogatives, and preëminence, and incommunicable irresponsible authority.'

a. 'No one is to dare to coin money in his own name, or without the royal command. *b.* Nor to keep armed men under a standard of his own, *except that* kniazes (princes), governors, and boyars may keep their own armed servants in such numbers as we allow. *c.* Kniazes alone shall be free to hold each one fortified city or town; but every one shall be free to hold a fort for his own servants, and to make his own house defensible (*i.e.* against robbers, &c.). *d.* No one shall hold any prikaz or province of ours by hereditary tenure, but some prikazes and offices may be held by our order for life. *e.* No city or town is to appoint for itself by its own authority any kind of starosts, or governors, or commanders, or judges. *f.* No one, without our oukaz, is to convoke any kind of meeting or assembly. *g.* No kniaz or ruler (*vlastelin*), nor any other man whatever, is to sell his pomiestia without first giving notice to us; and no one is to buy family-estates and pomiestia, or other immovable property, beyond a certain limit, but only so far as he obtains license from us and our officers. *h.* In fine, no one is to take to himself or acquire any sort of authority, or property, or privileges, or power, or dominion by which he might be enabled to infringe upon the power of our majesty. *i.* We and our successors shall swear to preserve to you, our faithful subjects, all these liberties which we now give and grant to you. Only, if hereafter there be from any of you, or of your children, in any rank, any disobedience, if any abuse their privileges, and disobey and resist our orders, in such case we and our successors shall no longer be bound to maintain those privileges which have been so abused, and no such power of acting against us is to be understood to have been given or instituted by us.

'To speak more distinctly and briefly: The king is God's vicar, and living legislation, and he is not subject to any other legislation than that of God, but he is above all human legislation. Consequently, the king cannot create any legislation above himself. For God has set the king above all human legislation. All these liberties and privileges remain always under the control of us and our successors, and we can annul and withdraw them, but not without reasonable and sufficient cause. And so far only we bind ourselves and our successors by swearing an oath to maintain them.

3. 'In the name, then, of the most holy Trinity, we, N. &c., give and grant to you our faithful servants and dvorianins and to your descendants these following liberties, powers, and honours for ever:

'We (for the benefit of the whole body) establish for ever perfect autocracy in ourselves and in our successors, &c.

'In the first place, we divide you into three orders, and institute in you three honourable ranks of *hereditary nobility*. Hereditary nobles of the first rank shall be called *kniazes* (princes), of whom each must have in his province one fortified city or town and fortress, but not more than one. Of the kniazes the number shall be limited; twelve seems to be enough, and not too many. Another rank shall be called *boyars*. Both these two ranks shall be called together distinguished *imeniti* boyars

and rulers (*vlastali*). The third rank shall be called hereditary nobles (*plemianie*).

4. 'Then we exempt you from all servile (or burdensome) service, and from the class of *kholops*. You shall be called our faithful servants, and dvorianins, and nobles (*people of family*), but not *kholopi*: and you shall be for ever free from all servile service and labour, from tribute, tax, collections, duty of supplying beasts and carriages (*podvods*), burdens of the land, of handicrafts, &c. &c.; also from keeping guard, and from all burdensome military duty in time of peace and quiet: but in the field in war, and in the cities and towns at times of need, no one is to be exempt from any sort of work or labour.

5. 'Nobles (people of family) shall not call themselves by diminutives, as "Borko," "Vladko," but by their full names, "Boris," "Vladimir;" nor by their baptismal and patronymic, as "Boris Ivanovich," but by their baptismal and family name, as "Boris Morozoff."

6. 'No one shall knock the ground with his forehead before any man, but only before God and the sacred icons; and whoever does shall be reprimanded the first time, and if he does it again he shall be punished.

7. 'Certain honorary titles shall be taken by the three classes of nobles; and given to them here, as is usual in other countries.

a. 'Kniazes entering Moscow and other towns may be preceded by four wind instruments and two trumpeters, &c. &c.

8. 'All hereditary nobles shall be for ever exempt from punishment by the knout or by cudgels, and from all other ignominious punishments, as branding, cutting off of nose, ears, or hands, &c. Boyars, if disgraced, may be *banished* by the hossoudar without process of trial, but not punished with any severity or with death, nor deprived of their property, without trial and judgment.

9. 'No one shall have power to reduce a nobleman to bondage (as for debt) or servitude (*zakabalit v' kholopstvo*), but any one of *inferior* rank may voluntarily and temporarily take service under any other of *superior* rank to himself.

c. 'Pomiestia can be held by boyars only, not by any of the classes subject to imposts and service. Only a limited extent of land near towns, according to the need of the town, and the license granted, for pasturage.

10. 'The difference of all boyars from mere citizens, and of each rank, shall be marked by certain distinctions of dress.

11. 'Devices to be borne before them on their shields shall be given for distinguished feats of military service to boyars.

12. 'A kniaz who has been on daily service at court or in military service for three years shall be freed for life from the duty of coming to Moscow or living there, unless specially called for; and any other ruler (*vlastelin*) after six years service, in like manner. And those of the *imeniti* boyars who are on service at court shall not be all bound to serve at once and at all times, but by turns, on certain days and for certain hours.

13. 'Kniazes, vlastelins, and boyars who have served long in the wars, if they are old, or maimed, or otherwise disabled, may engage and send a substitute.

14. 'All sons of kniazes and vlastelins, and sons of boyars and of citizens and of the prikazniks, not all, but as many as there seems to be need of, and as shall be determined, shall have permission to learn Greek and Latin, in order to understand the history of nations, philosophy, and politics. But practical sciences, such as are needed not by boyars only, as arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and medicine, shall be taught to the sons of citizens and to those of the poorer boyars in such numbers as it may need.

15. 'Every kniaz and vlastelin shall have power to build and fortify for himself one city or town, and therein or near to it his own fortified mansion, or fort (*ostrog*) of his own residence; or he may hold a city or town committed to him by the krâl, and exercise in it the power of the sword against all evildoers. Only such as are accused of treason he must send to the king's prikaz.

16. '*Imeniti*, and all nobles of family (*plemeniti*), shall not be obliged to serve on embassies at their own charge; nor *bound* to make any of those presents now customarily made to the tsar. And we will not receive or take from you any such yearly presents; but only if anything is offered or given to us freely and exceptionally, we may accept it, if it pleases us to do so.

17. 'We and our successors shall swear to give our sisters and daughters in marriage only to Slavonians.

18. 'In like manner to take for our wives only daughters of Slavonians.

19. 'For the greater honour and advantage and longer continuance of your families and family names, that they may not be weakened and ruined by multiplication and subdivision, we establish for the crown the principle of inheritance by one only male heir, the eldest son succeeding, and younger sons receiving pomiestia, with the title of *kniazes*, and daughters receiving portions in money.

'And with you, kniazes and vlastelins, it shall be in like manner: your family estates and pomiestia shall not be subdivided, but shall go all with the title of kniaz to the eldest son, his sisters being portioned in money according to the ability of their father, and the younger brothers having only the title of *boyars*, and taking service in our court, with the prospect of becoming in time *imeniti* and *vlastelins*.

20. 'And as we think it no dishonour to our royalty to take a wife from you our subjects, so you in your respective ranks shall not think it dishonourable to take wives, if it so be, from the rank next below your own; and nobility of descent shall not be considered to be connected with the mother, but only with the father.

21. 'According to the good rule followed in France, women shall be incapable of succeeding to the throne, and in that respect it shall be as if they did not exist.

22. 'We and our successors and you all shall swear never to make an alien (*i.e.* one who is not a Slavonian) sovereign of Russia; nor to receive and obey any such: and any oath taken to such shall be ipso facto void, as unlawful, and as a perjury.

23. 'Also we shall swear never to invite any alien kings or princes

into Russia, though we may on occasion receive and help such as take refuge with us.

24. 'Nor shall any alien be capable of being made krâl, kniaz, ban, vlastelin, okolnik, voivode, boyar, dvorianin, or governor of any city or town; nor of holding any pomiestia or dvors, or houses in any town, nor any immovable property (not counting, however, as aliens Poles, Chekhs, Servians, Bulgarians, and Croats).

25. 'No alien shall be capable of being nationalised.

26. 'In case of any civil contention or war, that side which introduces any armed force of foreigners shall lose all claim to support. This and other like clauses are to be enforced by anathemas of the sacred synod.

27. 'In wars against foreign enemies foreign mercenaries or auxiliaries may be engaged; but as soon as the necessity is over, they must be dismissed and sent out of the kingdom.

28. 'Merchants and artisans, and all kinds of citizens, and whole cities seeking it, and sending to us their envoys, may obtain our royal privileges. First of all, as we wish to put an end to the government (monopolies, especially to the) kabaks, the towns must propose to provide that our treasury be not damaged: and on this account we propose to *reserve* one or two months in the year; and if any town fails to tax itself suitably, then our monopoly *must go on as before*.

29. 'In like manner of all the government monopolies of salt, fish, caviar, corn, mead, ashes, leather, iron, &c.; so that no one, either alien or native, may ever more in our kingdom farm such monopolies.

30. 'Nor shall it be free anywhere in our kingdom for any foreigners to set up depots, agencies, &c., for commercial purposes. But we shall give our cities and towns the power and duty (*oblast*) of ξενηλασία (*i.e.* of expelling aliens); and if they neglect to do this, they shall be fined.

'Foreigners coming into Russia in time of civil discord to fight shall be put to death without mercy.

31. 'Towns with slobodas (*ouslobodnemi*) shall have their own inspectors and *lutchiki*, or councillors, and *birichi* (assessors of contributions) from the order of the citizens (*posiadskago*): but the *nazor* (inspector), *pisar* (secretary), and the judge shall be of the order of the boyars. The judge shall decide alone lesser causes, but trials of bloodshed, &c., shall be determined by the plurality of voices: and they shall judge and punish thieves, robbers, and coiners of the class of citizens. But all other criminals and boyars are to be judged by our joupans and judges set by us in our prikaz. The *chourari* (or *starosts*) in the towns shall be nominated by our joupans; only their lavniki and judges shall be chosen by the burghers (the *posadniki*) for themselves.

32. 'The artisans shall have their own companies (guilds or fellowships) and heads (*nastavi*), and they shall not be forced to work without being paid for it.

33. 'It shall be free for all to play on musical instruments, and to wear their beards and their hair as they please, only not in the Tatar fashion.

34. 'All foreign money of pure gold and silver shall pass in all the empire, at its ascertained and recognised value; but not foreign money

of mixed metals. Pure copper money of the Swedes shall pass, but at a lower rate than uncoined copper.

35. 'There shall be four native coinages of just weight and value, with the image and device of the sovereign, and of the city where the money is coined, of gold, of silver, of copper, and of mixed metal, part silver and part copper. 1. *Zlatniks*, or gold rubles, corresponding to the Dutch gold pieces. 2. Of silver, *poltinas* and *grivnas*, three grivnas going to a ruble, and one and a half to a poltina; also *shestinas*, of the sixth part of a ruble, three of these making a poltina, and two making a grivna. 3. Of the mixed metal there shall be coined *doudkas*, of which sixty shall make a ruble, thirty a poltina, and twenty a grivna, and ten a shestina. The mixed metal shall be half silver and half copper, the sixty doudkas containing in silver and copper the true value of a ruble. And of this same mixed metal there shall be coined also *noetsi*, of which four are to go to a doudka, or 240 to a ruble. 4. Of pure copper there shall be *broiaki* of the weight of one zlotnik, their value varying with the price of copper.

36. 'Damaged and light or debased money and tokens are not to pass. If any come bringing such bad money to any town, even in the tsar's name, the township is free to put them to death, letting them be confessed first. And every town shall keep standard weights and measures, and officers to test money.

37. 'If you would have the liberties granted by us, you must be ready to contribute to our treasury when called upon; and we, on the other hand, engage not to burden you with imposts (*pobori*, collections) without real need. Note that all the citizens and artisans, and all the *kmeti* and *seliani* (*i.e.* agricultural labourers) on our crown domains, and also all the *posadniki* and *kmeti* on all the domains of the ecclesiastics, of the kniazes, of the vlasteli, and of the boyars, have to contribute thus.

38. 'Four cities, viz. those of Vladimir, Yaroslaff, Pskoff, and Novgorod, shall have the privilege of coining the gold, silver, mixed metal, and copper coinages respectively; and they may arrest, try, and punish coiners, &c., all over the empire.

39. 'The *kmeti* and the class subject to labour and burdensome service, being better off here than in other countries, where the people of the boyars and military put them to death without accounting for it to any one, we confirm these their ancient and customary advantages: let no one dare to oppress or wrong any of them, or force them to labours or burdens in contravention of our oukaz.

40. 'Instead of the present oath to increase the tsar's treasure by *all* means that can be devised, &c., all officials shall take a new oath of fidelity: nor shall they be expected to appear in expensive official dresses on festivals, &c. Also their pay, hitherto insufficient, shall be increased; and the too great number, as places fall vacant by deaths, reduced.

41. 'Our Saviour says: "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation." It may be so divided in two ways: 1. by having two or three or many rulers, as we had before the time of the Tatars; or, 2. by the nobles or boyars taking to themselves excessive liberties, as has been the case among the Poles and the Germans. To prevent this, we have made laws (as above of the succession, and of marriages). But far-

ther, for the firm establishment of this unity, you shall take the following oath:' (Then follows the new form of oath: and it is said that 'they only are to bear the title of *Kniazes* to whom we now give it afresh; the others, descended from former kniazes, having to content themselves with the qualification of '*kniazeviehi*').

42. 'It is needful that all should know what are the fundamental bases and supports of the kingdom (or empire, *kralestva*). They are, 1. The maintenance of the Orthodox faith, and non-admission of heresy. 2. Absolutely autocratic government. 3. Care that the kingdom be not divided, nor rule given to foreigners, of which we have been in great danger at various former times (*e.g.* after enumerating others, in our own time, David the tsarevich of Georgia lived here at Moscow a long time). 4. The custom of keeping the frontiers closed. 5. That of requiring all to be usefully employed, and letting none of the nobles be exempt from suitable public services in the court, the prikazes, military service, and embassies, nor of the classes subject to imposts from their burdens and labours, nor the spiritualty from their duty of praying to God and singing praise to Him. However, to those who have served a reasonable length of time our grace grants exemption and repose, as aforesaid. 6. That after the death of a krâl, before his successor takes the oath, there shall be a review made in a national assembly of all the acts, legislative enactments, grants and abstractions of otchinas and pomiestia, of the deceased sovereign, and petitions made to his successor as to anything that may seem to need change.

43. 'As we have to think not only of the profit but also of the honour of all the nation, and how all the nations of Europe with one voice dishonour us and all our empire and nation' . . .

Then he passes in review all the Russian history, observing how, 'Owing to different circumstances, none of our rulers took the full title of Krâl, but only that of Kniaz, or Veliki Kniaz, from Vladimir to Ivan IV. And he, instead of giving glory to God, following flatterers and fablers, sought glory from men, and affected to connect himself, through Prussian Varagians, with the line of Augustus Cæsar and the old Roman emperors, and so took the Roman title of Tsar, and the Roman device of the double-headed eagle: whereas the Roman empire, the fourth beast of the Scriptures, is the scene of all the persecutions, and is described only as doomed to be destroyed and supplanted by the kingdom of Christ: and it has already been destroyed: and from its remains there shall arise the infidel power of Antichrist. Moreover, if our ancestors gave the name of tsar to David and the other Jewish kings, that was a blunder on their part: those kings were full *korols*, which the Cæsars never were, but only *principes* or *imperatores*, first men of the senators, or commanders of the army.' He thinks the three-headed eagle of 4 Esdras represents by its middle head the Roman empire proper, from Augustus to Augustulus; the head on the right that of the Greeks, who absurdly called themselves Romans, from Constantine to Constantine Palæologus; and the head on the left that of the Germans, from Charles the Great to Charles V., since whose abdication there have been no more full emperors, crowned by the Pope, but only "emperors *elect*," as the Austrian sovereigns now style themselves.

'The Roman emperors, forty-three in number by associated reigns, but only thirty-three by succession, mostly died violent deaths, in consequence of there being no aristocracy to stand between them and the troops who nominated them. 7. The Byzantine history for a like reason is a tissue of horrors. From Constantine to the Roman treason or defection (*i.e.* to Charlemagne and the Germans), of the fifteen emperors, many were killed, two were tonsured, one blinded, and one expelled, to say nothing of those that followed later. And as for the German emperors, from Charlemagne, though they were not killed like the Roman and the Byzantine, still there was no end of war and contention among them, and bloody battles, in consequence of the excessive power given to subordinate princes and rulers.' He explains the origin of the fables about Gostomuisl. The old names connected with Novgorod are rather Varagian or Lettish, than German or Slavonian. The Slavonians, he thinks, conquered the Letts, and founded Novgorod, and took wives of the conquered people, from whom Vladimir and others were descended by the mother's side. He thinks the Russians and Slavonians to be *αὐτόχθονες*, and certainly not akin to the Scythians, *i.e.* to the Turks and Tatars.

48. 'Another absurdity is the pretended descent of Ivan IV. or Vladimir from Augustus, whereas the Julian family ended with Nero. The electors (kurfürsts) were first instituted by Otho I.; and it is scarce yet 100 years since the time of the first kurfürst in Prussia (*i.e.* in Brandenburg), and 500 years since the German krijenki first came into Prussia.

49. 'The double-headed eagle is a Roman, or rather a German device. The tsar Ivan took this and the ruined and ill-omened Roman title of Tsar or Cæsar, despising the native Slavonian name for a full sovereign.' He observes too how 'the Western foreigners never call our sovereigns králs, but only grand dukes; while they, and we ourselves, give the name tsar to the Georgians and Crim-Tatars, who are only subordinate rulers, vassals of other sovereigns, and even to the chiefs of insignificant nomad tribes, as the Nogais, &c.

'Justinian writes blasphemously that the Roman emperor is lord of the whole world, &c. But neither German emperors nor popes can make králs; nor have we anything to seek from them: God only and Christ is the great King who makes kings; and of Him alone we hold. And the region held by the Russians and other Slavonians—thanks be to God for it!—has never, like the Roman empire, been the scene of rebellion against Christ and persecutions of Christians: nor have we anything whatever to do with the Roman or Greek empire: and so neither is it hence, we trust, that any antichristian power is to arise, as Antichrist is to arise from the remains of the Roman empire. We therefore declare thus:

'Imprimis Deo solo gloriam damus: secundo profitemur nos et antecessores nostros solius Dei vicarios fuisse: quantum juris Russi in Romanos, tantum habuérunt Romani in Russos. Volumus igitur nos secundâ vice coronari coronâ nostrâ Russiacâ, et tunc penitus abrogare omnia dona et insignia Monomachi, et alia quæcumque dona Danaorum: non quasi antea quidquam juris aut potestatis ad legitimam coronationem defuisset; sed facimus hoc ideo ut tali hoc publico actu penitus destruamus omnem vanam et politico-hæreticam opinionem quæ mentitur nos

aliunde quam a Deo verum honorem et potestatem habere posse. . . . Volumus etiam rejicere ex titulo nostro peregrinum nomen *Tsar*, et deinceps appellari Slavonicâ appellatione *Krâl*. Denique ex titulo nostro volumus omittere titulos et appellationes quæ sunt inferiores appellatione regali: qui enim est Krâl, ille utique est et Veliki Kniaz et Samoderjetz, et Hossoudar, et Povelitel, et Vladitel.'

50. Six reasons for this:

51. 'No one has the power to erect kingdoms, or to make kings (krâls), but only God. Neither the Roman emperor (tsar), nor the Pope. And whoever pretends to such a power, he is a liar and a deceiver; and affects to make himself as God. . . . Every king (krâl) so made by God is not only equal in honour with the Tsar or Cæsar Augustus, but better than Augustus. For Augustus, the most glorious and powerful of the Roman tsars, was not a perfect autocrat (as a true krâl appointed by God is), and the Roman senate never swore true allegiance to him, nor did he ever dare to call himself king (krâl) or hossoudar. Nor does the title Tsar or Tsesar signify any authority or honour whatever; but it is merely a surname of the Julian family.

52. 'Those prophecies of Daniel, of the apostles John and Paul, and of Esdras, that there were to be four monarchies, and that the last and strongest of them all was to be the Roman, and that it was to be at the end weak and divided, have now long ago been perfectly fulfilled.' And then he explains the three-headed eagle of 4 Esdras, as above, &c., and of Antichrist arising from the remains of the Roman empire.

53. 'We therefore declare that the Roman empire (*tsarstvo*) has nothing whatever to do with our Russian kingdom (*kralestvo*), nor it with the Roman. 2. He is no friend to us who calls our kingdom "*a third Rome*." Such an ill-omened name would portend to us no good, but the wrath of God, ruin, and all manner of evil. For after the destruction of that famous empire the name and device of Rome became something ill-omened (*i.e.* accursed, hopeless, and unhappy). The prophecy of Daniel cannot be accomplished without the Roman empire being utterly destroyed by Jesus Christ. For the Stone cut out without hands (that is, Jesus Christ, the King of kings) smote the image on its feet, and brake in pieces the toes of clay. And whoever seeks to set up again that empire destroyed by God, and to make it again stand on its feet, he is plainly fighting against God. What Christ smites and reduces to powder, how shall man build that up again? 3. We believe as a certainty that the capture and desolation of Moscow and other public calamities which have befallen our nation since the time of the tsar Ivan have been owing, as to one chief cause, to that most vain vanity of his by which he took to himself that ill-omened unhappy title and device, and attempted to build again what God has destroyed, and has decreed to be destroyed for ever. So he fought against God. 4. Daniel likens that empire to legs of iron with toes of clay, and himself explains this, that the empire at the beginning shall be strong, but at the end divided and weak. The iron, *i.e.* the strength and glory of the Roman empire, has long since passed away, and the empire itself has perished. Now, if anything of it remains, it is only the clay, *i.e.* weakness and shame: but even that clay

remains now no longer. Whoever, then, would connect our kingdom with the name of Rome, he does nothing else than connect it with weakness and shame. 5. There have been old sins of persecuting emperors during many ages, and later other sins committed by other nations living in those parts. And the full punishment of all those sins and the tyranny of Antichrist is reserved for these our last times, to come upon that empire. But in our Russian, or rather in all our Slavonian nation, by God's mercy, there has never been known any tyrannical persecutor of Christianity. And on that account we have hope towards the Lord, that He will mercifully preserve us, that the power of Antichrist may not altogether oppress us. But whoever would glorify us by giving us a Roman name, he reckons us, as it were, to the empire of Antichrist. 6. . . . Even if the Lord were to make us masters of Constantinople, it would be very unwise for us to take that ill-omened Roman name, but we ought rather then to style ourselves king (*krâl*) of the Russians and the Greeks. . . . For these reasons we purpose to suppress both the title Tsar, and the device of the eagle, and to style ourselves Krâl, and to substitute for the eagle some other more suitable device.

54. 'To this end it is fit that, first of all, ye all in a national assembly should confess and declare, and we by our authority confirm the same declaration, that the regal autocratic power (of a krâl) is the highest in the world. Secondly, that the name and title of krâl is higher and more honourable than that of tsar. Thirdly, that the tsar Ivan and his successors under the title tsar have really had the name and authority of krâls, through the error of our ancestors, who called David tsar, when they ought to have called him krâl, &c.

55. 'We command, then, all our subjects to disuse all foreign names, such as *despot*, *archontus*, *effendi*, *herzog*, and *tsar*, and to abstain from all foreign manners and customs, and as far as possible from intercourse with foreigners; and we forbid the use in our own court and in all public acts and writings of foreign terms, &c.

56. 'Christ said, "I receive not testimony from men;" and, "I receive not glory from men." So we too have received glory not from men, but from God only. And to God only we ascribe the glory: Thine, O Lord, is the kingdom, and Thou art over all rulers,' p. 362

§ xxxiii. Of ξενηλασία (*expulsion of foreigners*). The Son of Sirach writes: 'Admit a stranger, and he will ruin thee.' Examples from the history of many peoples, ancient and modern. Among other examples, he observes how the Egyptians suffered from having given Jacob a permanent settlement, though nothing could be less open to criticism than was his first reception (p. 365), and the Hebrews did them at first great benefits. The Slavonians, of all people, have most need to be on their guard against strangers, as they are most easy to be cheated and deceived. He extols the Chinese system in this respect, and the great wall of China. 'It is not good to take the children's bread and to cast it to dogs.' . . . Here, instead of sending them away, they will not even let them go! for which four reasons may be given, all quite false. He thinks that really it is a custom derived from the tyrannical laws of Ivan IV., who naturally found it difficult to get foreigners to serve him. Only skilful artisans,

physicians, and the like should be engaged and kept so long as needed, but obliged to teach native Russians; and as soon as this is done, they should be dismissed.

Here all the towns, that is, their citizens, should bind themselves by oath to render always to the hossoudar the customary tributes (*dani*) and extraordinary contributions (*biri*) when called for. And in return the hossoudar should give them—1. Power of the sword against thieves and robbers. 2. A promise never to issue any sort of light or debased coin, *except only in case of great necessity, and then not without the common consent of the chief cities.* 3. That all monopolies should be suppressed for ever, except for working mines; and concessions for that should be given not to one man, nor for perpetuity, but to two or three together at the least, and those natives, and for a limited term. 4. That they should expel for ever all foreign traders, and all agents, commissioners, and representatives of such as factors and consuls, &c.: they should not be allowed to live anywhere in Russia, to keep houses or shops, or stores or merchandise. If the cities and towns should be backward to supply the needs of the hossoudar's treasury, then things would have to go on as before: but I think the Russian people would more readily sell their shirts from their backs to supply the needs of the treasury than take to themselves again those intolerable burdens of free robbery, kabaks, monopolies, light and debased coinage, and foreign traders, p. 370.

Foreign astrologers and alchemists should be flogged and branded, and then expelled; magicians and sorcerers should be burned (p. 371). Professors of ludicrous and scandalous arts should be flogged and expelled, as jugglers, dancers on the tight-rope, stage players, makers of fireworks with gunpowder, charmers of serpents, &c.

Physicians, interpreters, musicians, and all sorts of artisans should be received in such numbers as there may be need: these should all be required to teach Russian boys, and as soon as any art has been sufficiently taught to Russians, the foreigners should be dismissed, and no more of them brought in.

Foreign patriarchs, bishops, monks, and captives in poverty, seeking alms for the sake of the name of Christ, should be allowed to come and go freely; refugees also, according to circumstances, should be received. If strangers come seeking *simply* baptism, and content with their necessary food, there would be hopes of good from them; but, with few exceptions, all who are baptised here have interested motives.

O unhappy Slavonian people, which art made a spectacle of reproach to the whole world! And he contrasts at length the relative state of foreigners and natives in Russia. The natives live subject to the greatest oppression, and have not freedom even for the sweat of their brows, while foreigners have all sorts of liberties and privileges. . . . No native is free to make at home any fermented liquor, even for his own domestic consumption; but every foreigner, even though in disgrace and banishment, is allowed to make such liquors openly (p. 374). . . . The Tatars of the Crimea and the Germans plunder and ruin us, on the one side and on the other, by force and by guile; and the hossoudar seems to be as it were a provider for them both; but the servitude to the Germans is

more shameful than that to the Tatars. I have heard Germans boast: '*Whoever wishes to live for nothing should go to Moscow.*'

Boris objects: The Niemtsi are necessary to us, to teach our people military science. *Answer.* As for their training of horsemen and cavalry, we have no need to learn that, but rather to unlearn it: and for foot soldiers, if we have not by this time learned all that they have to teach us, we never shall. I know for certain that the Germans have no military secrets remaining which the Russians have not plenty of opportunity of learning in this present war. It is time, therefore, to send away the Germans from us once for all, unless we are to be their scholars for ever. There is a good opportunity given us now by the conduct of the German merchants, by politic dealing to put an end to the existing commercial contracts obtained by cunning and presents, and to send them away. The spiritualty should petition; and the cities and towns should petition; and the hossoudar is not obliged to maintain such privileges to the great damage of all his empire. And he gives instances to show how false is the pretence of their invariable fidelity and freedom from treason.

§ xxxiv. p. 378. Of the *preservation* of the powers of government: showing that this is more difficult than to make conquests and to extend an empire. . . . Ivan IV. greatly extended the Russian empire, but he made no good laws tending to its conservation and welfare, but quite the contrary. . . . Instances of cities and states which have flourished for many centuries, especially Venice. Thou also, O honourable tsar, hast the power to establish this kingdom *to thy descendants* for many centuries, and to cause it to be unconquered and unshaken, and free from all internal troubles, if you will consider and apply the lessons of history: 1. Solon made a law thus: 'Let no man live in idleness.' 2. Lycurgus enacted the expulsion of foreigners. 3. Thrasybulus the Athenian introduced *amnesty*, a resource very useful for the pacification of troubles. 4. The French rule, which incapacitates women from reigning. 5. The Venetian, that family estates are not to be divided among the sons. 6. The Venetian, for the election of a prince (the doge). 7. The Chinese, and the existing Russian, to keep the frontiers shut. 8. Another existing rule, to give government allowances to exiles, and to retain those who are so in disgrace in the service, &c. . . . 11. and 12. Examples of heroic kings and founders of kingdoms, who all in some way confessed God; *e.g.* Cyrus, Alexander, Constantine (who founded churches, and *would not judge bishops*), Charlemagne, Rodolph I. of Hapsburg. So he who would imitate these examples ought first of all to follow them in glorifying God in some marked and public way.

§ xxxv. p. 384. Of the *glory* of a king, in what it consists. . . . What are those actions for which a king deserves praise and glory? *Answer.* They are such as may be beneficial and salutary to the greatest number of people, and for the longest time possible. *Boris.* Is not then brave fighting and the conquering of new provinces praiseworthy and glorious? *Khercoi.* No; not in the least. *Boris.* What, then, are a king's cares and duties? *Khercoi.* His cares should be for piety, justice, peace, and plenty. To this end he is appointed king by God. For these ends he will also (exceptionally) engage in *just* wars encourage arts and sciences, &c.

Boris. Is philosophy and instruction useful for a king? *Kherroi.* Not only useful, but quite necessary. Most men and most kings are as if they had not learned the alphabet of life: they think, *e.g.* that they are unlimited masters, instead of God's vicegerents and officers, who will have to give to Him an exact account of their rule. They, being surrounded by flatterers, should, besides books, have near them one or two philosophers —one at least, as remembrancer or chronicler and philologer, who should also tell him the truth from the other side; or if he feared to do this personally, should refer him to books, which are not afraid of declaring the truth. Most of all is philosophy needed here in Russia, where few of the imperial councillors know anything of political and philosophical books.

14. Certain Greek flatterers have done much mischief in our Slavonian nation, by suggesting the idea that because Daniel writes of four successive empires, therefore these have a certain superiority over all others: and even after the destruction of the city of Rome by the barbarians they were not ashamed to write in the legislation of Justinian that the Roman emperor is lord of all the world; whereas really there are other kingdoms, as the Chinese, Ethiopian, Scythian, and now the Russian, Polish, and Lithuanian, which have never been in any way under the Roman, and which in nothing that belongs to sovereignty were or are inferior. So now, since the end of the Roman empire, the kingdoms of Persia, France, Turkey, Spain, and Russia are in all respects equal to the old empire of Augustus. Those four empires are mentioned by Daniel, first, to teach the kings of the world that the world is not governed by chance, but that God is the supreme King; and, secondly, because the throne of David and Judah had then disappeared, that the Jews might not despair of the fulfilment of the old prophecies, but expect God to glorify Christ over these four kings of this world. . . . The Greek, and German, and French, and Spanish kings had not really anything to do with the Roman empire, except by their own vain error and assumption, and by the lying title which they took to themselves. If they had, it would only be this, that they are to be reduced to powder and utterly destroyed by the Stone cut out without hands, which is Christ: *Boris.* Did they then sin in so calling themselves Roman? *Kherroi.* God knows; I judge them not: they had their reasons, and some of them were actually lords of Rome. But our tsar Ivan IV. had nothing whatever to do with Rome.

§ xxxvi. p. 395. Of the *accession* of a king. Reasons for which hereditary succession is preferable to elective: case of a minority; of a plurality of heirs; laws or rules for succession: case of the failure of a line, and the necessity of an election: form of election among other peoples (digression about the import of Rome); what form of election would be best for Russia.

Boris thinks elective monarchy best, because they can then choose a *fit* person, and even *the most fit.* *Answer.* They *can:* but will they? Experience shows that there is no security for this, but quite the contrary: it is a matter of interest, faction, or corruption. Then, says *Boris*, the heir may be a *minor*, or one *quite unfit.* *Answer.* True; but in the other case, after every death of a king, the capital and the whole empire for some time has no head at all. Which, of the two evils, is the worst? And often

the electors are divided, and hence there is even civil war. Only look at Polish and Roman history under the old emperors, and even under the popes: sometimes two or three emperors or popes elected at once: nay, they even sometimes *elect minors*[29] and incapable persons. And he gives instances of absurd elections. *Boris* still suggests that an elected king will be more moderate. *Answer.* Say rather that the government will be more lax, as the king will have only a life interest in it, and he will be more or less bound to those who have elected him. *Boris* says: The hope of being elected to the crown may inspire the nobles with a good emulation. *Answer.* Perhaps it might, if in practice the best and most deserving were commonly elected. But look at Roman and German history.

Boris. But what if an heir is incapable? *Answer.* If the mother be living, it is well that she should act for the son, with reasonable councillors. It is not expedient to entrust the kingdom to the lords (*chasti*) alone. If there be only one regent or guardian for the tsarevich, he may either take the sovereignty to himself or otherwise do mischief: if there be a number, they will infallibly be weak and divided. He instances the miscalculation of Louis XIII. of France in reposing so much trust in cardinal Mazarin. Charles of Sweden did better, who left the queen regent with four of the chief lords, so that she could not act without them. But if there be no queen-mother living, then the first place in a regency may be given to a spiritual person who is a native, *i.e.* to the *primate*.[30] If the king leaves a number of children, sons and daughters, then without doubt males come before females, and among the brothers the elder always before the younger; and this natural right cannot in any way be infringed.

Many kings, led astray by natural affection, have subdivided their dominions among their sons; but in so doing they have committed a foul error, both against God and against the nation and their own dignity, and that without attaining the object sought for by them. Take the example of Constantine and his three sons. So too Vladimir. And hence the Poles and Lithuanians took Kieff and Lvoff, and the Tatars long held all the nation in slavery. And in this, as in other things, it is the king's duty to remember that he and his office are for the good of the nation, not the nation for him and his family. Associations in the throne there have sometimes been (*e.g.* in the time of Diocletian), but they are highly inexpedient and dangerous; still there may be cases where they may be admitted. For example, an old father, whose strength is failing, may associate his heir-apparent; or a king not yet old, in a time of trouble and violence, when a single life is in too great danger.[31] Then he speaks of the German abuse of making younger sons clerks, and giving them (the temporalities of) rich bishoprics, &c. Such a bishop was Charles, brother of the present king Casimir Jigimontovich. *Boris.* How then do you provide against the danger

[29] So Peter the Great, when he disinherited his grown-up son as unfit, nominated as heir a child who died in the following year.

[30] So in A.D. 1676 Nicon would have become regent, or would have presided over the council of regency.

[31] So Peter ought to have been *associated* with John Alexievich on account of the personal unfitness of John, and during Peter's minority his mother Natalia should have been regent; and this would have been better than setting aside John in favour of Peter.

of competitors? *Answer.* By self-knowledge and good legislation; that is, of the king. I cannot expect this always of those who may be competitors; for ambition makes men blinder and more senseless than any brute or savage beast: for a wild beast does not destroy its own kind; but the person who has the lust of power *is ready to murder brother*[32] and sister, mother and father. What then? I would have the old king surround his sons by good laws, so that they may not be able to find followers among the people, nor pretexts for causing trouble. But the king who would do this must know himself (and his kingdom and people also) well first; he must know that he is not God nor an angel, but a man; and that no royal race is originally from kings; nor are kingdoms for the sake of kings, but kings are for the sake of the kingdoms. Then

1. Let there be in Russia twelve *kniazes*, guardians of the kingdom.

2. In case of the failure of the royal line, let one of these be elected king.

3. Let that form of election be followed which we shall indicate below.

4. The king shall marry only a Slavonian wife.

5. And he shall give his daughters in marriage only to Slavonian husbands.

6. The king's daughters shall have no right to the succession (except only in the case that there be no son, but young daughters not yet given in marriage[33]).

7. The kingdom is never on any account to be divided.

8. The eldest son, or the nearest and eldest nephew, &c., is to succeed (unless he be an heretic, or a lunatic, or incompetent—*e.g.* blind, or stone-deaf, or half-witted).

9. The other brothers shall not be capable of holding as governors more than one *small* fortified town or fortress.

10. They shall be styled kniazes; but in public assemblies they shall not have seats, nor voices, nor *right* of being present.

11. They shall not keep more than a fixed number of servants.

12. It shall be a capital offence for people of all orders to form a band or league about them, or to act in concert with them.

13. The hereditary heir of the kingdom (the *otchinnik*) shall first swear to the people for the maintenance of their liberties.

14. After that the subjects shall swear fidelity to him as to their sole king, and after him to his *lawful* hereditary successors, lawfully crowned: and they shall declare in that their oath that if any one, contrary to the laws, by armed force or otherwise, by guile and faction, should come in, no man is to obey him: and that if any one should swear allegiance to such an usurper, all are to regard that oath as unlawful and null, and as perjury. . . .

16. Kings must be on their guard, if they contract a second marriage, lest the second wife influence them unduly in favour of her own sons, *so as to set aside the elder*.[34] And he gives examples. However, there is an

[32] As the tsarevna Sophia Alexievna.

[33] This is a later addition by the author.

[34] Peter the Great set aside his only legitimate son, and his grandson, and substituted as heir his infant son by Catherine.

exception to be made if the elder, who should be heir, is from birth unfit to reign; *i.e.* if he be blind, or quite deaf, or a lunatic, or *decidedly* half-witted. Also if he be a heretic. But *for moral virtues or vices*[35] *it is not proper in this matter to make a difference*: for no one can in such a question be a sufficient judge. Moral habits may change: a man from good may become bad, and from bad he may become good. But to prefer a younger son to another on account of any natural superiorities, however striking, the elder not being incapable, has no defence of justice, nor can it lead to any good consequences.[36] Vladislaf of Hungary made his elder nephew Koloman a priest because he was dwarfish, lame, one-eyed, an abortion and a monster rather than a man, and adopted his younger nephew Almosh. But after the death of Vladislaf the nobles chose Koloman, saying that if he was fit to be a priest he was fit to be a king; and so far they were right; and it is better to accept and make the best of what it pleases God to give.

17. What if the eldest son dies before the father, and leaves a son? *Answer.* There are reasons for preference and precedents on both sides; but the case is rare, and need not be anticipated. However, that we may provide for it, let there be elected a certain number of arbitrators or judges—say thirty or forty—and let them judge by secret scrutiny or ballot which is to reign, the grandson or the second son of the late king. And let it also be a law that no one in the case of a doubtful succession is to maintain his claim by force; and that if any one does, he *ipso facto* loses all claim of right, and any oaths taken to him are null and void.

18. But what of daughters? *Answer.* These, as has been said above, are to be incapable of reigning. The Russian nation cannot escape falling under the rule of aliens[37] if females are to inherit the right of succession.

19. But what if a king dies without heirs? *Answer.* Then there must be an election. (Here he passes in review the various ways in which elections have been made.)

20. The German emperor (tsar) is elected by seven electors. In A.D. 405 there came into Italy the Heruli, Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, and sacked Rome four times (to A.D. 550). Thenceforth the Greek emperors were no more masters of Rome. At length, in the time of Constantine and Irene, A.D. 800, the Lombard Desiderius oppressing the Romans, and the emperor Constantine not being able to help them, they turned in another direction, and called in to their help Charles king of the Franks (now the Franks are a German race). So Charles came to Rome, and was there crowned, and was called by the Romans the Roman Emperor. . . . In A.D. 938 Otho I.

[35] Nor for such differences of opinion or habits and tastes as those for which Peter condemned his son to death, and extinguished his father's dynasty.

[36] So in 1676 to prefer Peter to Theodore, even if Peter had been nearly of the same age, would have been unjustifiable and dangerous; but to prefer Peter to John in A.D. 1682 was perhaps justifiable. Still, there remains this difficulty: if the elder brother, set aside for blindness or deafness or intellectual deficiency, lives on, and marries, and has sons, they seem to have suffered a wrong; and the question arises whether a regency in such case would not have been more equitable and safer.

[37] Why so, when he prescribes that the daughters are to be married only to Slavonians?

became king (of Germany). This Otho was the first emperor who took an oath of fidelity to the Pope, to recognise him and maintain him as his spiritual father, and to defend him against his enemies, as is written in the Roman Constitutions (*Distinctio* 63, *cap.* '*Tibi Domino Johanni*,' &c.). Then Otho also was crowned to the empire. He came also a second time to Rome, and for certain causes of enmity expelled Pope John XII. and caused another Pope, Leo VIII., to be elected. But when Otho had returned to Germany, Pope John also returned to Rome, and Otho came back a third time, to restore Leo; but the Romans would not receive him, and elected Benedict. Otho besieged and took Rome, and slew many of the Romans, placed Leo in the chair, and carried away Benedict, and kept him confined at Hamburg. After Otho I. came his son Otho II., and his grandson Otho III., surnamed the Wise. He judged that Rome and Italy should be free, and that he whom they elected, or rather whom the Pope crowned, should be king of that country. He caused the Romans to elect as Pope his nephew Bruno, who took the name of Gregory V. Then, together with Gregory V., he instituted six imperial *Electors* in the German nation, by a perpetual Imperial and Papal edict, viz. the three archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, and three princes of the Rhine, of Saxony, and of Brandenburg, who were to have power to elect the '*King of the Romans*.' But this King of the Romans, so elected, was not called *Emperor* till he had been confirmed and crowned by the Pope. And so the Romans and Italians lost the election of their own Italian king or emperor; and it passed to those German princes, who elect only a German to the realm of Italy. This was done in A.D. 1002. And those 'electors' are called in German kurfürsts; from *cura*, care, and *fürst*, prince. After a time Rudolph I. added a seventh elector, the king of Bohemia, to remedy the chance of the votes being equally divided. And in the time of Conrad of Suabia (A.D. 1024–A.D. 1039) it was appointed that the emperor elect should be crowned first at Mayence with the straw-plaited crown (*stammim*), and at Milan with the iron crown, and then afterwards at Rome with the crown of gold. After a time the coronation with the straw-plaited crown began to be at Aix la Chapelle instead of Mayence. Hence now for 660 years[35] the empty name of the Roman empire has been maintained in the German nation, though no authority nor profit whatever is connected with it.

21. Then he writes of the elections of the Popes: how they were from the beginning and always made by their domestic ecclesiastical synod, but with many variations at times. For instance, in the time of the emperor Henry III., surnamed the Black, whose accession as king was in A.D. 1040, when there were three pretenders to the Papacy: he came to Rome, set them all aside, and made Clement II., a German, Pope; and he made this rule, that no one should become Pope unless he were confirmed by the emperor. After Clement there succeeded Damasus II., Leo IX., Victor II., Stephen IX., Benedict IX., and Nicholas II. This last made a constitution that only the synodal presbyters (*popi*) of Rome, or cardinals, should have the power of electing the Pope, and that no lay person should interfere in the election. . . . In A.D. 1057 Henry IV. became emperor, in whose time Gregory VII. (a German) made a constitution that the Popes should not seek confirma-

[35] So this was written in A.D. 1663.

tion from the emperor so long as the emperor gave away episcopal sees without the consent or confirmation of the Pope. After much contention, the Pope excommunicated and anathematised the emperor; and the princes elected another, named Rudolph, slain in A.D. 1080. Henry expelled Gregory VII. from Rome, and set up against him antipopes, but being defeated by his own rebellious son, he fled from him, and died in concealment. Gregory VII. also died in exile, and was succeeded by Victor III. and Urban II., who came to Rome and expelled the antipope Clement. In A.D. 1107 Henry V. came to Rome to be crowned; but the Pope Pascal would not crown him unless he first annulled the unjust constitutions about the confirmation of the Pope. Henry took the Pope, and forced him to crown him; but after he had left, the Pope for this excommunicated him: he returned, and expelling the successor of Pope Pascal, Gelasius II., he set up an antipope, Gregory. Gelasius died in France, and was succeeded by Callistus II., who expelled the antipope Gregory. After this the German princes made a league against the emperor, and in A.D. 1115 there was a battle. The emperor, seeing how his party was weakened by the fact that he was excommunicate, annulled the constitution about the confirmation of the Popes; and so peace was made between him and Pope Callistus II. and the princes. Then followed Honorius II., Innocent II., and an antipope, Anacletus, who was put down by the emperor Lothaire.

In A.D. 1152 Frederic I. Barbarossa became king of Germany. He renewed the contentions (about investitures) which in various ways infringed on the rightful authority of the Roman Church. It had so happened that, after the death of Adrian IV., Pope Alexander III. had been elected, and an antipope named Octavian. Frederic seized this opportunity, and supported Octavian, who yielded to him the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But Alexander III. anathematised the emperor, who came into Italy to expel the Pope. But the Venetians, who were on the Pope's side, captured the emperor's son; and he in consequence was forced to make peace with Alexander (about which there has been invented an unbecoming and stupid fable). After that Frederic went on a crusade to the East, and as he was bathing in a certain river he was drowned.

In A.D. 1198 his son Philip became emperor, who was excommunicated by Innocent III. for the like causes with his father; and Otho IV. was elected and crowned instead of him. After a time Philip was absolved, but presently he was assassinated.

Again Otho IV. (whose accession as king was in A.D. 1209) was excommunicated for the same reasons by Pope Innocent III., and Frederic II., son of Philip, was elected: after which Otho assembled a diet, and reminded the princes of their oaths of allegiance to himself, but in vain; and he fought a battle, but he was defeated, and soon after died miserably.

In A.D. 1213 Frederic II. was elected; but in A.D. 1245 Pope Innocent IV. held a council at Lyons, and excommunicated him for the third time (he having twice before been excommunicated and absolved, by Honorius III. and by Gregory IX.), and deposed him from the empire. The princes abandoned him, and elected another: and his son Entzius was taken by his enemies; and he also died in prison. On this account Frederic was much distressed, and he went away from the Germans to

Apulia, where he had been born, and there he died miserably, five years after he had been deposed.

In A.D. 1250 Conrad king of Naples, son of Frederic, was elected: but Pope Innocent IV. excommunicated him, and the German princes deserted his cause; so he abdicated the empire, and returned to his own kingdom, and there after three years he died.

In A.D. 1303 the Papal residence was transferred to Avignon for 74 years.

In A.D. 1314, at the same place and on the same day, there were elected two emperors, Louis the Bavarian and Frederic of Austria (surnamed the Wormeaten, der Gebissener), each by three electors. But Louis captured Frederic, and after three years reconciled himself with him and set him at liberty. Pope John XXII., who sat at Avignon, on account of the old differences, twice excommunicated Louis; but Louis came to Rome, and was crowned by the first of the cardinals, and set up at Rome an antipope named Peter of Corbiera. But Peter was soon taken, and carried to Avignon to Pope John XXII., and he died there in confinement: and in A.D. 1346 the princes elected, instead of Louis, Charles IV. In A.D. 1377 Pope Gregory XI. returned from Avignon to Rome. But after his death there was a great schism in the Church.

Then he gives an account of this schism, and of the Councils of Pisa in A.D. 1409, of Constance in A.D. 1414, and of Florence A.D. 1438, and Basle A.D. 1434. About those times there was made a constitution, to avoid disorders, that the Popes should be elected in conclave, under a guard commanded by an hereditary officer of the city, of the family of the princes Savelli; and two-thirds of the cardinals must agree, to make an election valid: and now for 220 years that has worked very well.

22. Of the election of the doges of Venice, p. 427. First by open vote they choose one hundred: then from the hundred three; that is, each writes three names, and the three who have most votes on these papers are set apart: lastly, one of those three names is chosen by ballot from a triply-divided balloting-box.

23. But how is it to be in Russia? *Answer.* There are objections against referring it to any external judge or referee, as the Pope; and natives might fear to offend one party or the other; and it would be hard to find any on whom both sides should agree. In Germany the electors became too powerful for the sovereigns and for the unity of the state.

The Roman bishops have ever been elected by the ecclesiastical synod; and they who have attempted to infringe on this law, whether Greek or German emperors, have all come to grief. For Daniel has foretold that the Stone, which is Christ, was to strike that most powerful Roman empire on its feet, and break it to pieces and reduce it to powder, so that its place should be no more found. That Stone is Christ; Christ properly by original power, Peter also by grace. Against this Stone there have rushed, and have been broken against it, first the Greek, and then the German emperors, to whom it pleased God to give successively local dominion over the city of Rome and the realms subordinated to it. Those emperors, not content with *what God had given them*—i.e. *the secular authority*—sought

to take to themselves also the spiritual authority (and to detach it from the Roman capital); and so they broke themselves against Christ, the Stone, p. 429. The last attack of the emperors on the Popes was that of Charles V., now 120 years ago. He, having demanded of Pope Clement VII. pay for his army and being refused, bade his soldiers sack Rome; and they did sack it. But the constable De Bourbon was killed at the first discharge; and from that time the successors of Charles lost all their power, and the German princes pay them now no sort of obedience: and since that Charles V. no one of them has been *crowned* emperor. So, from first to last, *whoever have sought to possess themselves of the spiritual authority* have *lost in consequence also the secular*. 'He,' says St. Leo, 'who seeks that which belongs to another loses that which is his own.' And thus there has been fulfilled the last part of the prophecy of Daniel, where he says: 'The stone smote the image on its feet, and destroyed not only the gold and silver, but also the iron and the clay,' or the clay feet and toes; that is, the last German-Roman clay empire.

24. This is wonderful: From the time that it pleased God to put a stop to the early heathen persecutions, and to give peace to His Church, the Lord, of His inscrutable counsels, has willed that Rome, the most famous city of all the world, should not be the capital of any secular kingdom, but only of the spiritual kingdom of Christ. For Constantine, without any necessity, to the wonder of all men, and directly moved by a divine impulse, transferred the empire from his own nation and land to another nation. And after that Rome fell under the power of different nations, Greeks, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and Franks. And of these, some reigned at Milan, some at Ravenna, some at Pavia, cities of Italy, not so famous as Rome, and not very distant from Rome: and some few dwelt for a time also in Rome; but they could never establish there a permanent capital; and Rome soon became again and remained the permanent capital of the Popes. This has not been so without a special miracle and action of God. In particular, Christ has willed hereby to show that His kingdom is not tied to any earthly kingdom, *as the tail of an animal is attached to its back-bone;* and that the Lord has power to preserve His spiritual kingdom, without any bodily or material force or help. And still more, for a testimony and convincing lesson to all unbelievers, He has willed that His spiritual kingdom should hold its capital in that city which is most famous, renowned, and glorious for the whole world. p. 431.

25. As Alexander the Great, when the Jews had refused to act under him against Tyre, fell down before the Jewish high-priest, so Attila the king of the Huns was turned off from Rome by Pope Leo the Great. Alaric, after the peace of A.D. 410 and the treachery of Stilicho, having besieged Rome two years, took it in A.D. 412, and he did it then no harm, but enacted that no one should injure the Christian churches. When Maximus had slain the emperor Gratian in France, the empress Eudocia called in against him, from Africa, Genseric the king of the Vandals, who in A.D. 456 took and sacked Rome, and carried off with him to Africa both Eudocia and her daughter: but he did not destroy the churches. Totila the king of the Goths, to whom St. Benedict foretold that he should take

Rome, and go to Africa, and die after nine years, bidding him at the same time not injure the churches of God, did accordingly, after a long siege, in his war against Justinian and Belisarius, take Rome by assault, and at first slew many: but when Pope Pelagius came and interceded with him, Totila ordered that no more should be slain, and that no injury should be done to the churches. After that he sent Pope Pelagius to treat with Justinian for peace, and promised to leave Rome entire; but Justinian refused to treat; and then Totila drove all the people out of Rome, and broke down the walls, and burned the city, in A.D. 548. Still, he did not destroy the churches. Belisarius came and repaired the walls; but after three years, *i.e.* in A.D. 551, Totila again took Rome, and restored all that he had before destroyed; and brought back the people. But all this is a digression, yet not without some purpose: for we may apply these lessons to ourselves. And we repeat: The Greeks and the Germans ought to have been content with that secular power over Rome which God gave them. To both of them it was given voluntarily by the Romans; but they were not content with the secular dominion, but sought to take to themselves also the spiritual kingdom of Christ; and on that account they were deprived of both. p. 438.

26. *Boris.* But what of the Greeks; how did *they* strike against the rock of the chair (or capital, *stolitsa*) of Peter? *Kherroi.* It would be a long matter to explain that sufficiently. But in brief:[29] 1. After the rise of the Arian heresy there were in the East among the bishops many troubles and disputes and divisions. Some appealed to Rome, as St. John Chrysostom and St. Athanasius, who went personally to Rome. Such appeals displeased the Greek rulers, secular and spiritual. So, to block up the way to Rome, they made the archbishop of Constantinople a patriarch with authority equal to that of the Pope. And for that they made a canon in the Second and in the Fourth Councils. But St. Damasus and St. Leo, who were then living, and all the other Popes never approved that canon. Leo opposed it most vigorously of them all, and by his letters and his legates sent to the East he disallowed that canon, and declared it to be unlawful, void, and of no effect. 2. Under the emperor Maurice, about A.D. 600, the patriarch of Constantinople John the Faster began to style himself *œcumenical patriarch*, or patriarch of all the world (and the bishop of Alexandria at another time called himself *œcumenical judge*). But the Pope St. Gregory I., to bring down by his own humility such vanity and pride, began to write himself *servant of the servants of God* (*servus servorum Dei*); and this laudable title was accepted, and has been retained by all the Popes to this day. 3. In A.D. 800 the Romans fell away, and set up for themselves as emperor Charles the German. Sixty years after this the Bulgarians were converted, and received pastors and priests from Pope Nicholas I. This much displeased the emperor and the patriarch. On that account the patriarch Photius, who was a subtle-minded man, that he might detach the Bulgarians from obedience to the Pope, devised and began to preach the accusation that the Pope was a heretic, and that the heresy began from Charles the German (Charlemagne).

[29] Of the following heads, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are marked in the original MS. to be cancelled or transposed.

Then he goes on to write of the Crusades: Godfrey of Lorraine was crowned at Jerusalem in A.D. 1099, but would not be crowned with a gold crown; and he and his successors reigned there eighty-eight years, to A.D. 1187. When, about A.D. 1150, St. Louis king of France and Conrad emperor of Germany went to the East, they and their troops were suspected by the Greek emperor Manuel and by all the Greeks, and they would not give them the help they asked for, but rather did them injuries. Hence there arose jealousies and differences between those nations: at length it came to an open breach, and the Franks and Venetians took from the Greeks the city of Constantinople itself: and long before that, the Crusaders had made like hostile encroachments on the Greek empire. Earlier still, about A.D. 1000 (1051), the emperor Monomachus and the patriarch Cerularius (that they might more completely separate the people from the Latins) devised a fresh groundless charge of heresy, as if *the Latins were heretics because they consecrated in azymes*. And after that, about A.D. 1200, Balsamon patriarch of Antioch, having been driven from the capital by the Latins, began to teach that *the Latins are not baptised*. Thus the Greeks, first from secular views of government, and from ambition of preëminence, or to decline the Papal judgments, began to contend against the Roman chair (*stolitseiu*), and to try to lower it, and to take away from it its supreme authority. And afterwards, on account of this ambitious rivalry, and on account of the secular violence which they suffered from the Latins, they began to invent groundless imputations of heresy and to revile the truth, and the same Roman chair of Peter. But they had no success, but were deprived of all their ambitious precedence, and of all dominion. And let this suffice concerning the Greeks.

27. But to return. To adopt a son when there is no natural heir, and to cause a son and heir to be associated or elected and sworn to as successor while the father is still living, are good and useful measures and securities; but there is more than this to be done by a good and wise king. Cicero writes well: 'Barbarorum est in diem vivere; nostra consilia æternum spectare debent.' So the good and wise king will make such legislation that not only a single successor may be secured, but that the succession to his kingdom may be fixed and secured for ever: . . . and I ask how do you think this may be done?

28. *Khere.* I think the Venetian method is the best, as above described: and it is defined who are electors, and who may also be elected. No one can be an elector except only Venetian vlasteli and boyars; but no one can be elected except one of the vlasteli, *i.e.* one of those boyars who are of the first rank in the council. So I think such a constitution as this would be good.

29. In case of the failure of the royal line, an election should be made thus: 1. No one to be elected or named for the kingdom except from the native kniazes of the Russian nation and race, and about whom there is no record or report that they were derived from any foreign origin. 2. After the death of the tsar all the army shall go (for orders) to the authority of the patriarch or other chief ecclesiastical *vlastelin:* and he shall issue summonses for an assembly, and shall fix a day for its meeting, calling together to it the bishops, archimandrites, kniazes, vlasteli, and boyars.

3. When the day comes, there shall assemble to the city, to the capital city, the bishops, archimandrites, kniazes, and vlasteli, but not the boyars. Every one shall write three names, of three kniazes, and give them to the patriarch and the bishops, who shall be sitting there at a table. They shall read out the names, and it shall be free for every one to look at the paper as it is read, and the paper shall be handed round; and from all named there shall be set apart those three which have most votes for them. 4. Those three names shall be put upon a triply-divided balloting-box, as at Venice: then all the boyars shall be called in, and they shall put into the box, through the single opening visible for the hand, each his paper or card calculus; and that one of the three who has most votes shall be tsar. p. 438.

Vol. ii. of Mr. Bezsonoff.

This volume, which has 342 pages, consists for the most part of repetitions or alterations, additions, and appendices to vol. i., partly in Slavonic, partly in Latin, as if the author had as yet been only preparing his materials for a more complete and more succinct work than that given in the first of the two volumes recently printed.

a. The first[40] thing in vol. ii. of Bezsonoff is a *Dedication* of the work of Krijanich to the tsar Alexis. In this the writer states why he came to live under the tsar's protection, viz.: 1. He had observed while still young how our Slavonian tongue was corrupted and uncultivated, and wished to cultivate it, and make for it a good grammar and lexicon; 2. he observed how the Slavonian people was divided into six parts, Russians, Poles, Chekhs, Bulgarians, Servians, and Khorvats, which all once had native kings or rulers, but now Russia is the only one. Also the Russians, Poles, and Bohemians (or Chekhs) only have some chroniclers; but they give no account of the other Slavonian tribes; while the Germans write whole books of fables and lies about them all, but especially about the Russians. So I wished to see also a history written: and not having the means of myself alone to write such books, I came to your majesty to petition and ask for help towards such a work, which I wished to execute to the honour of God and to your honour, and to the advantage and commodity of all the nation. Also I learned that some things very necessary to be known are not known in this empire, especially as to the way in which we Slavonians are maligned and cheated and fleeced by foreigners. In the present books I humbly present to you some political reflections; which if it please you to look into, you will certainly see that they are not written by any flatterer, nor by one who is other than faithfully and heartily devoted to your majesty, to the glory of God, to your service, and to the good of the nation.

No people in the world are so happy and blessed as those rulers to whom God has given a good will and wish to execute their office or duty, &c., seeking to direct their government to the glory of God and the happiness of the people. Again, that ruler is happy who has the *power* neces-

[40] Mr. Bezsonoff numbers this *Dedication* as § xxxvii. He tells us that the numbers and minor subdivisions of his vol. ii. are not in the MS., but he has added them for convenience: but as they give a false idea, as if the contents of vol. ii. were a *continuation* of vol. i., we have not followed him in this, but have substituted figures of our own.

sary for doing great and heroic acts, and conferring great benefits by good legislation on the nation and on posterity: and your kingdom is quite young, its founder having been John IV., and there has not been time as yet for it to be well organised. Again, that kingdom is happy which has the means of correcting with facility anything that may be amiss; and you have in absolute autocracy the rod of Moses, with which you may work, and easily, all necessary miracles.

We call God our *Father:* and the king under God is a father of the people; and '*hospodar*' among the southern Slavonians is the name for every father of a family. In Russia the name is confined to rulers, but it signifies the same thing: that as the father of a family provides for his household food, clothing, and needful instruction, so the ruler ought to seek and provide for the happiness both of body and soul for all his people; or, in other words, these four things—religion, justice, defence, and plenty. And he concludes with praise of Alexis as personally showing himself a father to his people, and seeking to discharge this duty.

b. Then another rough draft of a *Dedication*, with differences, but only in the wording or form of the sentences.

§ i. p. 9. An *Exordium* (being an address put into the mouth of the tsar, as in § xxxi. and xxxii. of vol. i.; see above, p. 61). In it the tsar, among other things, says: 'As for the malicious invectives of foreigners against the vices of our people, nos nullatenus dubitamus semper intra Ecclesiam *Catholicam* fuisse et nunc esse bonis malos communione sacramentorum permistos; nec propter malos descrenda est mater Ecclesia: deinde quotidiana experientia docet in omnibus populis esse multos peccatores,' &c. Then 'they calumniate even our good qualities: 1. They praise up their own luxurious and self-indulgent habits; 2. also their licentious *liberty*. However, we are ready and desirous to grant to you, our faithful subjects, new but moderate and reasonable liberties.' p. 19.

§ ii. p. 20. *Exordium aliud* (in which the sovereign addresses his subjects, as in § i.). But we have had all the same already in vol. i.: 'Primo igitur exordium facimus a nobis ipsis, ac decernimus, ut nec nos ipsi nec nostri successores nec nostri officiarii possint ullam tyrannidem aut qualemcumque publicam injuriam genti facere,[41] et statuimus ut ad hoc in inauguratione omnes jurare teneantur.'

§ iii. p. 29. *De legibus et statutis:* a continuation of the above, the sovereign addressing all his subjects. Heads: 1. 'What is required of us by the name of Tsar?'

2. Of the occasion and subject of this address.

3. 'The merciful providence of God does not all things at once;' referring for each of these points to p. 200, 201, and 202, in § xxxi. our p. 65.

4. 'Finis quem omnis legislator spectare debet est gloria Dei, salus animarum, et publicum gentis bonum, sive utilitates et reputatio gentis.'

(1. It is good to have the *king inviolable.*) 'Bonum regis est bonum totius gentis; quicquid prodest capiti prodest etiam toti corpori. . . . Primum et maximum omnium privilegiorum est justitia. Rex non habet judicem nisi Deum: nemo potest aggredi regem cum tumultu: sed debent

[41] The king can do no wrong: Oath: Krijanich would have done well to add that those who obey the king to do wrong are *legally responsible.*

regi querelas suos more consulto per libellos supplices exponere: qui autem aliter fecerint, *sicut quidam turbulenti nostro tempore non semel fecerunt*, rebelles majestatis et hostes patriæ censebuntur. . . . Quo quisque rex tenet regimen magis monarchicum, eo similius illud est regimini divino. p. 37.

(2. To *disfranchise aliens*, &c.) 'Magnum privilegium gentis est ubi nulli indigni homines (*e.g.* hæretici, otiatores, alienigenæ, &c.) possunt habere privilegia. The first class of paniperdæ are *nobiles otiosi*. Licentiosa libertas facit ut unicuique potenti liberum sit debiliores opprimere, ut liberum sit Deum blasphemare, et hæreses prædicare, ut omnes ubique incedant cum timore perpetuo armati, et armatorum catervis stipati. . . . Aiunt se nolle pati in rege tyrannidem, et interea ex semetipsis genti præstant non unum sed centum et mille tyrannos. Secundi paniperdæ sunt *mercatores*, &c.

§ iv. (3. *Privileges of all orders*; and 1. of the clergy. See p. 66, but much fuller here.) 'In nomine igitur S. Trinitatis nos N.N., &c., volumus distinguere et instituere varios status hominum, et dare singulis congrua privilegia libertates jura et emolumenta. Et primo spiritualis ordinis personas, reverendissimum patrem nostrum Patriarcham metropolitas archiepiscopos, episcopos, sacerdotes, diaconos, monachos, &c., in ipsorum institutis et ordinibus nos non attingimus; sed quomodo a sanctis patribus instituti et ordinati sunt, ut ita permaneant volumus. Honores autem, libertates, privilegia, jura, et emolumenta, quæcumque antiquitus obtinebant a Constantino aliisque piis imperatoribus Romanis, et a Vladimiro aliisque piis Russiæ regibus antecessoribus nostris, et a nobis, eadem nos eis concedimus; utque iis perpetuo fruantur liberaliter elargimur et præcipimus' (see p. 26). Let them be exempted and freed from all public services and labours, and from all secular judgments and courts (prikazes), and let them judge themselves (and let due honour be paid them by all).

'Monarchy gets a bad name because all the abuses and enormities of bad officers and servants are imputed to it: but in spite of this it is the best of all governments; and there is more liberty under it than under those licentious aristocracies (as in Poland). . . . As heretics calumniate the law of God, and call it too severe, so licentious men calumniate monarchy. A good king should try to give all his subjects reason to be content with their condition.'

§ v. p. 49. Of government, and of the foundation of a kingdom (see p. 678). '*God is the supreme King*,' quoting Daniel, &c., in Slavonic, as above in Latin, from 10, at p. 34: 'Deus omnipotens,' &c.

§ vi. p. 53. 'There is more liberty under monarchy than under a republic' (here in Slavonic, as at p. 48 in Latin: 'Scire oportet *quid sit libertas*,' &c.).

§ vii. p. 54. Of the regal power and of the peculiar attributes of royalty (only in Slavonic).

§ viii. p. 57. Of the object, duty, and grace of a king (much as in Latin above, No. 40, p. 30, § 4). Object, to make the people happy by good legislation.

§ ix. p. 60. Of the liberties to be given: What? and to what persons? (of this also in Latin above, in No. 40, p. 38).

§ x. p. 65. Of spiritual persons (as above in Latin, in No. 40, § 17, p. 43).

§ xi. p. 66. Of three ranks of hereditary nobility (*plemenitich*), viz. kniazes, boyars, and plemeniani: a kniaz to be made by giving a banner and a cap (as in vol. i., beginning in Slavonic, then continuation in Latin): . . . 'Et deceperunt multos e nostris, ut putarent legem servitutis esse legi divinæ adversam, utque dicerent aliqui: Patres sancti non jusserunt homines teneri in servitute. Quamquam et Moses eam docuit, et Paulus præcepit, et omnes pii imperatores Romani usitarunt. . . . Nec quidquam egregium in rebus politicis factum est, aut fieri potest, absque servitute. Certe isti ipsi libertatis prædicatores in tam severâ milites disciplina ac servitute tenent, ut pro minimâ causa, pro uno sudario, aut pro una gallina, hominem mox suspendant. Et si hoc non facerent, nullum bellum gerere possent, . . . qualis servitus in nostris exercitibus nondum est audita. p. 69.

'Germani primum reformarunt et infecerunt Europam suis moribus; deinde eam infecerunt magnâ in parte hæresibus. Nobis idem accidet, nisi eis mature resistamus. . . . Nunc ergo nunc maximè necessarium est mature occurrere lenociniis et pestilentiæ tentatorum, et facere aliquam declarationem legalem:

1. 'Ut liberetur regnum nostrum ab infamiâ tyrannidis, et a periculis quæ ex tali tentatione et calumnia accidere possunt; 2. Ut unusquisque homo sciat statum et officium meritum et debitum suum, utque ita omnes fiant contenti suo statu et suis privilegiis; 3. Ut in rebus spiritualibus nullæ sint controversiæ, et ut cessent illæ quæ pridem invaluerunt; 4. Ut possimus facere *salutaria fœdera*, et per gratiam Dei ut tandem aliquando *gens Slavonica* liberetur *a jugo Scythico*;

'Nos, respicientes finem propter quem nos Deus in regni culmine collocavit, ante omnia profitemur, Nos nihil juris aut potestatis habere ad faciendum quodcunque quod *esset* adversum legi et gloriæ Dei, aut adversum publico *totius Slavonicæ* nationis bono. Et *si forte quidquam tale in nostra potestate esse putatur*, nos volumus de tali potestate cedere, et nunc effectivè cedimus, et nosmetipsos, posterosque et successores nostros, *et omnes subditos nostros*, abdicamus ab omni tali jure, potestate, et auctoritate, quæ *esset* adversa sive gloriæ Dei, sive communi totius gentis bono.

'Prius punctum, quod ad gloriam Dei attinet, sic declaramus: Si Nos, aut quisquam nostrorum successorum expressè et aperte abjiceret contemneretve sanctæ Jesu Christi Ecclesiæ decreta;[42] sive concilia, sive patres sanctos, diceretque Ecclesiam sive concilia, sive unanimem sanctorum patrum consensum, errasse, aut quidquam non secundum Deum sed humano more docuisse, instituisse, aut tenuisse, aut audienda non esse (quemadmodum docent moderni hæretici Germaniæ), nos decernimus ut in tali casu nobis et talibus successoribus nostris nemo obedire teneatur . . . utque possint et debeant ipsum hæreticum obstinatum dejicere, et sibi alium regem eligere. Sin autem quisquam subditorum nostrorum Ecclesiam Catholicam, quæ semper a Spiritu Sancto regitur, erroris argueret, illum nos Dei et nostræ auctoritatis perduellem esse, et omnia bona

[42] *e.g.* canonem xxxiv. Apostolorum?

amisisse, et ab omni jure gentis excidisse, declaramus. Pro pœna autem personali judicio Ecclesiæ volumus eum sisti.

'Alterum punctum, quod est de communi gentis bono, illustri privilegio confirmamus: viz. that he exempts all for ever from being subject to aliens, and incapacitates all aliens for holding not only the throne, but any rank of nobility or office of authority; and if any such ever claim to exist, he is to be expelled or killed like a robber: nor are there to be any intermarriages of the kings, nobles, &c., with aliens. Nor can aliens hold any lucrative office or contract. An oath shall be taken by the king before his coronation to keep no foreign armed force or soldiers, except in time of great wars or *rebellions;* and if any such have distinguished themselves, and petition to remain afterwards, this may be allowed, but only to a few—*e.g.* to forty, sixty, or a hundred: and that not as body-guards, but only of liberality and gratitude for their past services. Nor can any *alien* be ever nationalised. In case of any dispute about the succession, only the *de facto* king who is in possession, being a native, can hire foreign troops; if any other do so, he loses *ipso facto* all claim, even though otherwise his claim were most just; and if he so makes himself king, he is an usurper, and is to be held as a public enemy. And foreign soldiers, unless brought in by the *de facto* king, are to be treated as brigands. We abrogate all empty titles of princes (*knäzes*) now taken on account of descent from ancient local princes of Russia, though those who take them may not, from poverty, be able to hold them with honour. Offices of the kingdom are not to be for life, nor hereditary, but to depend on good conduct and the royal pleasure.'[14]

§ xii. p. 80. 1. We must not expect impossibilities, or that any king can prevent his kingdom from having some defects; but that is no reason for him to neglect correcting all that is amiss, so far as he can. 2. The army must always be attended to, and kept in readiness for service. 3. Great danger and mischief both from vain confidence and from groundless fear. So the Germans, who are greatly superior to us in words, have repeatedly done us much harm by inspiring us with vain fears and with *vain hopes* as to themselves, and vain fears of the Poles. 4. The Tatars can lay waste a great extent of our country, but not take fortresses. The Swedes may take fortresses, but cannot lay waste any great extent of our country. The Poles might do both. Cum Lechis potest nobis esse fœdus vere fraternum . . . cum Germanis autem et cum Tauricanis (Tataris) nullum potest esse fœdus sincerum. . . . Denique cogitare debemus quod ubi jam nullum superest humanum consilium, Deus ipse persepe solet mittere remedium. Ideireo numquam est desperandum, sed semper sperandum est, non in nobis aut in viribus nostris, sed in Dei misericordiâ.

5. Nullum quantumvis infirmum hostem debemus contemnere, nulli minari. But the king should treat with foreigners in temperate and modest language, as the servant of God, whose name he may so introduce: si tantum *justum* causam habet; non enim debet mentiri, et nomen Dei blasphemare,[15] et Deum per hoc magis irritare.

[14] Here the king seems to end, and Krijanich himself goes on.

[15] As Peter in his proclamation of the spring of A.D. 1711, and on many other occasions; and as has been the ordinary practice of worldly potentates, from Sennacherib downwards (see 4 Kings ch. xviii. 25).

§ xiii. p. 87. *Of increasing the population* of a kingdom. (But better to have a waste than to people it with aliens.) Exportation of provisions detrimental: population increases where profitable employments of agriculturists, artisans, and *traders* flourish. In Russia and Lithuania lords make new settlements on wastes by granting for a time privileges to all who will come and build a dvor. The Turks give only cattle and arms. If any one has serfs (*kmeti*) to settle, he has no need to grant any such privileges. If we ever *take the Crimea*, and expel the Tatars, there will be need there of such *slobodi*. The Romans, in newly-conquered provinces, founded *posadi*, or cities, and *sela*, of their own people, as the Spaniards do now in India, and as we do in Siberia and in the Oukraine; but, apart from other reasons or prospects, this is only a transfer, not an increase of population. Spain and the Levant, once so populous, are now depopulated: why? China is extremely populous, having 250 millions. This is owing to careful protection of agriculturists, artisans, and traders. Germany is well peopled, owing to their superiority and enterprising industry as traders, and *the absence of tyranny*, and their solid convenient houses. 12. Russia is thinly peopled, owing to the Tatars, to the Germans (who get our commerce into their hands, and hold all the chief places in the army), and to the severity of the government, and to the want of stone for building, and the sending away of many people to Siberia and to the Oukraine. Mirabilem abusum vidi fieri, ita ut juvenes uxorati, qui nuperrimè, et ante unum mensem,[45] uxores duxerant, separati fuerint ab uxoribus, et missi ad Dauros. It should be inter privilegia gentis, ut nulli liceat maritum ab uxore separare, nisi ad breve tempus. In Russia a girl need not bring any portion whatever in money or in clothes to her husband. The wedding fees are sometimes onerous; there should be a moderate graduated scale: *e.g.* the poorest should give the pope two grivnas, people of the middle class a ruble, of the richest ten rubles. . . . A great hindrance to the increase of population is harsh severe government, not allowing a man to profit by the sweat of his brow, but everywhere there are tsiclovalniks, farmers, and monopolies. The system has one good side, that so there is *less* drunkenness, *e.g.* than in Lithuania, and bread and corn are cheaper; but it brutalises the people. Hence the defection of the Zaporogs: a *middle* course is best.

§ xiv. p. 103. *Aliens are on no account to be brought in* for the sake of increasing the population, especially not among Slavonians.

§ xv. p. 107. Of *extending the empire*. The idea of doing this is apt to be very attractive; but it is hurtful, 1. where there is not a *just* cause of war; 2. where the acquisition is not worth the cost; 3. where you get a fresh and worse and more powerful neighbour; 4. where it causes a drain on your own country, to occupy and to people the new province, &c. Against the Tatars and infidels there is always a just reason for war, especially when they do us particular wrong, as the Tatars. Sometimes pious kings have warred unjustly, and have so offended God. Treaties must be kept, and good faith. Heathens and heretics are not to be warred upon merely because they are such. *History:* Irruption of the barbarians,

[45] So Peter, after marrying his son, sent him on military service to Thorn, and again later to Pomerania.

&c., as swarms of locusts, to destroy the Roman empire (times of Justinian &c.): present state of the Slavonian peoples. You, O tsar, though you cannot under present circumstances raise them up or reunite them, still can cultivate and improve the Slavonian tongue by literature. The Poles too cannot recover themselves, but need help from without; and that help thou, O tsar, canst easily give them, if only thou wilt make a solid treaty with them, as shall be explained below, p. 116. There is no use in thinking of those old Slavonian lands which have long been occupied by the Germans, as Pomerania, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, and the cities on the Baltic, as Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantzig, Riga, and their territories; but we should turn our thoughts rather towards the Black Sea.

If any king would be glorious and remembered hereafter, and if any one would extend his kingdom, he should begin with good internal legislation before attempting to acquire what is held by others. The first great matter is to settle well those things which relate to faith and piety; the second to bring it about that all the nation may love him more than any father (and he gives examples). Then a *secret* counsel: that it is more desirable for this kingdom to extend its frontiers towards the *south* than towards the north or the east or the west. . . . But whenever we have warred with the northern nations, as with the Poles and the Lithuanians, as we often have, we have never ended with any glorious success; so that we may infer that this is not the will of God for us. If you, O tsar, or any successor of yours, were to gain the Crimea, you might *transfer your capital thither*, as it has many advantages over Russia; or, *if there were a division of the empire*, one might put there a brother, p. 120. The Greeks have fabling prophecies that the Turks are to be expelled (from Europe) by the Russians, and the Greeks so restored to their glory. The Turks themselves have a prophecy that they are to be overthrown by some nation, but they know not what that nation is to be. But of Jerusalem, whether the Christians are again to take it is a doubtful question. They have already taken it once, and held it eighty-six years; but then they lost it again; and it is written in Daniel: 'And even to the end of the world'[46] (*eióka*, or 'of the time') 'there is determined desolation.' Whether these words refer to Jerusalem or to something else I know not. . . . A great point of caution is not to make two wars at once, nor to make forts or colonies in two places at once, but let one be well established before another is begun.

§ xvi. Of *the Crimean Tatars*, and offensive operations against them. The Poles, as a rule, excel our soldiers in valour, the Germans in strength, and the Tatars in speed. In our time, in twelve years, the Tatars have done wonders, first utterly defeating the Poles at Jeltic-vodi, then the Hungarian prince in Podgoria (Transylvania). Again, they twice got the king of Poland into their power, and let him go after making a convention; they twice, and a third time, defeated the king of Sweden, and drove him out of Poland; they twice inflicted severe losses on the armies of this kingdom (*i.e.* at Konotop in A.D. 1659, and at Choudnovo in A.D. 1660), and they are scarcely known to have suffered any great defeat

[46] But Christ, referring to Daniel, says distinctly: 'And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles'—not to the end of the world, but—'till the time (or times) of the Gentiles are accomplished.'

themselves in the open field. They extort tribute, called presents, from all the surrounding states. Besides their incursions, they prevent our having any commerce with the Levant by the Black Sea (we now call the Spanish wine brought by the Germans 'Romanian,' and the French 'Rhenish'). We cannot well attack them till we have made a solid league with the Poles; and for that our *legislation* must first be improved; and then we may invite volunteers from all Slavonians, offering pomiestia, &c. So a sort of Slavonian crusade; and privileges to be given, like those of the military colonies of the old Romans. Ordinarily, the people of a conquered province cannot justly be all slain or expelled; but the Tatars may all with justice and should all be expelled, unless they are baptised. The Turks would not be able to help them much, if we had the Poles with us to meet them as they met Othman at Khotin; and to the east there are the Gorskie Circassians, if not also the Persians, and the frosts of Russia: and they have other enemies on their hands. *Objection.* That the metropolitan St. Peter ordered and counselled us to pay tribute to the Tatars, &c. The Turks have a saying that Mahomet predicted that his empire would not last 1000 years, but now (for the sins of the Christians) it has lasted longer than that. The Greeks have a prophecy about the *Russ*, that is, the people with brown or *ruddy-brown* hair, such as all the Slavonians have, but not the Germans and other Europeans. In the Revelations of St. Bridget it is written: 'Semper Græci hostibus suis subjecti erunt, donec sese Ecclesiæ Romanæ subjiciant,' &c.

Quando aliquod regnum de novo a Deo excitatur, inter alias causas solet una esse, ut per illud novum regnum aliquod aliud regnum destruatur. Regnum Scythicum est excitatum ad hoc, ut per ipsum destrueretur perfectè (Orientale) regnum Romanum. Et hæc destructio jam perfectè completa est, et præsertim hâc nostrâ ætate.

Jam residuum esse videtur, at aliquod aliud regnum sit a Deo præordinatum, per quod destruatur regnum Scythicum. Nullum autem regnum poterit in hoc proposito esse prosperum, si gesserit nomen aut insignia illius jam a Christo destructi et a prophetis maledicti *regni Romani*. Quod enim Deus destruxit et destructum fore prædixit, et perpetuo destructum manere vult, id nullus homo reædificabit. Si vis, O rex, ut regnum tuum Russiacum sit felix et victoriosum contra Scythicum, debes omnino spernere et abjicere ista infausta et maleominosa insignia Romana. Tria enim sunt impedimenta quæ hactenus impediverunt et retinuerunt Slavonicum hoc regnum, ne faceret majores progressus ad gloriam; 1^mo^ maledictum et a Deo destructum nomen, et maledicta insignia Romana; 2^do^ Fissura Ecclesiæ, et quæ exinde provenit, intestina gentis (Slavonicæ) discordia; 3^tio^ Xenocugenia, xenarchia, xenomimia, et omnis alia fœdissima multiplexque nostra xenomania. p. 140.

§ xvii. p. 141. Of *ignorance*. Analogy between the ages or gradations of development in an individual man and in a nation: sources of sin and error and heresy in appetite, moral vice, and ignorance: causes of ignorance, especially to the Slavonians, from the malignity of the Germans.

Remedies. Ours is an independent and middle position between the East and the West. Most men never learn even the alphabet of life at all (and he quotes Nestor, Charles V., and Morozoff, as in vol. i. our p. 54). Those

who sin of passion and vice *know* that they do wrong; but those who sin and err of ignorance know not. The Germans are the most dissolute of all people, and think Christianity itself to be self-indulgence. They have infected all Europe with their heresies religious and political (*political*, about the four empires of Daniel, and especially the Roman). Like locusts, they have nearly eaten up Russia, though they have not yet subjected it, as they have the other Slavonian tribes. They hate us for our *monarchy*, for our *orthodox faith*, and for our simplicity and frugality. Therefore they calumniate us as more contemptible than dead dogs, and more odious than demons, and all Europe believes them. . . . Certè ab orbe condito non fuit nec esse potest gens quæ majorem ventris carnisque curam et mundiciam haberet; quæque cum majore solicitudine elaboraret omne id quod potest pertinere ad mollitiem pigritiam blandimenta lenocinia carnis; sive ad majorem in edendo, bibendo, sedendo, jacendo, ambulando, dormiendo, proficiscendo, commoditatem, quam Germani. Et tamen cum omnibus istis epicureis mundiciis, lantitiis, et deliciis tandem revertuntur Germani in idem stercus et pulverem in quem revertuntur cunctæ aliæ gentes. Et tunc non quæritur quis habuerit mundius pavimentum aut stratum, sed quis habeat mundiorem conscientiam. Sciamus, et Germanis respondeamus, epicureas istas mundicias non posse esse sine peccato, &c. He recommends bows and arrows, both for horse and foot; and calls German swords, pistols, and carabines ridiculous and useless: he speaks with contempt and aversion of their empty titles and distinctions, and orders of knighthood, as of the Garter and of the Golden Fleece, &c. Postremo concludamus: Nos nolle nostram, sed Dei gloriam quærere. Ideo nostra gloria est Dei gratia, et in primis Fides Orthodoxa: Hanc omnibus divitiis deliciis et gloriæ mundi præferimus. Hæc nobis maxima est Dei gratia et gloria, quod apud nos vigeat *obedientia sacrorum conciliorum* et patrum, &c. Quia agnoscere veritatem et servire Deo regnare est.

§ xviii. (Contrary temptations, from the *Germans* and from the *Greeks:*) De *contrariis tentationibus* Russiæ. Scythæ præpollent nos velocitate et exercitatione bellica, Germani sapientia et artibus. Nos contra utrosque debemus certare. 1. Cautela et vigilantia; 2. Monarchia perfecta. Hic est verus lapis philosophorum (quo solo Polonia sanari potest).

Alterum est quod duo populi sint qui Russiam contrariis imposturis tentant, distrahunt, ac discerpunt, Germani et Græci; adeo ut in nostram perniciem conjurasse videantur.

Germani nobis suadent omnia nova, Græci autem absoluto damnant omnem novitatem. Et nihilominus interea *quasdam suas novitates nobis obtrudunt sub nomine antiquitatis.*

2. Græci nos docuerunt aliquando fidem orthodoxam; Germani prædicant nobis impias et animarum perditivas hæreses. Porro ratio suadet ut propter hanc causam Græcis multas gratias agamus; Germanos autem fugiamus odiamusque quasi dracones et demones.

4. Germani declamationem evangelii solam ad salutem sufficere aiunt; Græci prædicationem prorsus sustulerunt; disputationem quoque sive concilia prohibuerunt. . . . Prædicatio autem non est permittenda omnibus sacerdotibus sicut fit in Germania. . . .

7. Germani allegant scripturam: 'Nolite judicare;' et aiunt quod propter fidei doctrinam nullum hominem liceat nobis judicare. . . . Græci autem allegant aliam scripturam: 'Si quis vobis evangelizaverit præter id quod accepistis, anathema sit,' suadentes ut ipsos solos audiamus, cæteros autem omnes inauditos condemnemus. Porro ratio suadet ut Germanicas aliasque omnes hæreses quæ a patribus sanctis et a conciliis jam auditæ et judicatæ sunt nos quoque, *sine novo examine aut judicio*, simpliciter condemnemus. Sin autem exsurrexerit *nova* aliqua controversia, quæ non sit a patribus conciliisque examinata nec decisa, ratio vult ut nos talem controversiam non simpliciter et sine exauditione condemnemus, sed ut eam prius exaudiamus et bene examinemus. Verbi gratia, tales quæstiones et controversiæ sunt excitatæ: 1mo Quot sint Sacramenta; utrum septem, ut dicunt Romani, an plura vel pauciora: 2do Utrum animæ sanctorum Apostolorum, &c., sint jam in cœlo, an vero alibi sine visione Dei expectent judicium: 3° Utrum animæ Judæ Iscariotæ, et Caini, &c., jam sint in inferno, &c. Hæ et aliæ quædam quæstiones sunt exortæ inter Græcos et Romanos, et Græci simpliciter Romanos condemnant pro eis, sine ullo conciliari judicio, et nobis jubent ut et nos similiter condemnemus Romanos. At recta ratio suadet neminem damnare inauditum: istæ autem quæstiones, sicut prædictum est, nec in conciliis antiquis fuerunt propositæ examinatæ et judicatæ, nec a nobis Slavonis sunt unquam exauditæ, nec examinatæ, cum præsentia utriusque partis.

8. Græci nobis adulantur, et mendaciis fabulosâque assentatione volentes olim hoc regnum exaltare, magno dedecore magnisque incommodis illud affecerunt. Appellarunt Mosquam 'tertiam Romam,' et hoc Russiacum regnum ridicule fabulati sunt esse Romanum, et huic regno dixerunt competere insignia regni Romani. Germani autem calumniantur regnum hoc non esse regnum sed principatum, &c.

9. . . . Germani nobis adferunt pestiferas novitates, Græci nobis stultitias suas commendant sub falso nomine antiquitatis: illi seminant hæreses; hi docuerunt quidem nos veram fidem, *sed alligarunt ei schisma.* p. 185.

10. Tum Germani tum Græci, utrique quærunt nostras pecunias et substantias. . . . Quod vero attinet ad spirituales mercaturas, Græcorum vagabundi monachi, et falsi interdum metropolitæ, vagantur per Russiam, et cogunt stipem. Sophronius quidam[47] qui se appellabat Philipporum et Dramæ metropolitam, quique vulgo dicebatur 'Makedonski,' me cogebat ut ei conscriberem adulterinas litteras sub nomine Joannicii patriarchæ, quasi fuisset emissus ab eo propter communes ecclesiæ necessitates. Quod cum nollem facere, iste una cum alio quodam metropolita, volebant me fustigare; et perfecissent, nisi elapsus confugissem ad scribam civitatis. Verumtamen fateor meam culpam, quod postea litteras ei composui (ab alio describendas), metuens periculum vitæ meæ, p. 190. 3° Invidenť Serbis metropolitatum sive patriarchatum, et offerunt Turcis magnas summas pecuniarum ut in Serbia creentur metropolitæ Græci. 4° Smotricius[48] scriptum reliquit quod olim Græci non docuerant Russos conficere sacrum Chrisma, sed illud vendebant singulis annis, et pro centum aureis dabant exiguam ampullam. 5° Hoc autem tempore oberrant ultro

[47] This story which follows is in the original MS. a marginal note.
[48] Meletius Smotritsky.

citroque per Russiam, præsertim Minorem et Albam, Græci metropolitæ et patriarchæ, tum veri tum mentiti, et isti promovent ad sacerdotium personas sibi incognitas . . . et nullâ aliâ examinatione præmissâ nisi accuratâ licitatione, 'Quid vultis mihi dare?' Vidi quoque quomodo eosdem conjuges et diversi et idem metropolita sæpius et separarunt et reconjunxerunt, semper tamen præmissa licitatione et acceptâ bona summa pecuniæ. Vidi ego chartas synchoreticas lingua Russicâ Kioviæ impressas quas per Russiam venditabat Athanasius[49] patriarcha Byzantinus. . . . Et in iis absolvunt homines ab omnibus peccatis, nulla mentione facta confessionis neque pœnitentiæ.

11. Utrique quærunt nobis dominari. Græci desiderant spiritualem auctoritatem et potestatem tenere supra Russiam, si non supra totam saltem supra diœcesim Kioviensem.

12. . . . Cogitandum quippe est quod nos Russi simus cum Lechis (Polonis) unius linguæ homines, et unius patris filii: et nulla potest esse hujus regni major accidentalis felicitas, quam si inter nos constaret fraterna concordia; quod ne fiat missitant illi totius mundi domini et nostri derisores (Germani) ad nos legatos, finguntque se esse nostros amicos.

13. Suedi quippe per suas rhetoricas, per convicia, per compotationes, per donationes, persuadent primo nostris interpretibus, *genere Germanis*, deinde nostris legatis *Germanorum neophytorum filiis*, ub credant, et ut aliis persuadeant Suedos esse magis terribiles huic regno quam Polonos, &c. . . . Sed nulla fuit a Suedis timenda magna regionis depopulatio; præsertim hoc tempore, quo Suedi et summopere attriti erant, et regem infantem habebant.

§ xix. De *rationibus Græcorum politicis.* Græci prædicant Ecclesiam Romanam et Polonos esse hæreticos, et aiunt nos non posse fieri salvos si habuerimus cum eis fœdus: 'Hæreticum hominem devita:' et 'Hæretico nec Ave dixeritis,' &c. Sed tamen permittunt fœdus cum Suedis: imo aliquando permiserunt connubium cum hæretico Radzivilo. Secundo mentiuntur, quia Ecclesiam Romanam aiunt esse hæreticam.

The ecclesiastical schism was not made on account of piety or the salvation of souls, but *for worldly political reasons*, from the rivalry of the two nationalities, the Greek and the Roman, for earthly empire, power, and dominion, not for the kingdom of heaven.

1. (as in vol. i.). When heresies arose in the East, and some appealed to Rome, the rulers of the Greeks, civil and ecclesiastical, did not like this, . . . and they raised by canons of the Second and Fourth Councils the archbishop of Constantinople to be a patriarch and equal to the Pope, &c.

2. (as in vol. i.). Of the title of Œcumenical Patriarch, &c.

3. After the Sixth Council the Greeks held a council, and called it the Quini-sext. They could not call it the Seventh Œcumenical, because there was no legate of the Pope present in it. In it they seem to require the Roman Church to receive men living in marriage to be priests, and to give up fasting (or abstaining) on the Sabbath.

4. In A.D. 801 (800) from Christ's nativity the city of Rome fell away from the Greek emperor, &c. (as in vol. i.).

[49] Compare the *Travels of the Patriarch Macarius*, in our vol. ii. p. 51, 309, 311.

5. (as in vol. i.). On account of Bulgaria, Photius devised and brought out the charge of heresy, because the Romans chrismed over again, and because they believed the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and from the Son.

6. (as in vol. i.). About A.D. 1004 (1054) Michael Cerularius, &c. And the emperor Constantine Monomachus at that same time offered rewards to all who should write against the Latins. So then there appeared some nameless and senseless men, who wrote short treatises void of all sense or discernment, full of coarse and absurd fables.

7. (as in vol. i.). The violence done to the Greeks by the nations of the West. About A.D. 1100 they took Jerusalem, and held it eighty-eight years; and later they took Constantinople itself.

8. (as in vol. i.). Then, about A.D. 1200, Balsamen wrote that the Latins were unbaptised, &c.

9. After that Nikita Skyphiata[50] wrote that even if the Latin doctrine of the *Filioque* were true, they became *heretics* by putting it into the Creed.

10. Mark of Ephesus, at the Council of Florence, contended for above six months for that sapient proposition of Nikita Skyphiata, and prevented anything else from being discussed; and there were held about it sixteen discussions. Hic breviter ostendimus causas schismatis non procedere ex spiritualibus causis, sed ex duorum populorum ambitione et æmulatione, et sæcularibus controversiis; scilicet contendendo pro auctoritate regali et pro auctoritate ecclesiastica sive papali.

That the Roman doctrine is unlike all heretical doctrines.

3. Omnis hæresis negat principia, hoc est, abjicit aliqua concilia vel aliquos patres vel traditiones Ecclesiæ. Ecclesia autem Romana non negat principia. Photiana doctrina negat principia, nimirum patres Latinos, quia eos non curat, neque quærit. Item abjicit concilia omnia post septimum, et impie ait, 'Non licet concilia celebrare post septimum.'

Magnus autem est isto error, deceptio, et hæresis quædam politica. Cogitabant Græci se posse integritatem fidei conservare *per silentium*. At isto non est mos Ecclesiæ, nec patrum, nec sacræ scripturæ. Deus amat nostrum laborem et continuum exercitium. Patres non otio, non silentio, non dissimulatione, sed labore, sed multis verbis, sed conciliorum convocationibus promovebant rem divinam. Tantum advertere debemus in quo casu præcipiunt patres silentium, et non esse disputandum; scilicet, ubi negantur principia, et ubi hæretici contemnunt decreta patrum et conciliorum, et volunt res judicatas retractare, &c. At si Lutherani non negarent principia, sive auctoritatem Concilii, *e.g.*, Septimi de imaginibus colendis, et de sensu definitionis oriretur quæstio, tunc oporteret disputare.

4. Omnis hæresis, a qua juste fit separatio, est in conciliis et patribus nominatim anathematizata: Ecclesiæ autem Romanæ doctrina non est in conciliis neque in patribus nominatim anathematizata.

7. Nulli hæresi quadrant notæ tituliique Ecclesiæ, ut esset Una, Sancta, *Catholica*, et Apostolica per non-interruptam ab Apostolis successionem pastorum. Ecclesiæ Romanæ optimè quadrant istæ notæ.

[50] With many other trifling but malicious calumnies (see *Replies*, &c., vol. i. p. 628, 629).

10. Quæcumque doctrina in disputando adversæ parti maledicit et imponit falsa crimina, et calumnias, illa non ducitur Spiritu Dei. Photiani doctores (manifestissime) in suis libris maledicunt, et imponunt Ecclesiæ Romanæ plurima falsa crimina, graves calumnias, et ridiculas infamias.

11. Ubicumque Christianis licita seu possibilis est communio, ibi illicita est separatio. Atqui Græcis erga Ecclesiam Romanam licita et possibilis fuit communicatio, etiam permanente in articulo Processionis Spiritûs Sancti doctrinarum varietate.

Has demonstrationes nos hic adduximus tantum memoriæ causâ.

§ xx. Of the wrongs and calumnies of the Greeks against the Roman Church, and against us Slavonians. 1. Of the martyrs of Mount Athos: 'Pope Nicholas V. *came* to the holy mountain Athos,' &c. 2. 'A certain Pope having shaved off his beard for the sake of a certain woman,' &c. 3. Of the martyrs of Florence. In a Russian chronicle, at the year 6946 (A.D. 1438), Simeon of Souzdal has written: 'There came to the Council of Florence a certain governor of the Isle of Rhodes, and with him 2000 armed men, and they slew 160 Orthodox persons—bishops, monks, and laymen.' 4. Another fable: As Simeon was returning from Florence he saw in a dream St. Sergius, who praised him for having seen the deception of the Latins and for having refused to join it, but at the same time incidentally made Simeon to have been twice over a liar. 5. 'Peter the Fuller *was Pope*: he apostatised from the Christian faith,' &c. Such are their fables against the Romans. Against us Slavonians: 1. They impose certain superstitious and Pharisaical observances—*e.g.* If any one make not the sign of the Cross with such and such fingers, let him be anathema; and the like. 2. They bid us keep up their schism, and their hatred of the Roman Church. 3. They forbid us to cultivate philosophy and learning. 4. They bid us imitate them in neglecting altogether the preaching of the word of God. 5. They presumptuously and heretically tell us that the Church of Christ has no longer the same power of holding councils which she had of old: that after the Seventh no councils were nor are necessary, but are even pernicious to the Church. 6. They bid us hear them alone, and condemn the other side unheard. 7. Their vagabond monks and metropolitans come into our parts with forged letters, &c. 8. They try by foul means to get possession of the metropolitan see of Servia. 9. They used to sell in Russia at an immense price the holy chrism. 10. They sell holy orders to unfit persons, and divorce married people for money. 11. They give indulgences and absolution *unconditionally*. 12. They teach the Donatist heresy of rebaptising those who are already baptised. 13. They are also iconomachs, teaching us that the images and crosses of the Poles are accursed, whence our people have committed horrible sacrileges. 14. They have caused, both now and at other times, vast bloodshed between us and our brethren the Poles, sowing between us these pestilent seeds of discord. 15. They have been the cause that there has not *before now* been *raised to the throne of Poland some one of the lineage of our most serene emperors*. 16. They are the cause that Russia remains unpeopled: but for the custom of rebaptising, multitudes of Poles would have come over to settle among us. 17. They are the cause that we suffer from the incessant inroads of the

Tatars (*i.e.* by preventing our being united with the Poles). 18. They have by their vain flatteries disgraced our kingdom, persuading it to assume the name and insignia of the most empty Roman empire. 19. They say that our Bulgarians are not men (but beasts). 20. They make the very name of our Slavonian nation into a term of reproach and contempt throughout all Europe ('*slave*'). 21. They once took prisoners 20,000 Bulgarians, and put out the eyes of 19,000 of them. 22. They so infatuated the Russians that they even fought for them against their own brethren the Bulgarians, and instituted a festival in memory of their ill-omened victory. 23. They revile the Russians, and say that they are barbarians, and like brutes, to be dealt with not by words, but by blows. 24. The emperor of the Greeks once sent to the king of the Russians the insignia of royalty, tacitly insulting us; as if the king of the Russians could not have the royal dignity unless he received it from the Greek.

Conclusio ex supradictis: 1. The schism was made through the jealousies of the two rival nations (of the Greeks and the Latins) about the secular and ecclesiastical supremacy, about the Roman empire and the Papacy. Let the Greeks and the Romans contend about their mutual jealousies and causes of offence if they please. But to us Slavonians those supremacies have not been given by God; they are not possible nor needful for us. It would be absurd for us to think that either the Roman empire *or the supreme authority in the Church* are ever to come into *our* hands. We Slavonians and Russians are far from that. It is not becoming nor desirable that we should aspire after unattainable and impossible things. We, as long as the world lasts, shall never obtain possession either of that empire or of the Papacy. Let the vain Roman empire destroyed by Jesus Christ be where it pleases. Let the ecclesiastical primacy be either at Rome or at Constantinople: we should not strive nor excite ourselves about the contention of others, which is none of ours; from which we can get no advantage whatever. But rather we should hear with goodwill both sides, and strive to reconcile them.

2. We are not obliged to defend foreign claims. We have received from the Greeks, and the Poles from the Latins, the holy faith and the canons of the Church. *Those* are the things which we are bound to keep and to defend. But we are not obliged to contend about jurisdictions or supremacies, nor to support the party pleas or calumnies either of Greeks or of Romans. If the patriarch of Constantinople and the Pope refute one another, and strike one another, and pull one another by the beard, contending for prœminence, we have no occasion to make any quarrel about prœminence, nor to take part with them that make such quarrel.

3. But rather we should strive to reconcile the Greeks with the Romans. For from our nation—*i.e.* from the Bulgarians—it was that one of the chief occasions for the schism arose. It was on account of the Bulgarians that the Greeks first anathematised the Romans. If our nation was an occasion for evil, it seems fit and reasonable that it should now be an occasion for good.

4. We are bound to repay with gratitude the Greeks for the spiritual good they have done us, by bringing us into the way of salvation. We ought to repay them in kind, by helping them to return to ecclesiastical

unity. And perhaps such is the intention of God, that the Greeks—who, priding themselves on their own wisdom, lifted themselves up, and thought that they had no need to learn anything from the holy Fathers of the Latin Church—should receive instruction (or rather a good example) from the Slavonians, who are the least able of all the nations to lay any claim to learning or wisdom.

5. Hence God would be duly glorified:

6. And the hossoudar the tsar would gain everlasting glory.

7. *Hitherto* the Russian nation has not all of it been guilty *with direct intention* of schism; but *now* it is guilty (*or must soon become so*).

8. Consider the examples of Vladimir the Great, and of John IV. Basilievich, as treated of elsewhere.

§ xxi. Articulus de peccatis publicis, et *de ignoratis*, p. 221. For the preservation of a kingdom it is necessary to fear and to be cautious, *lest God be offended, especially by public and extraordinary sins;* for which his judgments most frequently fall on nations. One such sin is the *oppression* of the poor, and of subjects (such as is universal in Poland). 1. Men sometimes might easily repent, but make repentance impossible for themselves; and this because they know not what precisely is their sin, and what is the cause of the punishments with which they are visited by God. Maybe their sin is not only not perceived to be a sin, but is even thought to be rather a work of piety; and so they do not confess it, nor repent of it, and cannot appease God.

2. No sin is allowed by God to go unpunished; but he punishes it either in this life or in the life to come, which is much worse. Sometimes God for sins sends upon nations his scourges or public punishments—pestilence, famine, war, destruction of an empire, or subjugation, &c. And now we will inquire, For what sins?

3. Some sins may be called common and ordinary, which a ruler cannot entirely correct; but for the most part it is possible, and even easy, for him to correct any special public sin; and it is for such that the punishments are most frequently sent.

Special extraordinary sins are such as heresy, breach of faith, oppression of the poor, &c. And of these some are *unknown*, as heresy (for the heretics even think that by their error they please God): others are public (*i.e.* manifest), as when a public person, and he whom God has set to be his own vicegerent (as the king or the priest), *publicly rebels against God; i.e.* if he blasphemes, or perjures himself, if he oppresses instead of defending the people of God; if he bids the people commit sins which he ought rather to forbid; and *such public rebellion* commonly draws down, and speedily, *public punishments.*

God punishes in various ways: sometimes he sends public scourges —pestilence, famine, war; sometimes he punishes individuals in various ways—*e.g.* by loss of children, &c. *Very many* he does *not punish in this life*, but reserves his vengeance for the never-ending life to come, which is the worst punishment of all.

For known sins there may be repentance; but for public unknown sins, which are even boasted of, there is no hope of repentance; and so there often come upon whole peoples sudden and tremendous punishments.

Nations are always full of sins; but God does not always punish, only at times, and especially *when the king sins*. Not that anybody is then punished for the sins of the king, but for his own sins; only God waits for the time when the king sins, and then punishes. Especially *when a king lifts himself up by pride against God, as Nebuchadnezzar*, &c.; or *makes war against God and persecutes His Church*, as did Antiochus Epiphanes, Nero, &c.; or *profanes holy things dedicated to God*, as Belshazzar, &c. Examples from the Scriptures of sins specially punished: *e.g.* fornication, by the flood; sodomy, by fire and brimstone from heaven; boasting of sin. . . . Perhaps God has chosen this empire to abase that of the Scythians (the Turks); but I think that that divine purpose can never take effect so long as such open boasting of sodomitical sins as now exists in this empire continues (and he gives very horrible and revolting details from his own experience, p. 230-232), and such public drunkenness of *kings* (*tsars*), *princes*, *priests*, *and bishops*. For the Turks at least do not boast of their vices. Correction of these two vices is necessary, and also of public injustice through those officials of whom Isaiah says, 'Thy princes are companions of thieves.'

6. Schism (giving the examples of the punishment of Korch, Dathan, and Abiram), 'that men might know how enormous a sin it is to divide the Church. 8. *Profanation of divine worship; violation of the rights and property of the Church*: example of Uzzah touching the ark, which only the priests were to touch; of Saul offering sacrifice; and Samuel came and excommunicated Saul, and deposed him from the kingdom. *Uzziah* began to offer incense in the temple, and immediately *he became a leper*, and remained a leper till his death. 9. Divination, sorcery, &c. 10. Trusting in one's own power, as Goliath, Sennacherib, David when he numbered the people. 11. Trusting in one's treasures, as Hezekiah. 12. Making war without just cause, as Josiah. 13. Making a league with the ungodly, as Jehoshaphat with Ahab and Ahaziah, and as Amaziah. But Asa hired auxiliaries from Benhadad king of Syria, and was not blamed for it. Hinc videtur quod possit rex Christianus conducere paganos in exercitum quando nullum est periculum ne corrumpatur ab eis populus fidelis, et dummodo non fiat cum paganis et hostibus crucis Christi fœdus formatum et juratum. Ab hæreticis autem est periculum, et ideo hæretici non debent conduci, nec acceptari ad militiam, et multo minus fœdus cum eis fieri: vide fol. 729. 15. To oppress the people by covetous and cruel exactions: example of Rehoboam, and of John IV. Basilievich, and of Boris Godounoff, as in vol. i. 16. Breach of faith: example of Vladislaf of Hungary. 17. The counsel of Jeroboam: *Propter rationes regni facere schisma in Ecclesia*, et condere novam hæresim. (So later did Mahomet.) 18. Caiaphæ consilium: Propter rationes politicas homines innocentes occidere: 'Si eum sic dimittimus multi adhærebunt ei, et venient Romani,' &c. 'Melius est ut unus homo moriatur pro populo quam ut tota gens pereat.' 19. Græci Monomachi consilium: Propter rationes politicas seminare in Ecclesiam discordiam per fabulosos libellos, et alere factiones. Sic fecit Monomachus, et patriarcha Cerularius, &c., as above.

20. Pharisæorum consilium: Propter metum Romanorum repellere a se Christum. Ita faciunt illi qui metuentes privari aliquo temporali

commodo, nolunt admittere manifeste cognitam veritatem. 21. Balsamonis consilium (of the Latins being unbaptised, as above). 22. Manuelis consilium: Propter rationes politicas impedire opus Dei . . . quippe Latinos ad Hierosolymam proficiscentes hostiliter tractabat. 23. Propter rationes politicas *dissimulare, et* permittere crescere hæreses (sic factum est tempore Palamæ; et scribit Gregoras: 'Tunc fuissent condemnatæ blasphemiæ Palamæ more consueto per concilium, nisi imperator, propter rationes politicas, tunc dissimulasset').

Casus singularis. Si quis rex, aut populus, nititur contraire decreto alicui divino, talis non habebit fortunam. Non est enim ratio, non est consilium, non est potentia contra Dominum. *Talis quædam causa est quæ Russiaci regni felices progressus hactenus maximè impedivit.* Deus per Danielem prænuntiavit regnum Romanorum esse destruendum, &c. (as above), et nos volumus illud restituere. O insaniam! 24. Silentium Monomachicum. Quia tempore Palamæ et Akindyni Latini erant potentes in Oriente, imperator noluit quicquam concilio tentare, timens ne propter concilium multi dissidentes adjungerent se Latinis. Ideo curavit prædicari: Omnia esse definita in Septem Conciliis; non licere nec posse amplius concilium celebrari. 25. *Propter suam ambitionem* bello persequi, *captivare et carcerare pontifices Christi.* (Sic fecerunt aliqui imperatores Germani: sed excommunicabantur a Papis, et omnes malè peribant. 26. Propter rationes politicas *per vim attondere* homines in monachos. (Sic fecerunt quidam imperatores Græcorum; sic fecerunt et Mosquenses cum imperatore Basilio Shouiskio.) 27. Propter rationes politicas canonizare homines profanos. . . . Imperator Mauricius volebat omnes milites occisos pro martyribus haberi, sed Papa Gregorius impedivit hanc impietatem. Imperator Shouiskius, propter suas rationes politicas curavit canonizari principem qui nec pro fide Christi nec pro regno mundano, nec ab infidelibus, sed a sicariis occisus est. 28. Propter rationes politicas, et ad augendas discordias, atque odia in populis fingere miracula, sive apparitiones, vel confictas acceptare. 29. Propter rationes politicas fingere zelum pietatis et destruere pietatem. Hoc, proh dolor! contigit nimis in hoc præsente bello, &c. (as above). 30. Ecclesias fabricare et eleemosynas facere ex rapinis (sicut fecit Boris Godounovius).

§ xxii. Articulus *de natura Germanorum.* Omnium Europæ *hæresum doctrinalium* inventores Germani: superbissimi: blasphemissimi: mordacissimi: deditissimi demonolatriæ: fraudatores in mercando, et perfidissimi proditores: mille libris infamatoriis proscindunt orthodoxos in odium sanctæ fidei: oderunt Russos immenso odio: Omni peste perniciosius nobis Germanicarum calumniarum virus: Honorem et reputationem nostram omnem apud Europæos destruxerunt: Luxuriosissimi: Inhospitales: Conclusio: Germani nobis cavendi.

At p. 272: Hæ sunt igitur *politicæ hæreses* quibus nos Germani inficiunt: 1. Opinio vana de quatuor monarchiis et de Romano imperio; 2. Ponunt gloriam in multitudine titulorum: 3. Putant sibi bello esse decertandum pro inanibus fantasticis chimericis titulis; velut rex Anglorum qui se scribit regem Gallorum, et rex Polonorum qui se scribit regem Suecorum, &c. Insuper distribuunt inanes Cavaleriorum titulos.

4. Nobilitatem et dignitatem gentis prædicant esse sitam in anarchia;

ita ut omnis nobilis sit sibi rex, &c. 5. Ponunt decorus et grande peccatum si princeps accipiat uxorem ab homine inferioris status, &c. 6. Aiunt peregrinando per varias regiones acquiri bonos mores. 7. Aiunt fidem Christianam virtutem humanitatem positam esse in voluptate. 8. Ad persuadendos suos errores allegant nobis semper sacram scripturam sed proprio ipsorum et perverso modo explicatam. 9. The Greeks persuaded their emperors, and us since, that councils, preaching, and learning were good and useful for the Church only till the time of the Seventh Council; but since then bad and mischievous. 10. Our own proper national errors are these: We think it honourable to make guests drunk. 11. To show ourselves in effeminate florid-coloured clothes. 12. We allow ourselves to be cheated in a thousand ways by foreigners. In this all the Slavonians are alike. We receive, admire, and imitate foreigners in all sorts of ways, &c. 13. The chief heads of the plagues with which the Germans are used to poison and kill all other nations are: 1. Doctrinal heresies; 2. Political heresies, or errors contrary to civil prudence, of which the most pestilent is their fictitious monarchy or Hyperbasileia (preëminence of their so-called Roman empire). To say nothing of their doctrinal heresies, we will explain the rest in the following article.

§ xxiii. Articulus *de haresibus politicis*, et *de absonalitis* (mostly recapitulation of what has been said before): 1. Hyperbasileia, &c. 2. Anarchia. 3. Vita Epicurea. 4. *Impares* tituli *regales*, utpote (Imperator vel Cæsar), Rex, Dux, et Comes. 5. Nimia multiplicatio et vana distinctio ordinum Nobiliarium. 6. Illusio Cavaleriana. 7. Lex vanissima de Majorascatu, et de factionibus familiarum. 8. Ecclesiastica beneficia addixerunt solis nobilibus per octo avos. 9. Induxerunt Doctoratus stultitiam in scientiis liberalibus. 10. Et Magisterium artium cerdonicarum. 11. Et multiplicationem artium otiosarum. 12. Et peregrinationem juventutis. 13. Docent quærere affinitates cum peregrinis principibus. 14. Docent in tractatibus fœderum committere se mediaturis aliorum principum. 15. Item quærere reputationem in legationibus pomposis. 16, 17, 18, 19. Slavonorum communes et quasi nationales errores, as above: of false hospitality with liberality, and banquets with drunkenness, of gay clothes, and of appearance of foreign servants. Then Slavonorum Xenomania. 20. Admittere et mittere legationes nimias. 21. Admittere et imitari modum peregrinæ militiæ malæ et inepte. 22. Admittere locustones, sive gentes vagabundas. 23. Admittere peregrina insignia, peregrinas appellationes principum, et peregrinas leges. 24. Admittere aut altro quærere xenarchiam. 25. Admittere alienigenas, et dare eis indigenatum (fol. 566). 26. *Res divinas* facere *appendicem et caudam rerum sæcularium*, p. 802 (but the MS. has no p. 802): Deceptiones diabolicæ. 27. Astromantia. 28. Alchimia. 29. Magia omnis. 30. *Schisma Ecclesiæ*. Item hæreses doctrinales, Judaismus, Mahometismus, Idololatria, Atheia.

§ xxiv. Haeresis Politica i. *De Quatuor Monarchiis*, &c., et de phantastica *hyperbasileia* (in Latin and Slavonic at great length), taking to themselves the eternal kingship of Christ, like Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, &c. 'Sanctum Romanum Imperium,' 'Sancta majestas.' 4. (But we have had it all before in vol. i.). Hæc omnia probantur a nobis alio loco, præsertim fol. 225-231 et fol. 252, No. 12-15 (*i.e.* § xxxii. and xlvii.).

§ xxv. Hæresis Politica ii. *De Anarchia*, p. 236. Also at great length, and repeating or recasting what we have had before. All the evils of Poland, as elsewhere; 'mundi sentina,' &c. In Russia, thank God, we have not their *duels*, and petty wars, p. 302. At p. 305: Conclusio, et Colloquium Khervoi cum Casimiro Lecho (*i.e.* Polono). At p. 318: Putant ipsi (Germani) Salvatorem mundi ideo pauperem ac duram vitam vixisse, et acerba tormenta pertulisse, ut nos omni voluptatum genere liberrimè perfrueremur. At Salvator contrarium dicit: 'Exemplum' inquit 'dedi vobis, ut quemadmodum ego feci, et vos faciatis.' At Germani putant nullum debere esse discrimen inter Christianos et Epicureos.

At the end a note by the author: 'Fiat titulus singularis, et constituat unum numerum inter hæreses politicas: De nimio studio in arte coquinandi, sive de sybariticis epulis.'

§ xxvi. Hæresis Politica iii. De hæresi Sardanapalorum, sive *de luxu, et vitâ voluptuosâ*, p. 331.

§ xxvii. Hæresis Politica iv. *De multitudine et vanitate titulorum*, p. 334. Ten titles of the German emperor (and he says that 'here, in Siberia, we have not at hand other sources to quote'). Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, three names, as if three kingdoms, but only one thing, &c., only one episcopat see, that of Zagreb; for Senia in the mountains scarce deserves to be called a parish. In the title of our emperors also there are ten names, p. 339. The title 'Veliki Hossoudar' est sumptum ex novâ consuetudine Turcarum, p. 340. Tsar est vocabulum Latinum: Samoderjetz is a translation of *αὐτοκράτωρ*, but it sounds ill in Slavonic, and should be rather Samovladetz. Povelitel is a translation of imperator, and should be rather Samoviednik. Hospodar (Hossoudar) and Obladatel are the same thing—possessor; more correctly Vladatel. Veliki Kniaz is historically correct; but now there is an abuse in making the rank of boyar to be above that of kniaz. It is a pity that among so many names that of Krâl is absent, which is most ancient, and most suitable to express supreme power, and a pure native word. The kings of Poland, instead of 'Magnos Duces Russiæ,' ought to style themselves 'Minoris Russiæ aut Kioviæ.' In the Russian title there are other vain indefinite additions: also they put now the Greek word *Rossia*, instead of the native word *Rousi*.

Then there is the heresy of fighting about mere empty titles, p. 350. At p. 353: Maximo risu aut potius fletu et compassione dignus est titulus quo se inscribunt Byzantini et Alexandrini patriarchæ: 'Joannicius, miseratione divina Archiepiscopus Constantinopoleos Novæ Romæ, et totius orbis patriarcha;' 'Meletius, miseratione divinâ magnæ urbis Alexandriæ patriarcha, et judex totius orbis,' &c., as in vol. i.

§ xxviii. Hæresis Politica v., p. 372. *De vanâ multiplicatione Ordinum Nobilitarium.* 8. Alia vanitas est, lex de primogenitură. Hæc lex est *iniquissima:* privatis personis est utilis, et publico toti genti onerosa. Insuper nobiles per eam fiunt nimis superbi, p. 376. Lex ista est sane necessaria in regibus, ut regnum non dividatur. In principibus etiam columnaribus (cardinalibus) qui sunt proximi ad successionem in regno posset fortasse etiam aliquid de isto privilegio admitti, sicut infra suo in loco dicemus.[51] In nobilium autem familiis lex ista est absurda, multarum

[51] But the MS. never comes to this.

insolentiarum causa, et divinæ et humanæ justitiæ adversa. Then of orders of knighthood. And they absurdly require four noble ancestors by the mother's as well as by the father's side: these take vows of celibacy, living in castles held by them as knights; commonly younger sons: and in some cases only nobles are eligible to episcopal sees, protopresbyterates, and other ecclesiastical benefices; and these again will be younger sons.

The *natural* orders and offices are: 1. Principes; 2. Consiliarii *Magnates*, Vlasteli, et provinciarum præfecti; 3. Curiales primi ordinis, ut sunt Okolnici sive Camerarii, et arcium præfecti; 4. Curiales secundi ordinis, ut sunt Dapiferi (Stolnicii, &c.), Stipatores, Strapchii, vigiliarum præfecti, et reliqui curiales, et nobiles prædiati, qui per regnum habitant. p. 382.

The *princes*, to secure the succession; the *magnates*, as oculi et manus regis ad consilia et opera; the *okolniks* virtually of the same rank with the magnates, only younger. Below he calls the magnates 'boyars, who come after the kniazes and before the okolniks and the curiales primi ordinis.' He ridicules also the armorial bearings, and the mottoes or devices of the Germans, &c.

At the end there is a note: 'Titulus scribatur "Quomodo possint se reges humiliare, *e.g.* in scriptione symbolorum, in titulis, in litteris minatoriis et bellum indicentibus, in legum conditione,"' &c. But here that part of the second MS. volume breaks off, and the author never finished his work according to his latest plan.

[P.S. Notice by the editor, Mr. Bezsonoff: 'The preceding work was first published in portions in the *Russkaia Besieda* for 1859.']

Index to the above work of Krijanich, with remarks.

Introduction, p. 52. According to the Muscovite patriarch Nicon and to the Servian or Croatian panslavist Youry Krijanich, the office of a good ruler requires, first and above all, *piety towards God*; then, in and under this, 1. *wealth*; 2. *power*; and 3. *wisdom* to provide for the general welfare.

But with Peter the Great the first idea is that of '*exploits and glory*,' and then wealth, power (military and naval), and wisdom to provide for the attainment of this end, and for the general welfare or prosperity only so far as that may be conducive to 'exploits and glory.' But exploits and glory of a ruler are not really *happiness* for a nation.

Krijanich makes the secular wisdom of a ruler to consist mainly in the observance of these two maxims: 'Know *thyself*;' and, 'Trust not *foreigners*. Peter, on the contrary, becomes himself the disciple of Timmerman, Brandt, and Lefort, and inundates Russia with foreigners of all creeds and of none, whom he admits to share all offices and commands on terms of equality, or rather of superiority, with the Orthodox native Russians, who alone are bound to adhere to the State Church of the tsar.

Nicon would no doubt have regarded the second maxim of Krijanich as an exaggeration; but in principle he would have agreed with him, against Peter.

Part I. Of Wealth. § i. p. 53. Krijanich, though he observes that Russia in his time was shut out from the commerce of the Black Sea by the Tatars and the Turks, and from that of the Baltic by the Swedes,

would not accept the Baltic provinces even if they could be obtained by a *just* war. But Peter, with injustice and perfidy, makes war to obtain access to the Baltic. Here again Nicon would no doubt have differed from Krijanich: for the Baltic provinces might have been annexed, and liberal terms might have been granted to their Lutheran population, with a certain autonomy for provincial matters, without admitting Lutheran Germans or Swedes to share in the superior government of the Russian empire.

Part II. Of Power. § i. p. 53. Krijanich and Nicon jointly indicate to the tsar five *superior* sources of power, all quite above Peter's range of vision. Of these the third is 'the preservation of national concord and unity.' But Peter divided Russia into two contrary and hostile parties and tendencies —the one German, the other national; the one religious (or at least supernaturalist, or, if any one pleases, superstitious), the other materialist or infidel.

Then Krijanich considers separately the *ordinary* and *direct* sources of power:

§ ii. Of fortresses, ib.

§ vi. ib. The military commander, he says, ought to be a noble and a native subject, not a foreigner *nor of foreign extraction*. Peter abolished all hereditary nobility, and set Menshikoff above all the old families: and he gave commands freely to foreigners. Krijanich here, as usual, is excessive. Nicon would probably have made no objection against even a foreigner who had embraced the Orthodox faith, if he were otherwise the fittest man: and certainly he would not have prohibited the naturalisation of such proselytes. And a native Russian of inferior birth, like Menshikoff, might gradually be raised from the lowest rank to the highest, if only he fairly earned by his merits and services each step of his advancement. But certainly 'Alexashka' ought never to have been in the way to become regent of the empire over the heads of the chief nobles, such as the field-marshal Sheremetieff, or the Repnins, the Golitsins, and the Dolgoroukys, or to give away the empire directly to an illiterate Livonian woman, and indirectly to all those other female sovereigns and foreigners who were to follow after Catherine I. by like revolutions.

§ vii. p. 54. If Krijanich would have been somewhat pedantic in insisting on an exclusively Slavonic terminology, even where there might be need of new names for new things, Peter, on the other hand, introduced needlessly innumerable foreign words, as if to proclaim that his new civilisation and his new empire was a mere servile imitation from Dutch and German sources. With regard to beards and costume, Krijanich is rational and moderate, while Peter is excessive and tyrannical.

Part III. Of Wisdom. § i. Books, Krijanich says, are in some respects better counsellors for kings than living men, who, even if not flatterers like the rest, may be afraid to speak the truth.

For others, he says, it may be all very well to learn by experience—that is, by repeated mistakes and failures: but this is not well for kings. Peter, through many mistakes and failures on points of detail, gradually correcting himself and improving in military and naval skill, achieved at last a great success, well-earned by his intelligence, energy, and perseverance in one *inferior* department, viz. that of military and naval ad-

ministration. But the mistake and failure of his whole life with regard to the highest principles of national *happiness*, and its consequences—who can now remedy?

'To rub off the old barbarism, and learn arts, and receive a better form of society, and attain a happier state.' So far as these words go Nicon and Krijanich and Peter the Great are all agreed. But when they set practically to work, there is all the difference in the world between the 'New Jerusalem,' with 'the fear of the Lord as the beginning of wisdom,' and '*Naliváiki*,' with Mars, Bacchus (or '*Iarilko*'), and Venus, and the double-headed eagle with the horse and his rider (that is, the tsar) trampling under foot the city of the Great King (see *Replies*, &c. vol. i. p. 559, 565).

§ ii. p. 55. Wisdom: Philosophy or love of wisdom: Tabular scheme or subdivisions of useful knowledge.

§ iii. Political wisdom under two maxims, viz.: 1. Know *thyself* (§ iv. to xxx. incl.); and 2. Trust not *foreigners* (§ xxxiii. &c.).

a. Know thyself. § iv. Physical conformation.

§ v. Of language.

§ vi. Of dress, &c.

§ vii. Of manners and customs.

§ viii. Of the country of Russia. *Its disadvantages and its advantages.* Its greatest advantage, the head of all the rest, which Krijanich calls 'the rod of Moses,' is this, that the Muscovite sovereign possesses *complete autocracy*. And the opposite disadvantage, the very contrary to perfection, according to Krijanich, was the anarchy of Poland. But by 'complete autocracy, or absolutism,' Krijanich is far from meaning such a self-willed, ignorant, and pernicious tyranny as that of Peter the Great.

1. At p. 67, 89, 91, his most absolute king swears, as the tsar Alexis in A.D. 1652 swore at the election of the patriarch Nicon, to obey God and the Church and the sacred canons; and if he becomes an heretic or an open rebel against the Church, the subjects are absolved from their oath of allegiance, and are even bound to depose him. 2. At p. 61, his king is a brother among brethren; and he and his office are for the sake of the welfare and protection of the people, not the people for his service. 3. He swears to respect and maintain the reasonable liberties and privileges of the different classes, p. 65, 67, 90.

Thus, though he is 'most absolute' in this respect, that no subject nor faction of subjects can dictate to him, either in the executive or in the legislative department, and the initiative of all is absolutely with him; yet, as regards the highest matters, he has over him the law of God and that of the Church; and as regards particular commands, if he commands anything impious or unjust, it is no duty of the subject to obey him against his own laws and the law of God, but rather to refuse to obey, and to suffer for the truth and for justice. But, ordinarily, such a king will act according to custom and precedent, consulting his ministers and his council, and on great occasions also seeking the advice and the blessing of the primate and the clergy. He can do everything that is religious and lawful or not contrary to existing law; and he can change old laws and enact new, so long as he does not impugn the higher laws of God and of the Church; but he can do no *wrong*: for whatever wrong is done in any

particular cases in his name, those who do it may be accused and tried and punished in his name and by his laws.

§ ix. p. 56. Calumnies of Olearius and the Germans.

§ x. Krijanich replies to these calumnies: Though very savage against the foreigners, and excessive in his invectives against them, perhaps with a purpose that so his admissions of evil to be corrected may not seem to come from an enemy, or from a man of lukewarm patriotism), he goes as far as any reasonable and charitable foreigner could desire in his admissions of defects and faults needing correction, both among the Slavonians generally, and among the Muscovites in particular. Very different in this is he from Peter the Great, who, if he sought to correct or improve his people in some minor points, did it in that way which was most wounding and offensive to all national feelings, with scorn and hatred; and he extended his insulting mockery even to those things which were most good and sacred, as to the hierarchical and sacerdotal blessings and ceremonies, and to the offices of Christian marriage and burial of the dead.

§ xi. Of the general qualities and defects of our people.

b. Trust not foreigners. § xii. *Xenomania* is a characteristic of all the Slavonians.

§ xiii. Its pernicious consequences.

§ xiv. Of foreigners who have in time past sought to ally themselves by marriage with the sovereigns of Muscovy.

§ xv. p. 57. Of having foreigners for sovereigns, as in Poland.

§ xvi. Of the great dishonour and injuries done to us Slavonians by other nations.

§ xvii. Of forming connections with foreigners.

§ xviii. How royalty belonging of right to Slavonians is insulted by foreigners in Poland.

§ xix. How our royalty has fared also among the Chekhs, Bulgarians, Servians, and other Slavonians.

§ xx. They even revile our good points and advantages; *e.g.* our *autocracy*, our exclusion of heresies, &c.

§ xxi. Of those three social plagues with which the Niemtsi (*i.e.* the Germans and kindred Teutonic peoples) infect other nations, viz.: 1. heresy; 2. luxury; and 3. political licentiousness.

§ xxii. p. 58. The Russian form of government is better than the Polish: praises of autocracy.

§ xxiii. p. 59. Of the royal office and authority.

§ xxiv. Of the different orders and classes of the people (clergy, nobles, and plebeians).

§ xxv. Of the *duty* of the king; his duty, that is, to God: and of punishments threatened against him if he is disobedient.

§ xxvi. p. 60. Of the office of the king (three powers of wisdom, force, and wealth): his duty and object is to promote the *happiness* of his subjects. Difference between a king and a tyrant. The law of God (interpreted and taught by the clergy) and *public opinion* (representing the common sense, feeling, and conscience of mankind) are as supreme judges in respect of tyranny. A tyrant is a public robber with none to take and punish him, an executioner without judge and law, an inhuman monster, a demon in a visible body.

§ xxvii. p. 61. Common errors of rich men, and of many rulers, who know not that they are God's servants and stewards.

§ xxviii. Of oppressive rule and tyranny. The maintenance of bad laws is worse tyranny than the commission of particular acts of cruelty or injustice. John IV. and Boris Gódounoff were tyrants: how they were punished. Long succession of posterity in one dynasty is a reward: deaths of children and extinction of the dynasty is a punishment. The recent loss of Little Russia was caused by oppression.

§ xxix. p. 62. The root of all evil is covetousness: hence misrule and tyranny.

§ xxx. p. 63. Of the correction of tyranny and misrule in Muscovy, by giving to all orders suitable liberties or privileges. Though the king himself were an archangel, yet unless his ministers and officers are restrained by good legislation, *i.e.* by suitable liberties secured to all ranks, it will be impossible to prevent the commission of all sorts of robbery, injustice, and tyranny. Moderate liberties (such as lead not to anarchy) are no damage to autocracy: on the contrary, without such liberties, in its true and good sense it cannot subsist, but it inevitably becomes tyranny.

Then there follows an imaginary address from the tsar of Muscovy to all the people of his empire, in preparation for the grant to be made by him of such liberties, p. 64.

§ xxxi. p. 65. The tsar's address: he wishes to abolish the government monopoly of the distillation and sale of spirits, and the government kabaks, or spirit-shops; also to confirm and augment the privileges of all classes.

§ xxxii. p. 66. Continuation. The tsar confirms to the clergy their privileges,[52] their exemption from civil jurisdiction, exemption from all public services and imposts, and the right to hold their own lands without burden of service or tax. He shows the importance of having an hereditary aristocracy[53] to stand between the crown and the army and the people. Of the hereditary nobility he makes three grades, viz: 1. princes or kniazes, of whom there are to be twelve, each holding one fortified city, with a certain limited armed force; 2. boyars: and these first two classes are to be called in common, all together, 'distinguished boyars and rulers' (notables or grandees, and lords): the third class he calls simply 'hereditary nobles,' or 'men of family' (gentle, '*gentiles*'), p. 65-67.

All the nobles are to be exempt from all ignominious punishments, and are not to be punished with any severity or deprived of their property without trial and judgment. But Peter racked and knouted them in common with mujiks, and inflicted severities and confiscations as he pleased, p. 68.

Both the sovereign and the nobles are to intermarry only with Slavonians. But Peter publicly married a Livonian captive peasant woman, who had been his mistress, and that too in the lifetime of his lawful Muscovite wife; and he made his son and heir marry a German Lutheran princess, and gave his nieces in marriage to German Lutherans, p. 69.

The succession to the crown, and to the titles and estates of the kniazes and rulers (*vlastelins*) or distinguished boyars, shall be limited to one

[52] Peter the Great annulled all these rights and privileges.

[53] Peter abolished all hereditary rank and power.

male heir in the right line of primogeniture. But Peter made the succession to the throne to depend only on the will or caprice of the reigning sovereign; and having cut off his own lawful heirs, died at last without appointing any successor.

Daughters, though there be no sons, shall be incapable of succeeding. But Peter was succeeded by a foreign woman of low origin, who was in no way even related to him by blood.

No foreigners shall be capable of obtaining nobility in Russia, nor of holding any high offices or commands, nor of possessing landed property. But Peter admitted foreigners of low or high birth, and of all creeds, alike to hold all offices and commands and to possess landed property: so he gave a large estate with its peasants to his mistress, Anna Mons, the daughter of a German Lutheran wine-seller, p. 70.

No alien shall be naturalised in Russia. Here Krijanich is carried away by his hatred of foreigners. Nicon no doubt would have legislated differently.

Foreign mercenaries may be engaged and maintained only during the continuance of some great war, but as soon as the war is over they shall be discharged and sent out of Russia. Here too Krijanich is unpractical, and makes the rule too absolute. If the employment of a force of foreign mercenaries or of a number of foreign officers was desirable, these could neither be found all at once nor dismissed all at once in such a way.

The tsar wishes to put an end to all government (retail) monopolies, and above all to the *kabaks*, or government spirit-shops. But before this can be done the towns must suggest and offer some other way of raising the necessary revenue.

The towns for certain matters shall elect their own judges, and the chief judge shall judge lesser matters alone; but greater matters (by plurality of voices) conjointly with his assessors. But in speaking of the tsar's judges, Krijanich neglects to secure their independence by requiring that they shall receive adequate salaries, and that they shall hold their offices not 'durante beneplacito' of the tsar, but 'quamdiu se bene gesserint.'

That already existing privilege of the Muscovite *kmeti* or agricultural serfs, that they cannot, like the Polish serfs, be put to death by their lords without the lords being called to account, is confirmed; nor shall they be arbitrarily forced to labour without payment. But Krijanich leaves the peasants slaves as before, though he calls them *kmeti*, and reserves the word *kholop* (*slave* in the lowest sense) for those who are personally bondmen, as captives taken in war, &c. Elsewhere he defends slavery as an institution, and contends that nothing great or excellent can be done without it. On this point Peter the Great would accept his admissions, imitate him in softening the customary forms of speech, and in extending actual slavery and making it more rigorous go far beyond him, or rather reverse all his principles, p. 71.

The present oath to increase the tsar's revenues or treasure *by all possible means* shall be altered. Form in which the new oath of allegiance, without that clause, is to be worded.

The boyars and nobles shall not serve at the court all at once, nor for an unlimited time; but, after serving a fixed number of years, they shall be free to live on their own estates, unless on any special occasion they be called to Moscow, p. 68, 72.

Neither the title of Tsar, identical in its origin with Cesar, nor any other title or device connected with the Roman empire, doomed by God to destruction, shall be taken or used henceforth by Russian sovereigns. But Peter, without giving up the title of Tsar, added those of Cesar and Emperor, p. 75.

b. Trust not foreigners. § xxxiii. p. 75. Of the general expulsion of foreigners (ξενηλασία): and what limited exceptions may be made.

§ xxxiv. p. 77. Of the preservation of the powers of government: the chief means to this end is piety.

§ xxxv. p. 77. Of the true *glory* of a king; in what it consists: it is something very different from Peter's 'exploits and glory,' or rather it is the very opposite. 'Is not, then, brave fighting and the conquering of new provinces praiseworthy and glorious?' asks Boris; and Khervoi answers: 'No; not in the least.' 'What, then, are a king's cares and duties?' *Answer.* 'Piety, justice, peace, and plenty. For these ends he will also, *exceptionally*, engage in *just* wars.' 'Is philosophy and instruction useful for a king?' *Answer.* 'Not only useful, but *quite necessary*. Most men and *most kings* (Peter the Great was a most notable example of this) are as if they had not learned *even the alphabet* of life: they think, for example, that they are unlimited masters, instead of God's vicegerents and officers, who will have to give to Him an exact account of their rule.'

§ xxxvi. p. 78-88. Of the accession to the throne: of the succession; and of the form for making a new election in case of the failure of the existing dynasty. It is a defect in this section that Krijanich hesitates how to deal with a case which will now and then occur, of the eldest son, the heir-apparent, dying before his father, and leaving a son. When the king dies, he asks, is the grandson to succeed, or the second son? He replies that there are precedents both ways; and that there ought in this case to be an *election*, the electors deciding according to circumstances either in favour of the grandson or of the second son of the deceased sovereign. He passes in review the forms of election of the popes of Rome, of the German emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, and of the doges of Venice; and in passing he digresses, to show how both the Germans and the Greeks have broken themselves against that *Stone*, which is primarily Christ, and by derivation from Him the Chair of Peter.

(*Vol. ii. of Mr. Bezsonof.*)

This volume consists chiefly of repetitions or projected alterations, insertions or appendices, partly in Slavonic and partly in Latin (and sometimes in both these languages); materials, in fact, towards recasting and re-writing the contents of vol. i. (see the foot-note above at p. 88).

a. A *Dedication* of the work to the tsar Alexis. The author's motives for coming to Russia, p. 88.

b. Another rough draft of a *Dedication*, differing only slightly from the former, p. 89.

§ i. p. 89. A Latin *Exordium*, in which the tsar is the speaker; and he speaks of the malice of foreigners, of the inevitable mixture of evil with good, and of his own wish to grant moderate and reasonable liberties.

§ ii. p. 89. *Exordium aliud*, in which the tsar speaks to the same effect as in the former.

§ iii. p. 89. The tsar continues to speak: 'De legibus et statutis,' &c. Of his own duty and office; and the proper end of legislation, viz. '*Gloria Dei, salus animarum*, et publicum *gentis* bonum' (Peter's end being 'exploits and glory'), as in § xxxi. of vol. i. p. 64.

§ iv. p. 90. The tsar continues: 'In nomine igitur S. Trinitatis,' &c., as in § xxxii. of vol. i. Here, in subsection 17, the wording of the confirmation of the rights and immunities of the patriarch and the clergy is more full than in vol. i. 'We will,' the tsar says, 'that they remain as they have been instituted and regulated by the holy Fathers;' and, 'All the honours, liberties, privileges, rights, and revenues which they have received or have had confirmed to them from of old time by Constantine and other pious Roman emperors, and by Vladimir and other pious Russian kings (as if he had been quoting from Nicon's *Replies*, &c. vol. i. p. 207-221, and 330-350), our predecessors, and by ourselves, we hereby reconfirm or grant afresh to them. Let them be exempted,' &c.

§ v. p. 90. Of government, and of the foundation of a kingdom: God is the supreme King. This section, which is in Slavonic, is contained in Latin in § iii.

§ vi. p. 90. There is more real liberty under monarchy, &c. This too is in Slavonic, and in Latin forms part of § iii.

§ vii. p. 90. Of the regal power and the peculiar attributes of royalty. In Slavonic only.

§ viii. p. 90. Of the object, duty, and grace of a king (much the same as is contained also in the Latin of § iii.).

§ ix. p. 90. Of the liberties to be granted; what are they to be? and to whom are they to be given? (contained in Latin in § iii.).

§ x. p. 91. Of spiritual persons (as above in Latin in § iii.).

§ xi. p. 91. Of three ranks of hereditary nobility. This begins in Slavonic, and is continued in Latin (as in vol. i. § xxxii. 3. p. 67). Here he defends slavery as an institution, 'which,' he says, 'Moses taught and Paul enjoined; and all the pious Roman emperors made use of it: nor has anything excellent been done nor can be done in political matters without slavery. And this those preachers of liberty (the Poles and Germans) prove against themselves' (alluding to the severity of their military discipline far exceeding anything practised in Russia).

'Against the German calumnies about tyranny, &c., we now grant liberties' (the tsar is speaking): 'and first of all we disclaim all power against the law and glory of God, or against the common good; and *if* any such power is now thought to belong to us, we abdicate it for the future for ourselves and for all our successors.'

But Krijanich nowhere *himself* ventures to touch upon the actually existing conflict with Nicon: he only lays down true principles, and leaves it to the tsar to make the practical application of them. 'If we'—he makes the tsar say—'or any one of our successors *were* expressly and

openly to reject or contemn *the decrees* of the holy Church, &c., then, in that case, no man is bound to obey us or such our successors, but they both may depose and ought to depose the obstinate heretic, and elect for themselves another sovereign.' The tsar Alexis had already rejected and contemned canon xxxiv. of the Apostles (to mention only one of many); and instead of confessing thus: 'If I refuse to hear the Church, I ought to be treated as a heathen man and a publican,' he had enacted, and was about to reënact with the help of the Eastern patriarchs, this contrary proposition: 'If any primate or bishop disobeys the State, he ought to be treated as a felon and a rebel.' But if the Muscovite bishops had been ready, according to their oaths, to support their primate, the patriarch Nicon, in behalf of that Apostolic canon above mentioned, and in behalf of all those canons which forbid secular encroachments and dictation, there would have been no need of deposing the weak and double-minded tsar Alexis, nor would he have left to the strong will of his son Peter the headship over a merely national Church.

Then (at p. 92), for the common good of the nation, he excludes foreigners from all offices, commands, and privileges, and, as far as possible, from the country itself. And here again the legislation of Krijanich for *ξενηλασία* is practically excessive and impolitic. But, in criticising it, we must take notice that he is not merely developing and applying to the Slavonian race as a whole true general principles of Christian and patriotic government, but he is also legislating exceptionally, and in the way of protection, to protect a naturally weaker race (the Slavonian) against the influence of a naturally stronger race (the Teutonic or German). If the Slavonians had had the character of the Teutonic peoples, and the Niemtsi or Teutonic peoples the character of the Slavonians, his provisions against all contact with foreigners would probably have been much less stringent: but as things were, he felt and confessed that the Slavonians held only a middle place in respect of natural gifts, both bodily and mental; and were in many respects no match for the Germans, who had already oppressed or destroyed the Slavonian nationality almost everywhere except in Muscovy, and threatened to do the same in Muscovy too. If Krijanich had found Nicon still in power, and Nicon (who had no exaggerated hatred of foreigners) and his disciples had had the opportunity of considering and reducing to practice, with some necessary modifications, the suggestions of Krijanich, there would have ensued a development of Muscovite power and civilisation parallel no doubt in some subordinate respects, but in all higher respects entirely different from that which was violently introduced by Peter the Great.

§ xii. p. 92. Some defects are unavoidable: we must not expect impossibilities. . . . The army must always be attended to and kept in readiness for service. On this point the admirers of Peter the Great may fairly ridicule Krijanich, who thinks Western tactics and discipline useless, and prefers bows and arrows to firearms! We may remark besides that Krijanich, who often inveighs against the existing practice of keeping up a corps of foreign mercenaries, and giving military rank and even high commands to foreign officers, has omitted to notice one strong reason favourable to this practice, viz. the consideration that the foreign officers and men in the

tsar's pay would be naturally more attached to the tsar's person than to any other influence. Nor has he dealt with the important and difficult question of the composition and command of the tsar's permanent force or standing army at Moscow. One main purpose which it answered, viz. that of rendering the tsar at all times superior to any possible combination of the armed retinues and dependants of the grandees, Krijanich does allude to when he limits the armed force of these latter, and forbids any kniaz or boyar to hold more than one fortified city or town. But if the tsar's standing force in the capital had consisted only of the Moscow streltsi,—if it had been officered from the nobility or from their dependants,—and if the streletski prikaz had been held by one of the chief boyars, the head of one of the old distinguished families,—such a prefect of the prætorians might have been sometimes too powerful. But, in fact, the officers of the streltsi were in general unconnected even with the lower nobility: that service was not in credit with them, nor was it for the interest of the crown that it should be: the streletski, poushkarski, and reitarski prikazes in the reign of Alexis were not held by noblemen of the great families; nor were the streltsi the tsar's only guards. Besides them, there were formed regiments of soldati, commanded and in great part officered by foreigners. The irresistible tyranny of Peter was based primarily on the two new regiments of guards, created and trained by himself, and devoted to his person, and the two previously existing regiments of soldati, commanded and in part officered by foreigners. These four regiments were for Peter what the *oprichina* had been for John the Terrible; and the regular army, which he afterwards formed and maintained by conscription, was all an expansion from this nucleus. Yet, in spite of the force of his personal character, there were already in A.D. 1716 and 1717 germs of mutiny even in Peter's own regiments of the guards.

§ xiii. p. 93. Of eligible means of increasing the population.

§ xiv. p. 93. By no means are there for that end to be introduced foreigners and aliens from the Orthodox faith; *especially not among Slavonians*.

§ xv. p. 93. Of extending the empire. This *may* be done, though it is by no means a primary object of government, if circumstances make it desirable; but war must not be made without *just* cause. As for the other Slavonian tribes, all that can be done for them *at present* is to cultivate and improve their language and literature; but the thing of primary importance is to make a *solid* league *with Poland*. The recovery of the old Slavonian lands on the Baltic, and in Silesia, Bohemia, and Moravia, is not to be thought of: but with the Mahometan Tatars of the Crimea there is always just cause for war; and we should look rather towards the South and the Black Sea. The capital might be transferred to the South (to the Crimea); or a new kingdom, under a brother or son of the sovereign of Muscovy, might be set up there. But Peter transferred the capital to the swamps of the North.

§ xvi. p. 94. Of the Tatars of the Crimea. Unless they consented to be baptised they might justly be expelled, and Slavonian colonists invited from all parts: indeed, the war for the reduction of the Crimea might be undertaken in the form of a Slavonian crusade.

The destinies of Russia in respect of the South (*i.e.* of the Tatars and Turks) seem to be retarded: 1. by the 'political heresy' of claiming affinity with the doomed Roman empire; 2. by the religious schism; and 3. by xenomania (*i.e.* insane imitation of foreigners, and admission of their influence).

§ xvii. p. 95. Of sins of ignorance; and of the middle position of the Muscovites between the East and the West.

§ xviii. p. 96. Of contrary temptations to which Russia is subjected, on the one side from the Germans (the Niemtsi), on the other from the Greeks.

§ xix. p. 98. Of the political motives for which the Greeks originally made, and still perpetuate, the schism. He might have added 'and for which, since the capture of Constantinople, the *Turks* have contributed to keep up the schism of the Greeks, and so, indirectly, also that of the Muscovites.'

§ xx. p. 100. Of the wrongs done and the calumnies uttered by the Greeks against the Roman Church, and against us Slavonians. But for the pernicious influence of the Greeks, our Slavonian tsar, or one of his sons, would, before now, have been elected to the crowns of Poland and Lithuania. They have made the very name '*slave*' a term of reproach throughout all Europe. We ought rather to strive to heal the schism, and set a good example of humility to the Greeks, not imitating them in their pride and self-sufficiency, by which they thought they had no need of the Latin Fathers. So the mischief of which the Slavonian Bulgarians were made the occasion might suitably be also healed by Slavonians.

Hitherto (p. 102) the Russian nation has not all of it been *intentionally* guilty of schism; but *now* it is guilty, or must soon become so, as knowledge and communication with the rest of the world increases daily.

§ xxi. p. 102. Of public sins, especially of those which are *unknown*, as heresy, &c.: and of their *punishments; e.g.* loss of children, and especially of heirs, and the extinction of the line or dynasty is a punishment: the sins of the king are specially punished, especially when the king lifts himself up *like Nebuchadnezzar*, &c., or makes war against God and *persecutes His Church*, or *profanes holy things*. However, many seem not to be punished at all in this life; and that is the worst punishment which is so deferred.

Of the crying sins of sodomy, of public drunkenness of *tsars*, of *kniazes*, of *priests*, and of *bishops*, of public injustice of officials, of schism (alluding here especially to the *raskol*), of violation of the *rights* and *property* of the Church. Examples of the death of Uzzah, and of the *leprosy of Uzziah*.

§ xxii. p. 104. Of the nature and character of the Germans. *Conclusio:* Germani nobis cavendi.

§ xxiii. p. 105. Of thirty 'political heresies' (so he calls them), and of secret sins; mostly a recapitulation from what has preceded. One political heresy (No. 26) is 'to make matters of religion an appendage, and as it were a *tail* to secular matters.' Another (No. 30) is the 'schism of the Church.'

Also there are *doctrinal* heresies, as, 1. Judaism; 2. Mahometanism; 3. Idolatry or heathenism; and 4. *Atheism*. Then he begins to treat of these one by one.

§ xxiv. p. 105. Of the *first* political heresy, which relates to the Four Monarchies, and the imaginary supremacy (ὑπεροχὴν βασιλείαν) of the fourth, the Roman empire, blasphemously taking to itself the kingship of Christ.

§ xxv. p. 106. Of the *second* political heresy, which is anarchical liberty, against the Germans (and he puts a note to make a separate heresy and section of their cookery and sybaritic banquets).

§ xxvi. p. 106. Of the *third* political heresy, of luxurious and self-indulgent living (the heresy of making pleasure and 'comfort' ends of life).

§ xxvii. p. 106. Of the *fourth* political heresy, of multiplying vain titles, &c.

§ xxviii. p. 106. Of the *fifth* political heresy, of the vain multiplication of ranks of nobility. Here he also condemns the law of primogeniture and majorats as most unjust, though he would adopt it exceptionally for the sovereign, and *perhaps* also for the twelve hereditary kniazes. Thus he retracts the more general admission of it made in vol. i. for all the boyars.

Here Mr. Bezsonoff breaks off, and ends his second volume, leaving perhaps half the contents of the two MS. folio volumes of the *Politica* of Krijanich still unpublished.

As the two volumes printed by Mr. Bezsonoff in A.D. 1860 are by no means complete, we subjoin his prospectus of the two additional volumes which he would wish to publish, and his description of the whole contents of the MS. The two volumes to be added would contain: 1. The continuation of the second half of the MS., *completing the series of sections on the thirty* '*Political Heresies*,' and giving other appendices or separate projected additions of the author; 2. the Indexes to the MS.; 3. a glossary; 4. a methodical synopsis of the headings, and a review of the contents of the whole work.

The MS. has the name of '*Medevdeff*' marked on its first leaf, and '1-416 *folia*.' On the first two blank and superfluous leaves Krijanich had begun to write: '*De Officio boni Regis, Aphorismus*.' On the reverse of fol. 3 there is the Epigraph as printed by Mr. Bezsonoff. From fol. 4 there begins a numbering of pages of '*Indexes, p. 1 to 80*,' by Krijanich; then 760 pages of the work, p. 760 being the reverse of fol. 407. On fol. 408 there begins a fresh but incorrect numbering by Krijanich of sections to be inserted, or to be annexed as supplements, p. 661 to 678 (it ought to have been 761 to 778). In all there are really 778 pages of the work, but they do not agree with the leaves; for Krijanich did not count the blanks; and he counted as a *page* every *column* of the *Index*. From fol. 1, p. 1, to fol. 18, there are numbered by him 66 pages of '*Index*.' Then another fuller Index after the introduction of some fresh pages, headed '*Second Index*.' Both these Indexes give an account of 758 pages of matter of the work itself. Then there are some blank leaves. After 24 leaves, and (over again) 'p. 1,' there is written: 'A.D. 1663, *April* 15, *Conversations about Government*,' '*Preface*,' and so on in order, as we have printed the work. At fol. 348, p. 641, there is marked: 'A.D. 1664, *Sept.* 19, *Of the*

Roman Empire, and of the heresy of the Four Monarchies.' On the other side of fol. 377, p. 709, '*Finished 22 Oct.* 1664, 7173.' On the two following leaves there is a special '*Index*' for this division or section. At fol. 380-387, p. 705-719, there are pieces, mostly supplementary. At fol. 388 to 398 over leaf, p. 721-742, is a dialogue between *Priesyian and Radosav*, '*De Causis Victoriarum et Cladium*,' the germ of the later work, '*De Providentia*.' At fol. 399 to 407 over leaf, p. 743-760, '*Quæstiones Thesaurales*.' And here ends the matter described in the Indexes. From fol. 408, p. 761 (incorrectly numbered 671), to the end of the MS. there is a correspondence of *Xenophilus* and *Philolaus*, '*Of the pretended manifestation of Antichrist*,' i.e. according to the Staroviertsi, with whom Krijanich was in contact at Tobolsk. On the last page there is a supplementary article, '*De Xenarchia*,' in which he writes: 'We have need of a sovereign absolutely unlimited, *except* in this *one* point, that he should annually account to an assembly before select persons, before the ruling kniazes (the "principes cardinales"), of his not giving maintenance to any aliens, or allowing such on any pretext to reside in Russia. Et in ea sola causa debet rex venire in potestatem principum et cardinalium, et reddere eis rationem.' These are the last words of the MS., on which Medveydeff has added this note: 'Mavis natum D. (Dominum) servum fieri qm. (*quam-admodum*) *nasum laborum*,' sneering at the extravagance of the Croatian panslavist. But, with all his exaggerations, the '*wisdom*' of Krijanich, if compared with that of Medveydeff, is as gold to putrid and blood-stained dust.

No greater mistake could well have been made than that made by Mr. Bezsoneff when he writes that Krijanich as a panslavist came two centuries too soon. On the contrary, his principles and his *general* scheme were perfectly suited to his own age, and practicable then, whatever they may have become now. He seemed, indeed, to have been raised up and prepared on purpose to be the counsellor of the tsar Alexis and the patriarch Nicon: but the purpose of God's providence for good was defeated by the sins of men. Without pursuing this thought farther, it is enough to recur mentally to those points of time when the ambition of Alexis was tempted by the hope that he himself or his son might be elected to the crowns of Poland and Lithuania: we may refer to p. 541 of our vol. iii., and imagine the tsar Alexis at the end of A.D. 1667 inviting the Polish ambassadors, after their compotations with himself and Nashchokin, 'to have a little conversation on the subject,' not with the venal and hypocritical and powerless patriarchs Paisius and Macarius, but with the patriarch Nicon, after Nicon had for eight years been the patron of Krijanich.

APPENDIX XII. *In connection with vol. iv. p.* 480: '*But in the Code, ch. xxii.* § 13, *it is thus written*,' &c. *Also vol. i.* '*Replies*,' &c. *Question xxvi. p.* 351, &c., *p.* 391, *and p.* 468-548; *and vol. iii. p.* 388-390.

From Stroeff's '*Historico-juridical Examination of the Code of Alexis Michaelovich*,' *St. Petersburg*, 1833.

The Code was ordered to be compiled 16th June A.D. 1648: the compilation as made was dated 3d Oct. 1648; and it was accepted *unchanged* by the deputies, 29th Jan. 1649.

It was subscribed by 1263 select persons, of whom only 170 could write: *one* subscribed for *four hundred and fifteen* others. Odoefsky for some reason or other signed after Prozorofsky.

The compilers added as a source of their legislation the Lithuanian Statute, the earliest germ of which is in an edict of Sigismund I., A.D. 1522 and 1529. This was twice afterwards corrected and enlarged, first in the Lithuanian diet of Bielsk in A.D. 1561, and then in a diet (*sieм*) held at Vilna in A.D. 1566. This was called the *Second* Statute. Neither of these two were ever printed. Both they and the later edition were in Russ, not in Polish. At length it was again corrected and enlarged by Sapieha, and presented in A.D. 1588 to Sigismund III.; and this third edition is still in force in Lithuania, Little Russia, and the provinces united from Poland. It was composed *at Moscow* by Sapieha, who was then chancellor to Sigismund III.; and Odoefsky, when young, may have known Sapieha at that time.

Stroeff thinks that the commissioners appointed to compile the Code were to legislate *de novo* on the paragraphs wanting, in the *spirit* of the *others* (*potomouje*): and he puts the scriptures, canons, and civil Greek laws *second*, as a supplementary source; and the Russian codes, oukazes, &c. *first*, as the primary source; and he thinks they were to make a harmony out of both sources, out of all together, a *send*, reducing discrepancies to agreement.

Nicon, on the contrary, thought that they were to write out or *extract*, first, from the scriptures, canons, and Greek laws, as the primary source; and then, secondly, to seek for parallel Russian enactments; and, thirdly, where these failed, to fill up from the first source, without legislating *de novo* at all.

In the original MS. of the Code there are 177 sections, out of the whole number of 967, which have their *sources* indicated; and of these sources there are from canons 2, from civil laws (chiefly criminal) 24, from Russian codes, oukazes, and *priporoki*, &c. 77 (of mixed nature), from the Lithuanian Statute (chiefly civil, about property) 56, and new 18. And Stroeff observes that they *very rarely* transcribe the words of the source, but compress or digest. p. 139.

The Code is no code at all in the modern sense: there is no *à priori* theory, nor *collection* into heads; but it is simply a *send*, or harmonised summary on points practically needed. (In A.D. 1714 Peter the Great made an order to write out and harmonise discordant oukazes, &c.)

He says that '*rovna*' means 'equally for all,' not 'uniformly for all,' *i.e.* equally just for all, as is promised also in the Lithuanian Statute, p. 36.

There is no methodical order at all in it; and this is its chief fault: it is divided at hap-hazard into twenty-five chapters; and the Lithuanian Statute too has twenty-five chapters, with sections. But the original MS. of the Code of A.D. 1649 has no *numbers*, either to its chapters or to the sections under them, nor any headings.

Ch. i. has 9 sections. Of blasphemers and brawlers.

Ch. ii. has 22 sections. Of the hossoudar's honour, &c. (But herein also of informations, and even of robberies.)

Ch. iii. has 9 sections. Of the hossoudar's court: of order, and keep-

ing the peace therein (this includes the police of the tsar's properties). The sections are all well drawn up, and agree with the title.

Ch. iv. has 4 sections. Of those who counterfeit subscriptions and seals.

Ch. v. has 2 sections. Of money, and gold and silver work, and masters (of coiners, &c.).

Ch. vi. has 6 sections. Of letters for travelling to other states (why here placed one does not see; nor do the sections correspond, for they contain also, in § 6, matter about treasons, which should rather have been in ch. ii.).

Ch. vii. has 32 sections. Of the service of all the military: very miscellaneous: all matters of calling out, and of duty of service, and of all crimes of the military, whether at other times, or in war. Not well connected either with ch. vi. or ch. ix.: it is out of place in a civil code, and ought to have been apart by itself.

Ch. viii. has 7 sections. Of redemption of captives: well written, and in connection in a way with ch. vii.

Ch. ix. has 20 sections. Of tolls, ferry-rates, and bridges: quite unconnected with ch. viii. It contains a full account of the communications of that time, though this is not in the title.

Ch. x. has 287 sections. Of judgment: such a host of miscellaneous matters! Order of judicial processes mixed up with the distinctions of rights of different orders and classes, with the manner of acquiring properties, with the order of executing legal acts, with the force of agreements and other duties; also about nearly all crimes against property, and police-measures after their commission. This is the worst written of all.

Ch. xi. has 34 sections. Judgment of peasants. This follows ch. x. as an exception to the common rule, and as relating only to peasants: their relations to one another, and to the landholders (*pomieshchiki*), and *vice versâ*, are set forth well enough, probably by the same hand with ch. viii. and ix.

Ch. xii. has 3 sections. Of the patriarch's prikaz-people, and all his people, that they are to be judged in the patriarchal dvor. This is, as it were, a *second exception* to ch. x., and so follows here.

Ch. xiii. has 7 sections. Of the Monastirski prikaz. This, as a *third exception* to ch. x., follows here, and defines the *order of judging spiritual persons*.

Ch. xiv. has 10 sections. Of kissing the cross. It contains details about oaths; and seems in place after other chapters about judgment.

Ch. xv. has 5 sections. Of things done. It contains the theory of judgment by exposition of rules about affairs finished. Herein is a constitution about the institution *Tretieyskago Soude*, which has no connection with the other contents.

Ch. xvi. has 69 sections. Of lands of *pomiestia*: the right to them, and their passage by inheritance, by marriage, by transfer, &c. Also fragmentary legislation about pomiestia.

Ch. xvii. has 55 sections. Of *votchini*: right of holding them, and their passage by inheritance; redemption (*vikoup*), sale, mortgage; but also judicial proceedings connected with votchini, the execution of deeds of purchase, mortgages, &c.

Ch. xviii. has 71 sections. Of dues on seals, *i.e.* on the transfer of property, &c., and on papers of all kinds. This chapter should rather have followed those on judgment, but they have connected it with the theory of pomiestia and votchini.

Ch. xix. has 40 sections. Of the *posadskie* people: about the disposition of *slobodas* and the *posadskie* classes; also of the police of houses and gardens or orchards outside of towns, though not belonging either to *slobodas* or to *pomiestia*.

Ch. xx. has 119 sections. Judgment of *kholops:* of entering into the state of servitude (*kholopstvo*): of the rights and duties of this state; of *pyatlogi po kabalam:* of their absconding: of their family relations: of the right to have kholops: also of the order of executing deeds relating to this class: also of offences of masters against kholops. There is no unity in this chapter.

Ch. xxi. has 104 sections. Of robbery and theft, &c. In close connection with ch. xxii.: mostly offences of felony, but some lesser. Some heads, however, of the criminal law (*ougolovnoi prawdi*) are scattered in other chapters.

Ch. xxii. has 26 sections. An oukaz, for what crimes to punish capitally, and for what otherwise. This should be all about cases of felony (*droit penal*), but some of it is about lesser offences (*droit criminel*). So offences of seducing any one from Orthodoxy, and offences against public morality, as well as murder, &c.

Ch. xxiii. has 3 sections. Of the *streltsi:* their rights, and judgment of them. This should have gone rather with ch. xix. and xx., which treat of classes.

Ch. xxiv. has 2 sections. Of *Hetmans* and *Kozaks*, as exceptional. (This contains an oukaz of fixed values or prices for things the value or price of which is not mentioned in suits, which probably ought to have made a separate chapter.)

Ch. xxv. has 21 sections. Oukaz of cabarets (exceptional to ch. xxi.): rules for information, inquest, judgment, and punishment for smuggling: from the Lithuanian Statute.

In all the twenty-five chapters there are 967 sections.

Practically there are in the Code seven heads or subjects, viz.:

1. God, and *the earthly god*, i.e. the tsar, ch. i.-vi.
2. External security, ch. vii. viii.
3. Internal security, ch. ix.-xv.
4. Security of property, ch. xvi.-xviii.
5. Rights of classes, ch. xix. xx.
6. Criminal justice. ch. xxi. xxii.
7. Exceptional, ch. xxiii.-xxv.

First division: Of civil rights.

The power of the tsar was in theory unlimited, and the boyars only adstipulated (*prigovorili*); but practically he had need of representatives from all classes to confirm the Code. On the other hand, they all assented and accepted the draft without the change of a word.

Nothing is said in the Code about succession to the throne, coronation, &c., nor of the supreme administration; but it mentions the crown monopolies.

The conditions and rights of the different classes are far from being fully described or defined.

First of the *clergy*. The patriarch is set (says Mr. Stroeff) even above the tsar: for for insulting the tsar there is a fixed punishment (*kazn*), but for insulting the patriarch not, but the boyar or other offender is given up to the patriarch with his head (*golovoiou*,[51] ch. x. 27); and his power was equalled to that of the tsar; for he judged his own people, and his judges, if they judged amiss, could be corrected only by the tsar himself, ch. xii. 2. In a word, his power was separate, independent of the ordinary course of government and law. This was the cause of the nine years' struggle between Nicon and the tsar Alexis.

Still, in the Code we see signs of the fall of the patriarchate: for while strictly respecting the person of the patriarch, it boldly touches his property, and forbids either him or others of the clergy to acquire immovable property, ch. xvii. 42. This enactment of the Code had important consequences, for it served as the source of a revolution in the constitution of the state: it was the first step to *the concentration of the spiritual and the secular power in the single hand of the sovereign*, p. 56.

It is true that the rest of the clergy were far from sharing the rights of the patriarch; but still, as compared with other classes, their rights were very considerable: *First*, all spiritual persons had a *right* to a *separate* judgment, *which was given in the Monastirski prikaz* (!), ch. xiii. 1. *Secondly*, they were exempt from the oath, ch. xiii. 4. *Thirdly*, of the white clergy, protopopes and protodeacons might possess bondmen (*kabalnie kholopi*), but the rest only voluntary servants, ch. xx. 101.

He says that till A.D. 1649 monks (as individuals) held freely *votchini* (?), ch. xvii. 43, 44. A runaway was not rendered safe by getting into a monastery, ch. xx. 67, 68.

Of boyars, okolniks, *doumnie*, stolniks, strapchis, dvorianins, and dieti-boyarskie, &c., ch. x. 27-31. But nothing is said of the political rights of this highest class.

Of the middle class of gosti, sotni, and posadskie people: of the *sotni* (lit. centuries) there were three kinds, viz. the *gostinnaia*, *soukonnaia*, and *chernaia*, each subdivided into three ranks. The fine payable to a *gost* for insult was 50 rubles, to a man of the first rank in a *gostinnaia sotnia* only 20 rubles, ch. x. 94. The *gostinnaia* and *soukonnaia* sotni were obliged to live in the capital, ch. xix. 36; the *chernaia* might live in any towns: and the chernaia were subject to service (*tiaglie*), ch. xviii. 8.

Posadskie were like the first rank of chernaia sotni (ch. x. 91), with this advantage, that the contracts for all the kabaks (government spirit-shops), &c., were given only to posadskie, and to dvortsovie and volostnie peasants (of the palace domains and of the volosts), to the exclusion of all other classes, ch. ix. 6; xviii. 23. Posadskie could not *belong* to any master, but must live on crown land, and were under duty of service,

[51] This is nonsense. It was a common sentence in the disputes about miestnichestvo, that one boyar, okolnik, or stolnik, &c. was sent to submit himself to another with his head, *i.e.* to make his apology, and leave it to the other to name the punishment, not really to put him to death. And what follows is nonsense too.

ch. xix. 1-9. The Code required them to go back, if they had gone away out to church lands or lands of nobles (this measure was purely financial), on pain of the knout and exile, ch. xix. 13, 18. A free man marrying the widow or daughter of a *tiagli* (a man subject to service) on entering that house became himself a *tiagli* (ch. xix. 22, 23); and even if he had married in ignorance a *posadska* he became himself a *posadski*, ch. xix. 38. They could sell their dvors only to people of their own class, ch. xix. 19.

Kholopi were bought, prisoners of war, or hereditary. Such as voluntarily became kholops by a deed (a *kabal*) were reckoned like prisoners of war, ch. xix. 61, 62. Old hereditary kholops were at the unlimited disposal of their lords (ch. xx. 61, 77-82); and kabalnie kholops were inalienable, and after the death of their master they could choose a new one, ch. xx. 63. They could not own real property. Their persons were protected, ch. x. 94. Not any one could become a kholop: dieti-boyarskie (ch. xx. 1-3), posadskie (ch. xix. 13-20), peasants (ch. xx. 6-113), minors (ch. xx. 20), children of fathers who were in the service or under *tiagla* (ch. xx. 7) could not. And all Russians were forbidden to become kholops to foreigners (ch. xx. 70). A juller could not take prisoners into his service (ch. xxi. 104). Free men were allowed (ch. xx. 7), and freedmen (ch. xx. 8, 10-12); captives, on being baptised (ch. xx. 37, 38, 69); poor debtors, to work out their debts (ch. xx. 43); children of kholops under fifteen (ch. xx. 110), with consent of their parents (ch. xx. 45). The time of servitude was according as was specified in the bond (the *kabal*). Permanent kholops might be freed: 1. by manumission; 2. by being taken prisoners of war, and then set free by the enemy—in which case they and their families could not be reclaimed by their former masters (ch. xx. 34, 66); 3. if driven away by their masters in time of famine (ch. xx. 41); 4. in case of treason of their masters and their leaving the empire, the family could not claim them (ch. xx. 33). Kabalnie also might regain freedom by the expiration of the term specified in their *kabal*, or by the death of their master. Foreign kabalnie might also gain freedom by embracing the Graeco-Russian faith, and paying 15 rubles (ch. xx. 71).

Peasants for personal rights were equal, but crown peasants only could be government farmers (ch. xviii. 23), *golovas*, *tsielovalniks* for the collection of the treasury dues, &c. (ch. ix. 6). As for the others, their persons and property belonged to their lords (ch. xi. 3). One could not lend anything to them (ch. xi. 23). The law obliged the lord to sue for them in all matters except crimes (*ovgolovnia*, ch. xiii. 7): only the lord could not kill them (ch. xx. 79). Nor could they trade (ch. xix. 9, 16), nor hold property in towns (ch. xix. 5, 15). Still some free men voluntarily joined this class (ch. xi. 3, 15, 17, 28). A lord could not transfer a peasant from his *pomiestie* to his *otchina*, nor *vice versâ* (ch. xi. 30), though till A.D. 1649 he could. At the enactment of the Code there were no representatives from the peasants.

The *streltsi* had the right of trading, and were free from *tiagla* (ch. xix. 11); they paid no juridical dues for suits under the value of 12 rubles, nor seal dues: there was a prikaz for them, which judged them, except in criminal cases (*ovgolovnie*, for greater crimes or felony).

Kozaks had nearly the same rights as streltsi (but were not free from seal dues), and could sell or lease their lands only to kozaks (ch. xvi. 30).

Tatars were either free, or *kriepostnie*. The free had the right of self-defence (ch. xx. 118), the others became kriepostnio by purchase or as prisoners of war. By becoming Christians they obtained their freedom.

Second division: Of particular civil rights, and of individuals.

This is equally unsystematic: except for kholops, there is nothing about acquiring civil rights, or of passing from one class to another, nor of deprivation. About marriage it is more definite, but not more complete. An *illegal bigamy* was not annulled *if at the time of its discovery the first wife was dead* (ch. xx. 84). Of the power of parents there are some positive notices. Legitimate children are those only who are born in *legitimate marriage*. Those of a *fourth* marriage, or *those born out of marriage*, are *not members of the family*, and *have no family rights* (ch. x. 280; xvi. 15). *Under no pretext does the Code allow the legitimising of illegitimate children*, not even in the case of a marriage of the father and mother having followed (ch. x. 280) after their birth. Parents could even give children (minors) to service (ch. xx. 45, 110). Children were bound to unlimited obedience, and to support old or infirm parents, on pain of severe corporal punishment (ch. xxii. 4-6), but had *no* claim themselves on parents for support (ch. xxii. 5): but they were not responsible for offences of parents (ch. ii. 7). Of tutelage there is not a word. But minors, on attaining the age of majority, could sue for wrongs done to them in their minority (ch. xvii. 13). In suits their relations acted for them (ch. x. 185). The age of majority is nowhere mentioned, but probably it was eighteen, when they could enter the service (ch. vii. 17).

Property. The disposal of it a sacred right (ch. xvii. 42, 43); but to be defended by suit, not by force (ch. x. 213, 233; xxi. 87, 90, 91), except in extreme cases (ch. xxi. 88, 89). Property of those dying without heirs went to the crown (ch. xvii. 45). Forty years' possession gave a title to votchinas (ch. xvii. 13, 20): money was not recoverable after fifteen years (ch. x. 256) from the last payment. Minors, however, were not held to the same time. To inherit all were capable, of whatever class (ch. xvii. 4), *except illegitimate children* (ch. x. 280), or black (*i.e.* monastic) clergy (ch. xvii. 42-44). All the *children* shared alike (ch. xvii. 15); but daughters, *if there were brothers*, did not receive the *votchinas*, but they received portions from the *pomiestia* (ch. xvii. 2); so the votchinas remained always in the male line. If there were no *sons* nor *grandsons*, family votchinas and votchinas granted for merit went to daughters, and to the children of daughters, together with their [uncles and] aunts (ch. xiii. 4). Children of a first and second marriage shared alike (ch. xvii. 5). If there were no pomiestia or purchased votchinas, a widow received her share from the merited votchinas, but she never could inherit family or merited votchinas of her husband (ch. xvi. 57). A widow without children received one-fourth part of his property and her own *portion*, but only till she remarried or was tonsured, and without the right of selling, mortgaging, or bequeathing: on her death it returned to the family of her husband (ch. xvii. 1, 2, 6-8, 10, 12, 45). Inheritance went upwards only when there

was a failure of descent (also if parents had nothing, they took a part, ch. xvi. 3). But *people* given as part of a portion to a daughter returned on her death to the parents (ch. xx. 62). Inheritance went laterally if there was a failure of descent (neither widow nor children), or if there was left only a wife without children, who received only her fourth part (ch. xvii. 1, 45). Heirs were answerable for debts and suits of the deceased (ch. x. 132, 203, 207, 245; Lith. Statute). The testator could impose some conditions; *e.g.* a father could manumit the *kabalnie* people of his son (ch. xx. 106): he could leave all his own property except his kabalnie people, who had a right on his death to their freedom (ch. xx. 61, 63). The right of redemption was lost either by *dead* of *relatives* at the time of sale, or by length of time, *i.e.* of 40 years. Acquisition by mortgage (*zakhad*) on the expiration of the term (ch. x. 196). *Acts* or deeds must be written *in the towns* by the public writers (*ploshchadnie diaki*): in the *country* only marriage-contracts, wills, and agreements for loans (ch. x. 246, 250). In great affairs five or six witnesses; in smaller three, or at the least two (ch. x. 246). There was a duty (*poshlina*) payable on deeds (doubled, he says, on fraudulent deeds). A loan unjustly disputed was *doubled* (ch. x. 259). A deed of loan was transferable *by deed* (ch. x. 218). No *interest* was ever allowed (ch. x. 255, 258). The *lender* could not seize the property permanently, but he was bound to accept repayment from the borrower, who, however, could not *redeem* before the term (ch. xvii. 33). But there might be a condition that the loan by default should become a purchase. Wills, besides being witnessed, needed to be sealed.

Third division: Of prava ougolovna or droit criminel.

Four kinds of death: 1. burning, 2. pouring melted metal down the throat of the criminal, 3. hanging, and 4. burying alive (up to the head). There are traces of the lex talionis. The punishments of the Code are *very severe*, according to the custom of that age: cruel punishments by mutilation; apostates burned alive; for brawling in the church, death; the calumniator to be flogged, and for the third time of the same offence to be rendered incapable of belief; for forgery of deeds, signatures, or seals, death. *Child-murder* was *never punished with death.* For violence to women, death. Police offences are omitted; and so a separate *Police-regulation* (*oustav*) was published *after the Code.*

Fourth division: Of the forms of judicial proceeding: civil, criminal (ougolovnaia), and spiritual.

(But the Code gives no systematic directions; and in this part, as generally, it must be supplemented from known custom, &c.)

The respondent is summoned: he may challenge certain judges or podiaks; and he may institute at the same time with the suitor a cross or counter suit (*estrieshnaia*, ch. xii. 3; xxiii. 2), in the prikaz in which the suit of the plaintiff was given in (ch. xii. 3; xiii. 2; xxiii. 2). The proofs are written or oral. There are *fees payable to the crown on judicial processes.* In suits for any value under ten rubles no oath, but simply lots (*jerebey*). The petition of the suitor was *read* to the respondent,

and his affidavits were written from his lips, and signed by him, and then written out fair by the podiaks, and signed by the diak.' There was a fine for delays. An appeal might be made to all the boyars in the council hall (the *doumnaia palata*). If the respondent did not appear after being served with three writs, he was held to be in the wrong (and judgment was given against him by default, ch. x. 117, 118). If he appeared, and the suitor did not appear, then, *after a week*, the respondent gained and the suitor lost the cause (ch. x. 109). In case of sickness they applied for a delay. . . . '*Po grivnie s' roubrion, poresoudon, po 6 altini i 4 dengi, da ieshche 4 dengi pravago desiatka*' (ch. x. 124). All this went to the tsar's treasury (ch. x. 127). Also they paid the expenses of those who had to come to be present for the suit (ch. x. 119, 140-148), and *poshlini* (dues, or fees) on the letters of summons (ch. x. 114-118). The suitor in the case of votchinas (pomiestia?) lost his suit for vacant land to add to his pomiestie, if he let three months pass without moving, and meanwhile another applied for the same land. From decisions of the patriarch's judges there was an appeal *to the boyars* (ch. xii. 2). *All the other spiritual persons* and *their people were judged in the Monastirski prikaz* (p. 97). Till A.D. 1649 these persons *had had no special tribunal* (*vie-domstva*, i.e. *of the tsar*) *over them.*

Ch. viii. of Stroeff: Of the character of the Code.

This, he says, was very mild and evangelical in spirit, but very fierce and severe against offenders.

Ch. ix. of Stroeff: Of the consequences of the Code.

It could not at once put a stop to disorders. The crown had even to give up *innocent* okolniks (quoting Berch, no very trustworthy witness).

Even the spiritual authority entered into a conflict with the monarchy, and sought to take part in matters of state government; and Nicon, in the humble dress of a monk, for nine years, without any intermission, *stood out against the autocrat of Russia*, p. 104.

But *these disorders* could not be *prevented* by the Code; for they were outside the sphere of its action, and arose from special causes not subject to its influence. The conflict of the patriarch with the tsar had for its base the power of the clergy among the people, *which it was not possible to overthrow by one paragraph of a Code*, ib. p. 104.

Resting on the Code, Peter I., in A.D. 1701, suppressed the word *kholop;* and the empress Catherine II., in A.D. 1786, suppressed the word *rab*, substituting *poddanni*, i.e. 'subject.'

A third important effect of the Code was this, that it prepared the way *for the suppression* (lit. the *annihilation*) *of the patriarchal power.* Having curtailed it in respect of the right of property, it (the Code) was not able to touch the personality of the patriarch. But the limitation of the patriarchate introduced by the Code gave the occasion and the means to Peter the Great *to unite the secular and the spiritual authority in the single hand of the Russian autocrat.* How important was this union? To answer this question *it is enough to point to Nicon.* The power of the patriarch was, in the case of his not agreeing with the tsar, a most dangerous instrument against *the good designs* of the monarch. We will

say more: *Peter the Great could not have formed his country if the Code had not United the spiritual power.* For in the case of opposition from the patriarch, with his *former* means, such as he possessed *before the Code*, the innovations of Peter would never have taken root in the soil of our country, p. 106.

In the original MS. only the first ten chapters are numbered, and have headings.

The end of the Code is like that of the Lithuanian Statute, which also ends with enactments about smuggling spirits, &c.; and this is not the only similarity of arrangement observable in these two documents.

At p. 15 and p. 122 Mr. Stroeff observes that a contemporary Pole, who has written of Russia and has described the characters of the chief boyars of the time of Alexis Michaelovich in strong terms more like invective than flattery, says that his contemporaries admired the intelligence of Odoefsky. He writes thus: 'For his understanding and his noble sentiments the prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky deserves all prosperity. . . . He has a solid acquaintance with the Slavonian language, and *some knowledge of Polish history*. . . . Odoefsky alone may be regarded as the author of the peace for thirteen years. . . . If he had had still his former firmness of character and strength, he alone would have been in a position to soften the harshness of the government. However, as one or two spots on a face do not destroy its beauty, so the *surpassing good qualities* of one man cannot hide the vices of the other grandees' (from a MS. entitled *Proceres majoris subsellii vulgo Sclavonica lingua Bojari doumnoi appellati, quasi Palatini*, printed in the *Sierern. Arch.*, 1825, part v. p. 296).

APPENDIX XIII. *In connection with ch. vi. of part ii. p.* 380-499 *in vol. iv., and with vol. i. 'Replies,' &c. Question xxvi. p.* 292-604, *especially p.* 477; *and vol. iii. p.* 383 *and* 388.

From the volume of M. Gorchakoff, entitled 'The Monastirski Prikaz' (the history of which prikaz is that of the immunity of the clergy in civil causes, and of the church property, since A.D. 1649).

Under the tsar Michael there was a section of the *prikaz* of the *Bolshoi dvoretz* called the *Prikaz monastirski, i perenosnich diel* (*i.e.* Court of the monasteries and of appeals). It was a privilege of some, not a right of all, church lands, &c., to be only under the *Bolshoi dvoretz* for the collection of the tsar's dues of *obrok*, *i.e.* of fish, and of imports in money, corn, and men.

The prikaz of the Bolshoi dvoretz caused inventories to be made, and inspected and controlled all ecclesiastical income and expenditure, though not uniformly or systematically, p. 42.

The multiplication of grants of this *privilege*, of being only under the sovereign and the *Bolshoi dvoretz* in civil matters, had made large inroads upon the ancient right of the clergy; and in the patriarchal province before A.D. 1625 many monasteries, as that of Troitsa, the Novodivichy, and the Voznesensky, &c., were under the Bolshoi dvoretz: and after the patriarch had in A.D. 1625 concentrated in himself all the civil jurisdiction for his own *diocese*, the same anomaly still remained for the other dioceses (p. 53).

Commonly *desiatilniks* were the bishop's commissaries in the first instance for his civil jurisdiction in his see: for some monasteries they named special judges, called *pristavi*, also *nedielshchiki*.

The *patriarch personally* and the bishops, and the superiors of some privileged convents, were in suits against them only under the Bolshoi dvoretz (p. 58).

In A.D. 1611 there was a petition against the evils caused by the adjournments of causes to fixed dates (*sroki*), &c.; and an oukaz was obtained abolishing the fixed dates: 1. Causes in the patriarchal diocese were, as before, to be judged in the patriarchal dvor. 2. Suits begun by his people were to be terminated in those prikazes in which they had been begun. 3. Against metropolitans, archbishops, &c., and their people, of their prikazes and dvors, and dieti-boyarskie and peasants, and against monasteries and archimandrites and hegoumens, and monastic servants and peasants, and against popes and clerks, suits were to be instituted in the prikazes to which (this or that matter) was subject. 4. Or if the plaintiffs began in any other prikazes, and the respondents instituted a countersuit, it was to be judged in those same prikazes p. 63.

The author observes that ch. xiii. of the Code of A.D. 1649 is very formal and emphatic: '*Of the institution of the Monastirski prikaz*,' referring to 'the petition of all orders,' beginning with the name and *title* of the tsar, and showing very clearly that it was intended to make by oukaz of the tsar a change in the state and position of the clergy, in respect of their subjection to jurisdiction in civil matters. All shows that the change[55] was a very important one, though the whole matter apparently consisted only in this, that the Monastirski prikaz already existing as a section of the prikaz of the Bolshoi dvoretz, but not separable from it, was now erected into a distinct and independent court for civil causes. We shall now consider it as constituted by the Code, and for the first thirty years of its existence (*i.e.* till it was suppressed in A.D. 1677. See vol. vi. ch. viii.).

Ch. ii. The Code, however, was not complete, nor uniformly consistent with its own fundamental principle. In some places it was reticent, indefinite, contradictory, with a certain duplicity or ambiguity of principles: and this was especially the case in its enactments respecting the Monastirski prikaz, the *patriarch* and his diocese being exempted from its jurisdiction, p. 69. On the one hand, one sees in this concentration the final realisation of the long-pursued policy of the Muscovite sovereigns, by which they had striven to subject to their own immediate civil jurisdiction the ecclesiastical authorities and institutions, and their properties. On this side, the change made by the institution of the Monastirski prikaz had been prepared for by preceding times: it had even already existed. On the other hand, in the institution of it as a distinct court there was begun a very important change (lit. *reform*) in respect of the clergy.

1. Before, the legal historical *basis* of the independence of the clergy and the monasteries in civil jurisdiction lay in the ordinances of the first princes, their rights as proprietors, and their letters of exemption. They obtained safeguards for their rights in practice, and considered themselves to be *de jure* exempt, &c. Only the *direct judgment* of the sovereign was

[55] 'the *reform*' is the expression in the original.

admitted by them in the last resort. By the Code, that authority of the clergy is *indirectly* suppressed in its very foundation. By the Code, there was established a distinct self-sufficing court, independent of the Church, having committed to it jurisdiction over those persons who before were subject to the independent jurisdiction of the Church, p. 70. But with all this, the previously existing system was not *abrogated*, but this new system was introduced only to invade it, while the other went on concurrently: it was not said that all causes *must* be taken to the Monastirski prikaz, nor that it was to take them to itself.

2. 'In *all* suits against spiritual persons;' and so, then, even though both parties were such; which previously was considered to be a distinct *invasion*. But now this invasion was legalised. But, again, this is enacted *with reference*: it is *necessarily implied*, but it is not *said*.

3. Before, metropolitans, archbishops, &c., were subject only to the immediate judgment of the tsar, not to the boyars: now they were all subjected to the Monastirski prikaz, on a par with their peasants.

4. The Code placed on a par before the jurisdiction of the Monastirski prikaz all ecclesiastical institutions, with few exceptions, privileged and unprivileged: the whole spiritual jurisdiction, with all the people subject to it, was massed as one common whole in juridical relation to the state.

And not only for appellate or supreme, but also for first instance or primary jurisdiction, the same principle was introduced.

1. Any one could bring a suit against any other all over Russia in the *civil appellate*.

2. In suits for any value under 20 rubles all the people of the patriarch, the bishops, and the monasteries were placed simply under the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, *i.e.* of the voivodes.

3. Similar suits for any value above 20 rubles in prikazes or before voivodes where there was a *diak*, and in the Kazan dvoretz for the *Lower* towns.

4. It is not *directly* said whether metropolitans and other high spiritual dignitaries in suits for less than 20 rubles are to be judged by the voivodes, but neither is there any distinct exception made of them; so it is implied that they *are*.

5. In mixed suits of persons under the spiritual jurisdiction with others there was before a *mixed* tribunal. By the Code this was entirely, but again not expressly but indirectly, done away. Such causes were to be judged simply by the court of the voivode.

Nevertheless, the principle was not uniformly and completely carried out; for an exception was made in favour of the patriarch personally, and of all his people and those under his direct jurisdiction, peasants, &c. They were all to be judged in the patriarchal dvor. This exception would naturally make the other bishops also think it possible to recover their former immunity, p. 73.

This exception was admitted only in respect of the Monastirski prikaz: the fundamental thought of subjecting the patriarchal province equally with all the other ecclesiastical persons and properties to the state courts is partially and clearly enough expressed in the following propositions (ch. xii. § 1):

1. Against the decisions of the patriarch's prikaz-people there was given a

right of appeal to the tsar *and the council of the boyars;* and, in case of any injustice in the patriarchal decisions, his prikaz people were subjected to the same penalties as the tsar's civil judges in like cases.

2. The patriarch's people in suits against others, in countersuits, and in suits for less than 20 rubles were subjected to the voivodes and prikazes, &c., on a par with all the rest of the clergy, and the people under them.

3. So the question was not as yet definitively settled, and there was room for questions and collisions.

Also in mixed suits the lay suitors might ask that the spiritual respondents, instead of lots, should be examined by their spiritual superiors; and the spiritual parties themselves had the option of lot or examination: and hence the secular courts let pass out of their hands such causes as by the spirit and letter of the Code should have belonged to them. Sometimes the secular tribunals on some pretext took up again a case which had been referred to spiritual examination, and hence arose, even still, questions and collisions between the civil and the spiritual decisions.

The composition itself of the Monastirski prikaz was not clearly defined; and it needs still to be illustrated by farther researches in the archives. In the printed editions of the Code there is not a word to show *who* were to enter into the composition of the prikaz. But Nicon, in A.D. 1661, wrote to the tsar (Soloviéff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 350-356): 'Even in the Code, though it is drawn up with party-spirit, on account[56] of the popular disturbance at that time, it is enacted: "In the Monastirski prikaz there are to sit men of all orders, archimandrites, hegoumens, protopopes, priests, and honourable monks." *But thou hast set aside all this:* there judge in it and commit injustice secular people.' From these words it is clear that in the Monastirski prikaz there sat for some time conjointly spiritual persons, and that they in course of time were ejected from it. There are also the historical facts, that two of its members in A.D. 1653 were the archimandrite of the Choudoff and the keliar of the Troit-a or of the Novospass monasteries. Together with spiritual persons, there sat in it an okolnik, or a doumni dvorianin, and diaks. Probably at first its composition was like what it had been before the enactment of the Code, when it was only a section of the prikaz of the Bolshoi dvoretz. Then suits against spiritual persons, especially about lands, were heard and decided by boyars, in the presence of the heads of the popes and other spiritual persons. But the thought which was at the bottom of the Code eliminated[57] from the Monastirski prikaz the spiritual persons at first inconsistently admitted into it. The jurisdiction in the first instance was given to the local prikazes of the state absolutely, and the Monastirski prikaz naturally sought to assimilate itself as the supreme court to all the inferior courts.

The sphere of action too of the Monastirski prikaz was left by the Code indefinite; and it naturally imitated the other prikazes in making itself administrative as well as judicial, also *economical*, and even correc-

[56] See above, in vol. iv. p. 403-404. Mr. Gorchakoff takes Nicon's meaning to be, not 'on account' of, but '*for*;' that is, 'so as to *cause* popular disturbance,' &c. See also vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 554; and vol. iii. p. 758.

[57] See vol. iv. p. 404; and comp. vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 549.

tive (attending to finance, administration, and even to police). It prescribed by its letters to send such things as were called for by the tsar, dues and payments, from the estates of the Church, and ordered that reports should be sent to it of the execution of what was prescribed by its letters. In A.D. 1658, by oukaz of the tsar, there were sent from the Monastirski prikaz letters of him, the tsar, to the voivodes and to the prikaz-people in all the towns, and they were bidden 'to collect from all the monastery estates for the year 7166, from all people lawfully liable to service at the rate of two rubles from fifty dvors for a man, and from people without fixed settlement at the rate of 13 altines and 2 dengi from each dvor, and to send that money to Moscow to the Monastirski prikaz.' And in A.D. 1659, Aug. 28, 'there was sent a letter to Kargopol, to the voivode Eustathius Zibin, from the Monastirski prikaz, ordering him to take from the estates of the Krestnoy monastery for the past year 7167 for the tsar's service, instead of servants, sixteen men, and to exact from the hegoumen and the brethren fifteen rubles and a poltina in money," &c. &c. There were orders to send 'smiths,' 'podvods,' 'tailors and furriers,' 'from every fifty dvors a man on a good horse, with a carabine, a pair of pistols, and a sabre, and provision-money for a year or more.' Kokoshikin writes that in his time (A.D. 1655) there were levied from the peasants of the bishops and monasteries yearly above 20,000 rubles (which might now be about £28,500) in money. (He gives instances of 1653, and two of 1655. But these orders would all be made only upon a previous understanding with Nicon.)

For the more exact fixing of the rates to be collected from the estates of the monasteries, there were kept in the prikaz account-books of their revenues, &c., p. 81. According to one account of the prikaz for A.D. 1662, there were belonging at that time to 476 monasteries 87,907 dvors.

There is no doubt that the Monastirski prikaz had the right of fiscal agency for the tsar over the church estates. Before its institution requisitions for the tsar's dues were made to the monastery estates from the prikaz of the Bolshoi dvoretz. The Monastirski prikaz inherited this; and probably it based on a similar historical tradition its administrative rights and duties in respect of ecclesiastical affairs. Through it there were sent letters of the tsar to the ecclesiastical authorities, to annex some monasteries to others, and to make descriptions, inventories, and registers of the church properties; and to it reports were made of the execution of such orders. Of the police-action of the prikaz we have instances in these facts: In A.D. 1650 orders were sent (through it) to the voivodes, to punish severely, and to send into a monastery to do penance, such as did not show due reverence to the holy mysteries.[58] In 1660 an order was sent from the Monastirski prikaz to the voivodes of Novgorod, to see that the priests fed the Church of God, and moved the Christians to go to confession during the fasts: and if any did not go to confession, they were to take from the priests lists with the names of all such, and send them to the Monastirski prikaz, where also punishments were assigned not only for such as had not communicated, but also for the confessors who had not

[58] *i.e.* when they were carried to the sick. This was an order suggested to the tsar by Nicon when he was metropolitan of Novgorod.

been diligent to convert their flock to the way of truth, or had screened those who had not confessed and had not communicated. But this would be only in *government churches* (*roujnich*) maintained by a money allowance from the treasury. The Monastirski prikaz, besides inheriting, as aforesaid, all the functions which had belonged to it before as a section of the Bolshoi dvoretz, seems to have availed itself of the indefinite language of the Code, and to have gradually enlarged the sphere of its activity, and extended its authority, without exception, over all the Russian Church.

There is no doubt that the indefiniteness of the legislation of the Code respecting the jurisdiction over the clergy and the people under it, and respecting the Monastirski prikaz, was *intentional* on the part of the compilers of the Code. Unhappily the charge of drawing up the sections of the Code about the Monastirski prikaz, and generally of the Code itself as a whole, has been very little investigated. But from the Code itself—from its ch. xiii.—and from incidental indications of contemporaries, it may be collected that its ch. xiii., and the laws respecting the clergy, subjecting them in civil causes to state tribunals, appeared in the last redaction not without some discussion and opposition from those who held contrary opinions, p. 81. Nicon himself said distinctly, in presence of the tsar and of the Council of Dec. A.D. 1666, that he had himself subscribed the Code against his own will, only by compulsion.[59] . . . The Monastirski prikaz and its commissioners dragged spiritual persons before their tribunals; they assumed the right of choosing priests and diachoks for the villages on the estates of the monasteries, made arbitrary dispositions, as if in the name of the tsar, appointing and deposing superiors of monasteries and other officials of the monastic communities, as kellars, kaznacheys, &c., reversing the decisions or sentences of the diocesan bishops, and doing to the clergy various wrongs and insults.

In the sixteenth century the sovereign of Moscow disposed as full proprietor only of his palace properties, which belonged to him by family inheritance. As the class of people in the service of the state grew up and developed itself, there began to appear and to be multiplied *pomiestia*, *i.e.* estates granted by the sovereign to people of the service for their maintenance, in consideration of their service. As pomiestia there were granted chiefly what were called *plebs-liberties* (*chernia volosti*), lands which belonged to communities, and were held by them under the sovereign's protection. By granting these *chernia zemli* as pomiestia the state manifested pretensions to the right of disposing of the lands of the communities. In consequence of such grants there resulted a diminution of the chernia volosti, and a conversion of them from lands of communities into crown lands. In the second half of the seventeenth century the state sensibly straitened the independence of the chernia volosti of communities by placing them on a par for administration and in other respects with the palace lands. Previously the chernia volosti had (in the number of houses and extent of such lands) exceeded the palace lands. In the middle of the seventeenth century in the chernia volosti there were not more than 20,000 dvors, while those of the palace were already 30,000. Besides that, for such chernia volosti as remained, the state named to

[59] See our vol. iii. p. 388-390, and 422.

administer them its own agents, exactly in the same way as for the palace estates. The supreme administration of the chernia volosti was, equally with that of the palace properties, concentrated in the prikaz of the Bolshoi dvoretz. The peasants holding the chernia zemli were completely mixed up with those of the palace from the middle of the seventeenth century. In an oukaz of A.D. 1679, about an impost for the streltsi, the chernia volosti are completely assimilated to the crown properties. At the end of the seventeenth century the state, in consequence of its policy in the above-mentioned direction, acted in respect of the chernia volosti exactly as in respect of the palace domains, with the full rights of a proprietor. The lands of the pomieshchiks acknowledged over themselves the full power of the state. But the lands and the peasants of the church institutions were not placed on the same level with the palace lands and those of the pomieshchiks in all their relations to the state. Meantime the policy of the state in regard of them expressed the very same thought by which it was guided in respect of the chernia volosti. We have seen already that the state concentrated its superintendence of the lands of the monasteries, and in general of the lands of the Church, in the same prikaz of the Bolshoi dvoretz in which there was effected also the conversion of the chernia volosti into palace properties, and later in the Monastirski prikaz, from which again, after its suppression, it was retransferred to the Bolshoi dvoretz prikaz. According to the course of events and the policy of the state, all the church properties had necessarily to expect for themselves to share the fate of the chernia volosti.

A certain part of the landed property of the Church had, by the policy and legislation of the state, already in the seventeenth century been appropriated and merged in the mass of the landed property of the state itself. It is well known that the spiritual authorities and institutions till the middle of the seventeenth century held as their absolute property whole *slobodas* (suburbs) and town *posadas* (parts of a town outside of the citadel or fortification), which were inhabited not by agricultural peasants, but by artisans. The people of these posadas and slobodas who were under ecclesiastical authorities and institutions enjoyed under the protection of their lords the privileges belonging to those lords of not paying any dues upon their crafts, such as other independent inhabitants of slobodas and posadas had to pay; and so they caused a disadvantage to the unprivileged inhabitants of the towns, who were saddled with various imposts and duties of service for the benefit of the treasury and of the towns. The position of the privileged inhabitants of slobodas and posadas was consequently very disadvantageous for the state, and for the other classes, and provoked complaints from the citizens and the people of the unprivileged posadas, and from the government some special enactments in the Code of A.D. 1649. According to the Code, all the real (*nalichnia*) slobodas belonging to ecclesiastical institutions and authorities were *transferred* 'for ever and irrevocably to the crown; and for the future it was forbidden to the clergy to erect slobodas or posadas, and to the inhabitants of posadas to register themselves as by mortgage belonging to the clergy.' Thus, by way of direct legislation, some considerable part of the persons and lordships belonging to the clergy passed into the hands of the crown,

and became its full property.[60] Consequently in the legislation of the seventeenth century there was already put forward the thought that the state could appropriate and convert into its own property the lands and other real property belonging to the ecclesiastical authorities and institutions. To this thought the government proposed to give a wider development as time went on, p. 107.

The Code of A.D. 1649 forbade the peasants of the monasteries to acquire dvors subject to impost, shops, cellars, barns, and salt-boilers in the towns, or to hold any such property; in conformity with the rule that no people exempt from taxes and dues of service (as were the clergy) should acquire property subject to impost and service. This rule was repeated in the Code with special emphasis, as already existing; and it was explained and enforced subsequently, after the enactment of the Code, down to the time of Peter himself. In A.D. 1701 all those who were exempt from burdens (*bi'lomiestsi*) on the church lands were transferred to the Streletski prikaz.

In times of difficulty for the exchequer the privileges granted (*tarchani*) were sometimes suspended 'till the country shall right itself;' *e.g.* in A.D. 1585, and often in the reign of Alexis. Some privileges were altogether suppressed, and all limited, 'till changed by further oukaz.' Peter ordered the definitive suppression of the privileges (*tarchani*) of the church institutions. In A.D. 1699 he ordered all the printed dues to be exacted from all the monasteries, without exception, though they had the privilege of exemption. In A.D. 1700 also it was ordered that 'the *tarchani* of exemption from dues shall be all disregarded, and the dues levied upon people of every order alike, since by oukazes also of 7180 and 7185 (A.D. 1672 and 1677) all the tarchani have been disregarded.'

There were also *moral* reasons, which had in earlier times been thought of by John III., St. Nilus Sorski, Maximus the Greek, the monk Bassian Kosoi, and above all by the tsar John IV. (in his letters, and in the Council of A.D. 1551), for which the state found it necessary to curtail the right of the church institutions to hold landed property, and to curtail in general their wealth: and these *moral convictions* begat in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a whole series of laws, in which was revealed the thought of transferring the church properties to the state. . . . Still at first this method (of *improving* the *moral* and *spiritual* condition of the clergy) was applied only in particular cases, to some particular kinds of property, and of property belonging to particular persons, not to whole ecclesiastical institutions.

Already under the grand prince Basil Ivanovich the appanaged princes were forbidden to give away to monasteries estates without the consent of the grand prince. In A.D. 1535 the right of the monasteries to acquire estates by purchase or mortgage (*zaklad*) was limited, by requiring them to obtain first a special license from the grand prince. There is a remarkable enactment of this kind made by the Council of A.D. 1551, held under John IV. and the metropolitan Macarius. (See our vol. iv. p. 47-54.) The constitutions of this synod were confirmed by John IV. in A.D. 1557 and in A.D. 1572. The Council of A.D. 1581 went still farther: it absolutely

[60] See our vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 540.

forbade monasteries to buy estates, or to accept them for the commemoration of persons deceased; instead of them, they were allowed to receive only money. There was left for such monasteries as were poorly provided one way only of acquiring lands, viz. by grant from the sovereign *with the advice of councils, and of the boyars.*[61] In the Council of A.D. 1618 the enactments of the Council of A.D. 1581 were confirmed, with the same penalties and threats as before, and even with others more severe. And in all this legislation, side by side with the thought of suppressing the right of the church institutions to acquire fresh estates, there constantly peeps forth also that of converting to the benefit of the state such property as had been acquired contrary to this prohibition. This last thought, logically and historically developing itself, would arrive at last at the definitive conclusion that the state has the right to appropriate to itself the estates, lands, and profits belonging to the ecclesiastical institutions, p. 115.

This result was the more to be expected inasmuch as there were already *precedents* in some actual appropriations made in particular cases. Thus John III., after subduing Novgorod, confiscated the lands of the bishop and of the monasteries there. By the Code of A.D. 1649, all the slobodas and posadas belonging to bishops and to monasteries were simply taken away and transferred to the crown. By the enactments of the Synod of A.D. 1667, any shops or other property of certain kinds illegally acquired in towns by monks or clerks were to be confiscated to the tsar. In times of difficulty the state considered itself to have the right of seeking means for itself from the wealth of the bishops and monasteries; and the clergy acknowledged it to be their duty to assist the state in its necessities to the best of their ability.[62] As before, so also during the reign of the tsar Alexis, the thought that the state could apply to its own purposes the *superfluous* revenues and wealth of the Church was very frequently expressed in acts. This thought, in the second half of the seventeenth century, begat the assumption that the state has a right of supervision and control over the church income and expenditure, and generally over all church property. Of course the state would have a full right of such control over the property of churches and monasteries set up and maintained by itself (called *roujnie*, and analogous to the private church or chapel which a king or a nobleman might have in his own house): so in A.D. 1662 the tsar's officials were ordered to make a survey of all the churches and monasteries of that class. In A.D. 1678 the state caused a very full description and register to be made,[63] not only of the above-mentioned class of churches and monasteries, but of all the property and wealth of the Church, of whatever kind. This description was not completed till A.D. 1690. Peter,

[61] He refers to *Hossoud. Gramm.* vol. i. No. 200. *Act. Arch. Exp.* vol. iv. No. 33; and vol. i. No. 308. But the tsars not only *of themselves*, without any mention of a council or of the boyars, made grants when they pleased, but they allowed by special license bishops and monasteries to purchase, and to receive by gift or bequest, and gave licenses to proprietors to sell or give or to bequeath.

[62] Therefore the state will do well to confiscate all the properties of the clergy, and so reward their loyalty and benevolence.

[63] The same had been done also long before; see in our vol. ii. *Travels of Macarius*, &c., the places referred to in the Index at the bottom of p. 537.

after becoming sole monarch, laid down clearly in his oukazes the principle that the state has a right to control the expenditure of the Church, and to apply all *surplusage* to its own purposes. Having assigned the exercise of this control to the prikaz of the Bolshoi dvoretz, he, in A.D. 1696 and again in 1698, sent through the diocesan bishops an oukaz to all the monasteries, requiring them as well as the episcopal houses to make annually a detailed return of all their expenditure to the prikaz, and neither to expend nor to reserve anything for fresh buildings or for repairs without license from the prikaz.[61] . . . In such a state of things there needed only some convenient opportunity for Peter to announce that the state would *take upon itself* the *management* of the church property, dispensing to the church institutions such means as were necessary for their support; and that all the church property was thenceforth to be the property of the crown, and at its absolute disposal. In A.D. 1700 such an opportunity was afforded by the death of the patriarch Adrian, who died 15th October.

Hereupon, in A.D. 1701, Peter appointed, under himself, for the spiritual and temporal government of the Church, two vicars or commissioners; the one Stephen Yavorsky, metropolitan of Riazan, the other the boyar Mousin-Poushkin; and to the office and court of this last he gave the title of the Monastirski prikaz, of which it was really a renewal and extension.

Thus was re-established, writes Mr. Gorchakoff, the Monastirski prikaz in A.D. 1701; and it continued to act (not without great damage and waste of the ecclesiastical properties, and diminution of their value[62]) till A.D.

[61] *i.e.* from the prikaz of the Bolshoi dvoretz from A.D. 1677 till A.D. 1701, and after 1701 not without license from the Monastirski prikaz.

[62] Caused *chiefly* by the substitution of new agents, strangers from a distance, for the former local owners and managers. According to the survey of A.D. 1678, there were then in the government of Moscow on the church lands 63,962 dvors, but by the tables of A.D. 1710 only 57,644. In the riding of Vologda in A.D. 1678 there were 5970, but in A.D. 1710 only 3310, &c. The prikaz in A.D. 1701 had under it, according to one account, in all 137,823 dvors. In A.D. 1737, when they counted 'souls' and not dvors, there were in the patriarchal diocese 327,759 souls, and in the other dioceses 285,195; and belonging to the episcopal house properties 122,030; and unspecified 2[illegible]18: in all 758,802 souls. In A.D. 1703 the authorities of the monasteries complained that their buildings and churches were all going to ruin, and that they had no means of their own to repair them. In his Appendices, p. 56, Mr. Gorchakoff gives a '*Report or information* (*donoshenie*) *to the most holy governing spiritual synod*,' 9th June 1721, by the metropolitan of Riazan Stephen Yavorsky, about the great disorders and oppression and injustice done to the clergy in his diocese by the voivodes and commissaries and directors of the police chanceries. 'Long ago, by oukaz of the tsar's majesty and by tradition of the holy Apostles and most holy patriarchs, all the spiritual order in my diocese were committed to me, to be under my jurisdiction and that of the judges of my house. But in this year 1721, May 1, I received from Riazan, from the judge of my house, Michael, archimandrite of the Spassky monastery, a petition from all the clergy,' &c. And on the 6th Sept. A.D. 1721 there was made a communication on the same subject from the synod to the senate, printed at p. 58, complaining of the infringement of that jurisdiction which by oukaz of 25th Jan. A.D. 1721 had been *given to the synod by the tsar*. This is signed by the metropolitan Stephen of Riazan, Theodosius archbishop of Novgorod and archimandrite of the Nefsky, Theophanes archbishop of Pskoff, four archimandrites, viz. Peter of the Simonoff, Gabriel of the Hypatieff, Leonid of the Petrofsky, Hierotheus of the Donskoy, 'Αναστάσιος ἱερεὺς Ὀκονοειδης, John protopope of the Troitsky, Peter protopope of the Petropaulovsk, and the hieromonach Barlaam Ovsianikoff, assessor and ober-sekretar.

1720, when it was again closed. But it was once more reopened after the institution of the most holy synod, as a subordinate college or section under it, and it continued till A.D. 1724, when, so far as the name went, it came to an end, though its action was continued under other names and forms.

At first it was altogether independent of any other prikaz, and was directed only by the boyar under the tsar himself; but on the creation of the senate, in A.D. 1711, the Monastirski prikaz, like the rest of the prikazes, was subordinated to it, receiving orders from it, and making to it reports.

When the new organisation of Russia in governments, provinces, landraths, kommandants, and ober-kommandants was begun in A.D. 1708, this might have led to a uniform and parallel order in the management of the church properties by the prikaz, but it did not.

The plan of a collegiate administration of Peter's state institutions was finally matured in A.D. 1716, when the colleges were formed, their spheres of action prescribed, and their personal composition all settled and ready. From them and from the senate oukazes were sent to all the prikazes, to obey the requirements and oukazes of the colleges. But their definitive opening was fixed for the year 1720. For the affairs of the Church there was instituted the *Most Holy Synod*. For the financial department there were erected two colleges; the *Kammer-college*, for all the imperial *revenues*, and the *Stats-kontor-college*, for all the outgoings. In A.D. 1718 there were sent to all the governments and prikazes oukazes of the senate, requiring them to make returns to the Stats-kontor of all revenues and expenditure, and forbidding expenditure without its license. In A.D. 1719 it was ordered that no institution should act in collecting arrears and dues without oukazes from the Kammer-college. Both these colleges received Statutes or 'Regulations,' each its own. In particular to the Monastirski prikaz, 'to the boyar, &c., Mousin-Poushkin, there were sent in A.D. 1718 and 1719 from the Stats-kontor many oukazes.' For judicial matters there was created the *Justitz-college*. And so the affairs of the Monastirski prikaz became subject partly to one and partly to another of the colleges: and if these parts of its action were abstracted, little remained to require the continued maintenance of a separate prikaz, and consequently on the 17th August A.D. 1720 it was closed.

Between A.D. 1701 and 1720 fresh monks and nuns could only be tonsured after a license had been obtained from the Monastirski prikaz. Some small monasteries were suppressed altogether by it, and the number of monks or nuns allowed in this or that monastery at various times limited and curtailed. Sick and poor people, and (from A.D. 1715) maimed invalids, were quartered upon the monasteries; even felons condemned to the galleys, if physically unfit for labour. The number of religious allowed was varied and curtailed to make room for such lay intrusions, but without any fixed schedule. The prikaz attempted also to look after the *discipline* of the monks, and especially to prevent their having *free* use of ink and paper. But having failed to effect much by his oukazes, Peter, in A.D. 1715 and 1716, made the bishops swear at their consecration to keep the monks to their rules, and not let them gad about.

At first, under the prikaz, there was no fixed revenue for the bishops: their revenues were collected by their treasurers conjointly with the inspectors of the prikaz; they spent (under surveillance) what they *needed*, and paid over all surplus to the prikaz. From A.D. 1710 the prikaz gave them fixed allowances; and from that time it took to itself *all* their former *dues* (*poshlini*); and, on the same principle, even the priests' fees for weddings, and the customary dowry or contribution (*eklad*) brought by any one who had a license to be tonsured to a convent, were accounted for to the prikaz. The allowances were as follow: to the guardian of the patriarchal chair 5600 rubles 23 altines and 1 denga, to the bishops, of Tver 1200 rubles, Yaroslaff 1000 rubles, Smolensk 1500 rubles, Kazan 2340 rubles, Nijgorod 1500 rubles, Bielgorod 1500 rubles, Voronege 1266 rubles, Kholmogori 1200 rubles, Oustiog 926 rubles, Vologda 1270 rubles, Viatka 1000 rubles, Sarai and Podonsk (or Kroutitz) 1000 rubles, Souzdal 1500 rubles, Kolomna 1200 rubles, and of Rostoff 1500 rubles. This went on till A.D. 1720, when the bishops recovered for a time full possession of their own revenues. In 1723 the most holy synod took measures for fixing the diocesan schedules of maintenance on the basis of the revenues of each diocese. The bishops had also their travelling expenses (*progoni*) allowed them separately for such journeys as were required of them by the government.

The prikaz, in A.D. 1718, ordered that the *parish priests* should not live in houses *of their own*, but only in houses belonging to the Church. The prikaz was employed on all sorts of ecclesiastical and other service, and exercised all sorts of powers. After the capture of Azoff it was ordered to build churches there: it was ordered to establish hospitals for foundlings, poorhouses, &c. It also superintended and maintained the church-academies and schools, and others, *e.g.* four *German* schools, set up by Peter: also the printing-press,[66] the civil section of it as well as the ecclesiastical. It had to look after the education of the sons of the clergy, and the fitness of candidates for orders. The care of the almshouses (in A.D. 1701), and of the widows and wives of soldiers (A.D. 1705) was put upon it: it was required to raise and maintain (and it did raise) a full regiment of dragoons, and to collect for the horses of this regiment a special tax from all the priests and deacons within its sphere of action.

It exercised also, again, very extensive rights of *jurisdiction*; and *now* this *excited no kind of opposition*,[67] although its right of jurisdiction was even more powerfully expressed than before. Indeed, the prikaz itself did not seem to think much of this branch of its activity, regarding it as only accidental and secondary. It represented in A.D. 1706 that much inconvenience and hurt was caused to the peasants, &c., by their being brought before different prikazes; and an oukaz was made that the Monastirski prikaz should judge all subject to it, clerks and laymen

[66] In A.D. 1702 all the prikazes were ordered to send to the Monastirski prikaz official documents of all kinds to be printed: it published the first courants or gazettes known in Russia. In A.D. 1703 the civil section of the press was set up; and in that year there came from Holland a typefounder, who brought with him three alphabets of the new Russian letters, and in A.D. 1704 they began to print with that type.

[67] There was no longer any power in existence to make opposition.

alike, not only in civil but even in criminal matters. But practically very few civil suits came before it; for, to say the truth, civil life within its sphere was stifled and destroyed by it (p. 199). Its *criminal* action, especially against spiritual persons, is much more remarkable. In examinations it used tortures and the knout. The criminal was either punished at once, according to the Code of A.D. 1649; or, if the offence required his previous degradation, he was sent under guard with an oukaz to the patriarchal *spiritual* prikaz (or to the diocesan prikaz in the other dioceses) 'to be stripped of his sacerdotal or monastic quality.' Sometimes the spiritual prikaz questioned him again; *but commonly, without any further question*, it degraded him at once, and he was remitted with the oukaz ordering his degradation to the Monastirski prikaz 'to be reëxamined.' This reëxamination differed from the first examination only in this: that it was made after the degradation, for form's sake, to give formal ground for the final sentence; and in this also, that now there might be torture. They often sent spiritual persons even from Preobrajensk (the chief place of state inquests and tortures and punishments) to the Monastirski prikaz, to be thus examined and degraded and sent back. Priests who had not executed the commands of the prikaz (*e.g.* had not made to it returns of births and deaths, of non-communicants, and especially of raskolniks, which it called for from all the parochial clergy) it threatened with *degradation* and exile. It dealt too even with purely ecclesiastical matters: it announced to the ecclesiastical authorities the tsar's orders about the commemoration in the public prayers of members of the tsar's family, and summoned them to Moscow to serve there by turns: it communicated orders from the tsar for the baptism of persons of other religions (as Mahometans or heathens), for receiving persons into monasteries and tonsuring them, &c.[68] On the death of a bishop it regulated the expenses of his funeral, and it took an inventory of all property that he left behind him. Besides letting them to others, it often forced bishops and monasteries (the rightful *owners*) to *farm under it* their own fisheries. When, in A.D. 1711, the senate required the governors to exact from all the priests and deacons a tax for the horses of the dragoon regiment of the Monastirski prikaz, two governors objected that the priests and deacons should rather be dealt with through the bishops; but the senate insisted that the governors should do it (p. 224). The clergy, in A.D. 1713, 1714, and 1719, petitioned the prikaz about this tax, but in vain.

The most holy synod reinstituted the Monastirski prikaz, as a section under itself, to administer the church estates (which were now again for the most part committed to the local management of the clergy themselves); but the finance colleges and the senate threw such difficulties in its way that for a long time it could neither obtain the necessary staff of officials, nor the books (the descriptions and registers) necessary for the exaction of the arrears and dues. Then the Monastirski prikaz and the synod itself were found fault with, as if it was through their negligence that there was such an accumulation of arrears; and 29th January A.D. 1723 the tsar ordered that till the arrears were sent in *all the orders* (*i.e.*

[68] See vol. vi. p. 1093.

all the members and officials) *of the synod* should receive no pay or allowance, except what was absolutely necessary for bare subsistence; and the senate sent generals and other military officers to collect those arrears.

According to the registers of A.D. 1678, there were on the church lands 107,777 dvors or 107,694.

From these were received, in obroks of all kinds, and in the yearly payments of the churches to the bishops, and in fees for weddings and other church dues, and the chancery dues imposed by the prikaz itself, 188,935 rubles 3 altines and 3 dengi; and of obrok corn 33,176 chetverts and 1½ chetveriks; and from desiatines of ploughing 28,387, the same in each half of the arable land. For the maintenance of the episcopal houses and the monasteries the prikaz allowed 83,638½ dvors, producing in money 80,169 rubles 13 altines 5½ dengi. Part of this revenue went straight to undetermined monasteries and episcopal houses, but more than half as follows: for the maintenance of the diocesan bishops, 25,402 rubles 21 altines 1 denga; for that of determined monasteries, 18,179 rubles 30 altines 5 dengi; or for both items together, 43,574 rubles 18 altines and 6 dengi. Also 29,413 chetverts and half a chetverik of obrok corn; and from the desiatines ploughed and sown, 15,779 chetverts and 1 chetverik, out of 26,648½ desiatines and 248 nivas.

After all there remained with the prikaz 23,558½ dvors, producing 52,336 rubles 7 altines 3 dengi; of obrok corn, 3387 chetverts and 6½ chetveriks; and from the desiatines ploughed and sown, 4738½. Of this in the Moscow government—in money, 22,498 rubles; in corn of obrok, 2105 chetverts; of ploughing, 4053 desiatines and 248 nivas: in the other governments—29,836 rubles 7 altines 3 dengi; and of obrok corn, 1282 chetverts and 6½ chetveriks; and of ploughing, 685 desiatines.

What was collected in the other governments, after their institution, was handed over by the prikaz to the governors, to form part of the tsar's general revenue received by them. What was collected in the Moscow government was applied thus: for schools, 4381 rubles; hospital, 4475, besides expenditure for the sick; poorhouses, 12,841 rubles 11 altines 4 dengi; for building poorhouses, 2000 rubles; for expenses of the prikaz, 5355 rubles. Total: 29,055 rubles 11 altines 4 dengi. p. 244.

Feb. 11, A.D. 1720, the tsar heard read, and corrected personally the Spiritual Regulation. Feb. 23 it was read in the senate, and subscribed by the tsar and by the spiritual and lay persons then present at Petersburg. The members appointed personally to compose it were summoned to Petersburg in December of that same year, and occupied themselves in preparing for the opening of the synod. Its definitive opening was 14th Feb. 1721. After a moleben in the Troitsky sobor, on that day, the tsar was present in the synod; and there was presented to him a report (or application) from it on various points, among which one was this: 'As regards the patriarchal, episcopal, and monastic estates which were under the management of the Monastirski prikaz, is the collection from them of the imposts, and their management, to be under the Spiritual College only? because they, through the lay administrators of them, have come to great poverty and desolation; and the Spiritual College is bound by oath not only to fidelity, but also *to seek the interest* of the tsar's majesty no less

than any of the other colleges. And in the *Spiritual Regulation* it is laid down that such administration appertains to the Spiritual College.' And opposite to this point his majesty wrote with his own hand, 'Let it be so.' The synod communicated this expression of the will of the Sovereign by a notification to the senate. The senate put out an oukaz to carry it into effect, the synod having to send the surplus monies collected to the Kammer-kontor and the Stats-kontor colleges.

The synod sent to the tsar to Riga its translator Rosenbluit, to submit to him and his secretary Makaroff certain points, and to ask permission to set up a Monastirski prikaz for the administration of the estates under Basil Ershoff or the Colonel Pleshcheyeff; and Ershoff was appointed to be '*Judg* of the Monastirski prikaz.' Thus the Monastirski prikaz was, so far as the name goes, reëstablished by the synod in A.D. 1721; but it was now a very different institution from what it had been from A.D. 1701 to 1720, and it lasted only four years. Still it has left traces in our history: and this its reëstablishment delayed for nearly half a century the final incorporation of the church property with that of the state.

By an oukaz of 22d Feb. A.D. 1721 the synod took to itself directly the estates of the members of the synod, not only of the bishops who were members, but also those of the heads of the Simonoff, Hypatieff, and Petrovsky, Donskoy, and later (21st Apr.) the Ougriesh monasteries. Only the surplus revenues of these also were given over to the Monastirski prikaz.

At the end of A.D. 1721, by oukaz of the senate, schedules were to be drawn up for (the staff and appointments of) all the imperial institutions, and the persons composing them, from the highest to the lowest; and the synod, 7th July A.D. 1722, decided to make such a schedule also for the Monastirski prikaz as was prescribed to it by the oukaz. And having this in view, it applied to the tsar for the change of the Monastirski prikaz into a collegiate form, similar to that of the *Justitz-college*. On this report, 28th Jan. A.D. 1723, the tsar wrote some remarks, on which the synod submitted explanations; and he gave permission. After this, there began to appear in the Monastirski prikaz 'Councillors' and 'Assessors;' but the schedule for it was not yet fixed in A.D. 1723. A project for it had been given in to the synod from the prikaz 15th Oct. A.D. 1722, but on a much larger scale[69] than the synod thought necessary, as if it was to keep all that range of activity which had belonged to the prikaz before A.D. 1720. The synod with the greatest difficulty recovered the clergy and the peasants on the church lands from the jurisdiction of the local secular authorities, and placed them under its own and the diocesan jurisdiction. In 1722 the jurisdiction of the Monastirski prikaz was confined to (*civil*) matters of peasants on the estates of the dioceses and monasteries, those of the clergy going to the bishops, and those of *synodal* estates going to the Dvortsovoi prikaz. The synod proposed to call its new college the 'College of the Synodal Administration.' But the senate, in a notification to the synod, 25d Sept. 1724, was pleased to rename the prikaz the 'Kammer-kontor of the Synodal Administration.' A special oukaz of Jan. 1725 called

[69] To cost in salaries, &c., 30,000 rubles yearly: the synod cut down the plan so as to cost only 8148 rubles, and made a schedule like that of the Justitz-college, but the tsar caused it to be made rather like the Kammer-college.

it by this latter name; and so ended for ever the name and the existence of the Monastirski prikaz.

In the new name, apparently, there was no special importance. There was indicated by it only the policy of the two Kammer colleges and the senate towards the new institution, and generally towards the church estates. The government was aiming to incorporate afresh the church estates in the general state organisation, in dependence upon the Kammer-college, the highest financial institution in the empire. The college sought to place the new institution in the same dependence on itself as belonged to the other Kammer-kontors of the excise, the civil, and the economical. But the ecclesiastical government on its side desired to keep the estates of the church institutions under its own administration, apart from the general state institutions. In this undecided state the question of the church properties remained forty years, subject to continual changes and vacillations. Only a year after its institution the Kammer-kontor, after the accession of Catherine I., was renamed the 'College of the Economical Synodal Administration,' and then more simply the *College of Economy*. Apparently it was on a par with the other higher state institutions and colleges. But it sometimes, with its whole range of action and government, passed out of the cognisance of the most holy synod under that of the civil government, and *vice versâ*. So it was till the time of Catherine II., who finally settled the question by simply annexing all the church estates to those of the crown, reducing the peasants to the same bondage with the rest, and giving the clergy and monasteries a maintenance from the state, according to a fixed schedule or *shtat*, which is still in force. p. 295.

APPENDIX XIV. *In connection with the foot-note at p. 502 about Sebastus, who brought from the patriarch Nectarius to Moscow letters for the tsar and for Nicon in the summer of* A.D. 1664 (*from the 'Russki Arkhiv,' No. 9, Moscow*, A.D. 1873, p. 1626-1639).

Letters of Sebastus or Sabba Demetriaff to the patriarch Nicon, and of Nicon to Sebastus.

No. 1. Sebastus to Nicon.—'My Lord! If they call thee, go to the synod:[70] do not otherwise, nor so dishonour our sacred synod' (*i.e.* the synod of the Eastern patriarchs, or rather their subscriptions, and the ordinary synod of the patriarch of Constantinople). 'On that account no other conduct would be good. So I have directions to *make answer* to thee: on that account I advertise thee of this. I trust in God that they will not be able to find any crime. In all respects thou art testified of for wisdom and piety. And what is that crime which they wish to find? They will say that thou didst leave thy chair, and go away. But that cannot be said. Because when a bishop leaves his chair and goes away to some strange place (*i.e.* out of his own diocese or country), that is bad, as your holiness well knows: but thou, though thou didst go away from Moscow, didst not go away to any strange world (to any region not thine

[70] See vol. iii. p. 349, where the patriarch Nectarius writes that 'by the present to me (of A.D. 1665-1661) is judged not only a bishop, but a patriarch: however, there is need that a synod should be assembled, and that he who is charged under these heads should be summoned,' &c.

own), but thou art still in thy chair (*i.e.* in thine own diocese); and they cannot on this point (reasonably, that is) say one word in the synod.

'Also about this I beg your holiness: show not that thou hast any knowledge of this fact (which I am about to mention); say not to any one that the most blessed (patriarch Nectarius) sent by me a letter to thee, and that *the boyars* in the palace above *took it away from me*, and suppressed it: and let it not become known that thou hast heard of this from me, so that they should do me harm for this. Receive from me (as if contained in the letter) only this word: "Come to the synod with great humility, and make as if thou knewest nothing and feared-t nothing; because so they will not be able to do anything to thee whatever." I pray and earnestly pray thy holiness, I write in the Lord, O honourable father: health be to thee!

'Forget not to write to us again. I, the humble servant of thy holiness, Sabba, son of the late Demetrius, falling down before thee, make a metánoia; on my knees I beg of thee, forgive me, my lord, for my brief letter, that it is so hasty, on account of my great trouble of mind: I am not well in possession of my mind, and so I hope to be excused.

'My holy lord, receive from me thy son a very small offering of remembrance, which I send by this same friend: fifteen small handkerchiefs, and a comb, one handkerchief embroidered with gold, and some heptopods. And forgive me, for God's sake: I know that your holiness ought to have been honoured with something better than this, for *all* reasons,[7] but I know not what to do, as I am myself here in confinement: I have nobody to procure anything for me. However, as the Lord God gives me the opportunity (so I do what I can); and do thou take it as it may please thee.

'And when thou comest hither, we will pay thee proper honour, and we hope to obtain thy forgiveness. The Lord God is my witness: I am not in possession of my mind for the multitude of my sorrows, of which I cannot even write—the Lord knows my heart—remembering how those (Patriarchal Answers?) were put together, and farther how I myself, after coming hither, have been kept so long shut up in confinement, and am suffering so much loss and hurt; and it is impossible for me to attempt to do any business. So great is my affliction; and I know not what to say. May thy holy prayers be with me, I write in the Lord, my most holy father!'

No. 2. From the same.—'O most venerable and honoured by God, and most learned and wise, and elect of God, like to an Apostle, luminary for all rational Christians, visible star which shinest over us, my hossoudar and father, Kyr Kyr Nicon!

'Bending my knees to thy holiness I do my reverence, and kiss thy holy hand, and pray to the holy Trinity that thy supreme pontificate may be preserved in health in God, both for the establishment of the welfare of the catholic and great Apostolic church of Christ (*i.e.* of the primatial or patriarchal church of Moscow), and of all Orthodox Christians, and for the thanksgiving and joy of myself, who am the last of thy servants.

[7] Especially one, viz. that I might have some reasonable expectation of a return in kind?

'First, my most holy lord, be this known to thy pontificate: I received thy book (*i.e.* letter), and what was written in it, by the permission of God, I fully understood: and on hearing of the good health of thy high pontificate I gave hearty thanks to God in the most holy Trinity, and to our Lady the immaculate Mother of God, the abiding protection of thy holiness for the advantage and honour of our race.

'Farther, my most holy lord, be pleased to be informed of me, who am of small understanding and the last of thy servants, that I am now in good health. As for to-morrow God knows what is to be. Also I beg and earnestly entreat thy holiness not to forget the name of me, the last of thy servants, in thy prayers, because grief is a bad occasion for spiritual sins, and I think much of that, knowing the divine word which says to us: "If ye would follow me, sell all ye have and give alms;" "Turn, and follow me." So if I also, who am a sinner, suffer, it is for my sins that I am in such distress of mind: it is not for this, that I am persecuted; but considering what is from God, so far as man has from the supreme Providence the gift of understanding. However, the Almighty God of all, taking dust, created man, and He made him of the four elements—earth, water, air, and fire; and if any one of these four be wanting, he cannot live, &c.

'So also as regards this affair: though the firmament that is above should come down, there will be nothing.[72] And lay not to heart that word: "Give blame to a wise man, and he will be yet more wise." For the sake of despatch in writing I shorten my words: for they have called me already once and again to judgment, and they are now calling me a third time; and it is necessary not to refuse to go with great readiness, *because* so I am *commanded by the patriarch*.'[73] And so we see that it is necessary to obey *their* commands; and I think that the just man (*i.e.* the patriarch Nectarius), as a father, teaches *us*. And again: They who are secretly friends say to us that there will always be misunderstanding in (certain) people (*i.e.* in the tsar), and want of mutual explanation, and so they are deceived in many things; and those who are enemies make attacks by their words in a great difficulty (or "and cause great difficulty"?), and there is malice, and no honesty.

'I wished farther to write to thee (to write out and send to thee): "Against Nicon Patriarch of Moscow, in how many heads is the charge against him, that they may depose him, Nicon; the same heads are thirty in number."[74] Of these heads I have written out at this moment twenty-

[72] 'Though heaven should unite with earth, the humble man has no cause on that account to fear.'

[73] So, as he wrote before, he may have been directed to say to Nicon; but he could scarcely have received directions how he was to behave if imprisoned himself. If there is any sense here, it is an obscure and clumsy hint to Nicon that he *also* should *obey* the *tsar and the boyars*: we shall see below how Nicon replies to it.

[74] What Sabba here wishes to write out and communicate is clearly something which he had seen and copied while he was with the patriarch Nectarius. If this was a *Greek* copy of the thirty Questions and Answers of the boyar Streshneff and P. Ligarides, it would be nothing new to Nicon, who had already written against those Questions and Answers his *Vozrajenia*. But it might be something different from this, viz. those hints prepared by Ligarides to which

two; and the others, if it please God, I will write out and send (together with the twenty-two).

'The present which out of affection for thee I sent to thy holiness some time ago was not worth mentioning, but I was never informed if you received it or not: I have a humble wish that if you received it, you would let me know of all by Demetrius; and I wish you many years. A.D. 1665, 1 June.

'Do not leave me without a letter from thyself, O divine and gracious lord! I, thy humble servant, and the last of thy servants, Sabba Demetrieff, abiding always as a disciple in obedience to the princes of the Apostles and to the Evangelists, do my obeisance to thy pontificate.'

No. 3. From Nicon.—'Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, to our son Sabba, grace and mercy and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Thy second letter I received and understood perfectly; and I admired the sweetness of thy words. Thy words are like those of the sweet writer the Son of Sirach: and I glorify the Lord God that thou art in good health, and I hope that it may be so with thee always for many years.

'But as for those things which distress thee, good sir, trust in God, and faint not under the discipline of the Lord. Thou hast not been richer than Job was, who was suddenly deprived of all his goods; and not only so, but there was much more than this: he was afterwards houseless, reproached and reviled by his wife and by his friends; and under all this Job sinned not with his lips, as it is written, but continued saying: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I depart." And elsewhere it is written: "We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain that we can carry nothing out." Think too of the parables in the Gospels: of the rich man and the poor Lazarus: who was crowned, and who was condemned? and of the rich man who wished to pull down his barns and to build bigger, to store up in them his alms and his goods: and what was the divine answer made to him? "Thou fool! this night thy soul shall be required of thee: and then whose shall those things be which thou hast laid up?"

'But so long as thou doest well, fret not; for what advantage hath a man if he gain the whole world but lose his own soul? &c. It is written: "My son, if thou undertakest to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation." And the Lord says: "If any one will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."

'Thou writest, good man, that "they have called thee once and again to judgment, and now are calling thee a third time; and that it is necessary not to refuse, but to go with great readiness, *because* so I am commanded *by the patriarch* to do:" and so thou seest that it is necessary to obey *their* commands. Yes, it *is* necessary' (to obey *their* commands; that is, the commands of a man's legitimate superior and patriarch, not the commands of *them*, the tsar and the boyars), 'as *the commandment of God Himself*

the Patriarchal Answers were to correspond; and these hints may have reproduced the number of thirty heads, though the Patriarchal Answers or tomes, as actually sent, exhibit only twenty-five heads.

enjoins: for "he that heareth *you*," He says, "heareth *Me*, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth *Me*."

'And again thou writest that, besides this, they make suggestions to thee: "Again" (thou writest) "they that are secretly friends," &c. (as above). Thou hast sense, by the grace of God, thou hast reason, to distinguish what is good and what is evil. Actions and words do not come forth[75] from men without there being first a *thought* that they are either good or evil: even the irrational animals do not eat poisonous herbs; they pass over what is bad for them, *though they may be hungry*.

'But as for the false charges written against us, if thou hast them with thee, send them to us.

'I heard from thy messenger that thou wert *much annoyed* about the present. What thou didst send to me, all that was mentioned in thy letter, I received out of goodwill to thee, though unwillingly. I did not *write* about it, because in our letters it was not altogether suitable,[76] but *I sent you a* (verbal) *acknowledgment* by my messenger.

'And when I heard that thou wert greatly annoyed I wondered at thy littleness of soul. For if we do any such thing not according to the commandment, we rather sin. For the commandment enjoins: "To him that asketh of thee give." And again: "When thou doest an alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." And again: "I was hungry, and ye gave me meat; thirsty, and ye gave me drink; a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me." And again: "When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy relations nor the rich, lest they also in like manner invite thee, and thou have thy recompense; but call the poor and the needy, and thou shalt be blessed, for thou shalt be recompensed in the kingdom of heaven." And again: "If ye lend to them from whom ye hope to receive again, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, that they may receive their own again." But thou, O servant of God, why dost thou send to me, who am a rude and unholy person, gifts; and, seeking vanity, art disappointed and grieved? The commandment of God enjoins: "Do good, and lend, expecting nothing again; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be called the sons of the Most High." Or dost thou seek a recompense from my vileness, and not from God? In that case I would by no means have been willing to receive anything from thee, nor to annoy thee, for I am a disciple and imitator of Paul: "My own hands minister to myself and to them that are with me." And elsewhere it is written: "Be content with your allowances;" for the grace of God feeds in our holy convent *not fewer than a thousand persons*, besides strangers and poor brethren: we are fed in all sufficiency, without want; and we neither ask nor receive[77] any thing of

[75] And ought not now, though suggested by others, to have so *come forth*, as they have, from *thee*, though thou mayest be *hungry*, and mayest wish to be set at liberty.

[76] But, writing to the boyar Zinoin and his wife, as to personal friends, he thanks them for a similar gift of some handkerchiefs.

[77] Nicon is rather hard upon the hungry Greek trader, who did not know *exactly* how things stood at Moscow when he took charge of the letters of Nectarius, and he naturally expected a present both from the tsar and from Nicon, instead of being cast into prison by the tsar, and getting only spiritual lessons of perfection from the patriarch.

any one, except from Him who gives food to the hungry, that is, from God alone.'

No. 4. From Sabba.—After a preamble like those in the former letters: 'Having received the book,[28] in the copy of it, I understood it all perfectly; and hearing of thy being in good health I thank God, and pray Him who is above all to preserve thee from all straits and afflictions, for the benefit of many souls, and for the glory of our race. And as I have heard of the virtues with which God has endowed thee, and praise God on their account, so I pray that He may grant me of His goodness to come into thy presence and converse with thee, as it may be His holy will: but as for this, God sees every heart.

'Thou writest to us of Job, that his afflictions were many. In truth, I, thy servant, also have of these not a few. For though we are not like him in virtue and grace, still, as humble people and under captivity, we were living in possession of moderate property, as he was in the possession of much. Only what are we to say? Thanks be to God! He lost his wealth, and all his property and his children; and was ill-treated and afflicted: in like manner we also have been separated from our house, and from our wife, and from our children; and, farther, we have been beaten and ill-treated, and bound with fetters; then we have stood three times (lit. 'three days') before the great hossoudar: that too we have suffered. But, Glory be to God! I only pray to God.

'But as for what thou hast written to us respecting the small offering which I had sent to thee, God forbid that any such word should have issued from my mouth, as if I expected any gift in return. If I said anything indiscreetly to thy messengers (so as to suggest to them such a mis-conception) may God forgive me; for the Apostle Paul says (1 Cor. xv.): "Evil communications[29] corrupt good manners;" and it is not fit that wise men should always believe *to the letter* the words of their servants.

'But as regards those Articles (of accusation), *the copy is not yet ready*; but when I can get it finished I will send it: and I pray God to keep thy holiness in peace for many years. Amen. Leave me not without a letter from thee, for God's sake, gracious father. I, Sabba Demetrieff, do my lowly obeisance, and bend my knees with a metánoia humbly to the ground, and kiss thy holy hand. A.D. 1665, 14 June.'[30]

No. 5. Answer of Nicon.—'Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, to the servant of God and our son in the Holy Ghost Sabba, grace, &c.: and I pray the Lord God that He who is above all may keep thee from all straits and afflictions, to the glory and praise of the holy Trinity, and to the edification and benefit of many others who are suffering for righteous-

[28] *i.e.* seemingly a letter translated for him into Greek, and authenticated by Nicon.

[29] *i.e.* Nicon's messenger, being used to such motives and expectations, *especially on the part of Greeks coming into Russia*, misunderstood my *words*—perhaps not my *thoughts*: for if any one brought and delivered letters to the tsar and to a sitting patriarch, he would naturally expect their customary liberality—more than a mere return of his own customary present to them. See vol. ii. *passim*.

[30] Above a year after his arrival at Moscow—a long time for writing out those 'Articles' of accusation, which he has not yet sent. Perhaps he could write only under surveillance, and his excuse that 'the copy is not yet all ready' was dictated to him.

ness' sake. Thy beatitude writes: "May God grant that we may meet, and converse together!" I wish, and wish very earnestly, and pray to God, that I may kiss thy honourable feet, which have suffered persecution. Forgive me, my beloved son, first of all, that I caused thee so much pain by what I wrote. Yea, and this thy ill-treatment too is very hard; but I know not what I can do to help thee, except by my humble prayers. Thy gifts which were sent by thee to us may the Lord God receive as He received the gifts of Abel, the holocausts of Noah, the peace-offerings of Moses: and may He recompense thee with His own rich heavenly gifts; giving thee, instead of temporal things, things eternal; instead of corruptible things, things incorruptible. Keep in health, and faint not under the chastening of the Lord. It is written: "The Lord will not suffer us to be tempted above that which is convenient; for the Lord gives," it is written, "together with the temptation, an issue to our weakness." Written in the monastery of Voskresensk, A.D. 1665, 11 August.'

No. 6. From Nicon.—'Nicon, &c. (as above). If thou wishest to know of us, behold, we are alive; but we are anxious because so long a time has passed without our having heard of thy health; and behold now we send (by our messenger) this short note, that we may learn how thou art, what is being done with thee, and whatever else there may be to tell us.'

No. 7. Sabba to Nicon.—After a long preamble as before, only with 'Kyr, Kyr, Kyr,' thrice repeated, which is something unusual, instead of 'Kyr, Kyr,' before the name 'Nicon:' 'Only, my lord, be pleased to be informed of us that we are in good health by the grace of Christ. However, as yet perhaps we are only at the beginning of our trials. I have no longer any hope of obtaining from any one the grace to intercede with the tsar (to whom may God grant many years!) for my liberation. May they receive from God their due reward, those malicious people and makers of mischief, whoever they are; for this cause, that those unjust people and makers of mischief are feared by all; as the prophet David also cries aloud in the psalm: "O Lord, deliver me from men of false tongues, and I will keep thy commandments," &c. When he, the holy prophet and king, prayed to the Trinity to deliver him from wicked men and from their calumnies, how can I, poor wretch, and the least of all, do else than fear my adversaries? However, I will say: "Deliver me, O Lord, from the evil man, and save me from the unjust man," &c.: and I deliver them over to the terrible Judge who shall judge them in the day of judgment; for they have destroyed my property and my living, and they shall destroy their own souls.

'Together with the tale[51] I received thy honourable letter, and I understood it all, and gave thanks to the all-good God for all. I give thanks to the great lovingkindness of God; I give thanks, I give great thanks: and I pray the God of heaven, as a sinner, that He make thee to live many years, and reward thee ever with the wish of thy heart; that is, with *the heavenly Jerusalem*. I pray that He may preserve thy all-holiness (παναγιότητα) in peace for the utmost term of years. Amen. Leave me not without a letter from thee, O father honoured by God. A.D. 1666, 1 Jan.

[51] Then used in Russia instead of glass: sent by Nicon, perhaps, to make him a window; or as an article of commerce. See vol. ii. p. 309.

Ever thy servant for thy commands, I, Sabba Demetrieff, bend my knees and do obeisance to the ground, and kiss thy holy hand.'

No. 8. Sabba to Nicon.—Preamble as before, and 'Kyr, Kyr, Kyr,' as in No. 7; and then 'praying that the eminence of thy holiness may have health in God, and may surmount all attacks and afflictions, for the benefit of many souls,' &c.; and then:

'My most holy lord! be pleased to know of me, thy unworthy servant: God only knows if we are now only at the beginning of our straits and afflictions; and I know not whither to betake myself to obtain liberation, except to the compassion of God and to the grace of the tsar (may his years be multiplied!). And what are we to say? Glory be to God! because, if I had been punished for any *crime*, I should have had great pain, knowing that I suffered justly; but now, being punished without cause, I thank God; because He so tried many even of the holy prophets, and not me only, who am an humble and common person. Only, now I am as a ship in the midst of the sea, which is tossed by great waves from all the four quarters, and it can make no way in any direction, but from moment to moment is expecting to be wrecked. Thus it is with me also, poor wretch; and I have no hope of assistance from any man, because now *friends* and enemies *alike* all hate me; and if I confide to any friend any secret of mine, he regards my confidence as an injury, and hates me rather for it, so that he would be glad not even to hear of me. I can only say: May God's name be glorified! all that is plainly from the enemy, if any one has true friends, and even they hate him: for that is the only blessing, to have some true friends: only now I have none to comfort me, besides that sign which our Lord Jesus Christ showed to the first Orthodox Christian tsar, I mean the holy and apostle-like Constantine the Great, when he was marching to conquer Rome, and had been defeated at first, and after that fell into sadness; and the holy God, that he might not be downcast, showed him the honourable and life-giving Cross, and said to him: "In this conquer." Thus I also now, poor wretch, not having any other resource, make night and day the sign of the cross on myself, saying: O Lord, deliver me from this affliction! and may the holy God show His mercy upon me! Because justice always reigns, and God accepts not falsehood; and though for a time falsehood may be multiplied, it again dies out and is extinguished in darkness. And so the prophet Isaiah (ch. v.) writes, and says: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that make light to be darkness, and darkness light; that make bitter to be sweet, and sweet to be bitter!" &c. ("Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, that are mighty to drink wine, that justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him! Therefore as the fire devoureth the stubble, and the flame consumeth the chaff, so their root shall be as rottenness, and their blossom shall go up as dust; because they have cast away the law of the Lord of Hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel.")

'Therefore I, the last of men, and thy humble servant and disciple, in my memorial to the tsar (may his years be multiplied!) and to all the sacred spiritual synod for my desired liberation declare that the letters which I brought were all written in those parts with perfect truth and

sincerity; and so they may do as they please. I am clear of all; and, standing on my integrity, I make this declaration of it. May I be no cause of trouble to thy holiness! I pray the holy Trinity to preserve thy all-holiness in peace for many years to come. Amen.

'Leave me not without a letter from thee, O godly-wise father. A.D. 1666, 2 Jan. I, thy humble servant, Sebastus Demetrieff, have written this in the Lord to thy pontificate, remaining ever at thy disposal.'

No. 9. Answer of Nicon.—'Nicon, &c. (as above). Thy beatitude is pleased to ask after us, and we are alive. Thy letter I received, and understood it perfectly. I am well informed of the ill-treatment suffered by thee. But I found this too in thy letter, that thou hast "no one to whom thou canst betake thyself to obtain thy liberation, except the compassion of God and the grace of the tsar (may his years be multiplied!)." "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the righteous from temptation," &c. (as above). And the Apostle testifies: "For all who wish to live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution; but evil men and deceivers shall wax worse and worse," &c., as it is written. And the Lord says: "But before all these things they shall lay their hands on you, and shall drive you out, delivering you to councils and to prisons, and ye shall be brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake: and it shall turn unto you for a testimony." And all that has been fulfilled in us. And it is not fit for us to be angry against the tsar and the bishops and the boyars; for so it is written; and so must all that has been written be fulfilled. Their time has come for them to persecute, and for us for the sake of Christ and for the sake of His holy commandments to suffer persecution. Endure then persecution as a good soldier of Christ.

'And after this thou writest that friends and enemies alike all hate thee; and if thou tellest to any friend any secret, he thinks thy confidence a wrong done to him, and hates thee the more, so as to wish not to hear of thee. Remember, my son, the words of Job, how he said: "And I cried aloud, and there was nowhere judgment: trials came all together at once upon me; my acquaintances went off from me; they knew any stranger rather than me; my friends were cruel; my near kinsmen received me not, and they that knew my name forgot me; as for the neighbours of my house and my servants, I was as a foreigner in their sight; I called my servant, and he obeyed not; they even rise up against me and speak. I became loathsome to them that saw me; those whom I loved rose up against me." I, if I could, would certainly have helped thee; but I am unable to help thee in any other way than by my prayers to the Lord God. But thou, so long as thou art doing good, fret not; for God testifieth: "Though a woman should forget the child of her labour, yet will not I forget, saith the Lord." Keep in health. I have sent thee some fish—a fresh salmon, a salted salmon, two pikes, and two fresh leschi.'

Note to the above Correspondence.

Before these nine letters there are printed in the same number and article of the *Russki Archiv* that *letter of the patriarch Nectarius* to the tsar Alexis of which Sebastus was the bearer, and which has been given at p. 349 of our vol. iii., and that *correspondence between the metropolitan of*

Iconium Athanasius and the patriarch Nicon which has also been given from a MS. copy in our vol. iii. p. 363 to 369. From the text of this last correspondence printed in the *Russki Archiv* we insert the following corrections of our own copy and translation:

At p. 364 of our vol. iii. line 11, *for* 'There are Greeks who bring forged letters,' *read* 'The Greeks bring.' &c. At line 13, *for* 'rather they are more actively malicious,' *read* 'but in vain they busy themselves maliciously.' In line 4 from the bottom, *for* 'However, the present form of malice leaves us not,' &c., *read* 'However, owing to the present malice, they leave us not *even*,' &c.

At p. 365, line 3, *for* 'And who can believe,' &c., *read* 'who can set bounds, according to what we hear and collect, to the ill-treatment,' &c. In line 7, *for* 'and on account of the commandment,' *read* 'and for the keeping of the commandment,' &c.

At p. 367, line 1, *for* 'And when he was for the second time at Constantinople,' *read* 'And when *Sechourski* (*i.e.* Meletius of Sechoura, or Sephoura, the agent of Paisius Ligarides and of the tsar and the boyars, who carried for them to Constantinople the twenty-five Questions addressed to the Eastern patriarchs) was at Constantinople,' &c. And in line 3, *for* 'and to put him in prison,' *read* 'and put him in prison,' &c. At line 5, *for* 'to him alone. When,' &c., *read* 'to him. One thing only (consoles me), viz. that when my godson shall come,' &c. At line 9, *for* 'and that work longs for justice,' *read* 'and I long to see justice in that matter about which I have been commissioned,' &c.

At p. 368, line 9, *for* 'when he was the second time at Constantinople,' &c., *read* (as above at line 1 of *Correspondence*, p. 367) 'when *Sechourski* (*i.e.* Meletius, the agent and friend of Paisius Ligarides) was at Constantinople,' &c. (as above at line 1 of p. 367).

At p. 369, line 19, *for* 'Meditate continually the history of Job,' *read* 'Meditate on and repeat continually those words of Job,' &c.

Also at p. 359 of vol. iii., where in line 21 it is printed 'The *monk* Sabba (not the Sabba of this Appendix) was sent early in A.D. 1666' (to the ex-patriarch Dionysius to make inquiry about Athanasius of Iconium, &c.), it should have been 'early in A.D. 1665.'

APPENDIX XV. *In connection with p. 543. Respecting the return of the patriarch Nicon to Moscow, 18th Dec.* A.D. 1664.

Roll ix. of the Synodal Archives, No. 7. The tsar, &c. (18th Dec. A.D. 1664), ordered that Michael the protopope and the brethren of the cathedral should be examined about the coming of the patriarch Nicon by Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff and the boyar prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky. And they did accordingly examine them about the coming of the patriarch, and about his taking away the staff of Peter the Wonder-worker. And what they answered is herein written below.

The protopope Michael said: When the patriarch Nicon entered the cathedral by the north doors, the doors were suddenly opened with a great noise, and before him there came a multitude of people habited as if on service; and after them they bore a cross: and after the cross there came monks; and after the monks there came the patriarch Nicon. And

having come into the church, they set the cross at the icon of the Saviour, on the right side. And the patriarch stood in the patriarchal place, and he took the staff of Peter the wonderworker, which stood in the same place. At the same time his monks sang before him Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα! and after that they sang Ἄξιόν ἐστιν, κ. τ. λ. And after the Ἄξιον he bade the metropolitan's pod-diak cease reading the psalter; and he bade Michael the protodeacon of the cathedral say the Ἐκτενὴς and he himself at that time kissed the holy icons, and the wonderworking relics, and the tunic of the Saviour. And after that, standing in the patriarchal place, he said the prayer, '*O Lord, most merciful*,' &c.: and he called Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff to take his blessing. And the metropolitan came to him, the patriarch, for his blessing. And then he himself, the protopope, and the kliuchars, and the priests, and the deacons and subdeacons, and the other clerks, went up in like manner for his blessing. And as for the staff of Peter the wonderworker, the patriarch held it himself in the matins to the reading of the gospel. But when, after the antiphons, they began to read the gospel, he, the protopope, went up to the palace above to the tsar. But how the patriarch went out of the church, and took with him the staff of the Wonderworker, that he, the protopope, saw not, because he was then above with the tsar, and waited near the icon of the Saviour called Ἀχειροποίητος in the trapeza; but he heard from his brethren, that is, from the kliuchar Theodore and the priests, that the patriarch took that staff away with him. The protopope Michael has set to his hand.

The kliuchar Job deposed, &c. (just as Michael above had deposed). And after they had received the patriarch's blessing, he, the kliuchar, went with the metropolitan Jonah up to the great hossoudar above; and he was up there a long time; and when he came back into the cathedral he no longer found the patriarch Nicon there. But he heard from Theodore, the other kliuchar, that the patriarch Nicon had taken the staff with him; and that the same Theodore had asked the patriarch for the staff; and the patriarch had said to him that he *was not thinking* when he took the staff away with him, but he would not give it up to anybody. Job the kliuchar has set to his hand.

The priests of the cathedral, Porphyrius Longinoff, Basil Thedoroff, Cyprian Clementoff, and the deacons Athanasius Ivanoff, Peter Denisoff,[82] Trophimus Thedoroff, said: When the patriarch came to the church, the north doors were opened with a great noise, &c. (as the others had said). But whether he came in with a staff, or without a staff, they did not see, &c. (as above). And he stood in the patriarchal place; and having given '*Peace*,' he took the staff of Peter the wonderworker, which was standing at the patriarchal place; and the monks sang Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα! &c. (all as above). And the staff of Peter the wonderworker the patriarch held in his hand throughout all the matins, to the dismissal. But how the patriarch went out from the church, and whether he took the staff with him, that they did not see; but they heard the deacon Michael say before them to the metropolitan Paul that the patriarch had taken away with him the staff; and they had heard about that also from the kliuchar Theodore, (who told them) that he asked the patriarch for that staff, and the patriarch

[82] Daniloff in my MS. copy.

said to him that *he was not thinking when he took the staff*, but would not give it up to anybody. Signed, &c.

Roll ix. No. 8. The deacon Michael deposed (to the same effect as the others), &c. And the patriarch bade him say the Ἐκτενὴς but which (Ἐκτενὴς he was to say) he did not hear. And the kliuchars Job and Theodore told him that he should say the great Ἐκτενὴς, viz. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς, κ. τ. λ. And in the mean time the patriarch was kissing the holy icons, and the relics, and the robe of the Saviour. And he, Michael, was robed, because it was his turn to serve: and the patriarch held the staff of the Wonderworker in his hand, to the dismissal of the matins. And when he went out from the church he took that staff with him. And he, Michael, spoke about that in the church to Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz and to the boyar prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky. And at that time there was neither of the kliuchars within the church: and he went out of the church, and spoke to the kliuchar Theodore about the same staff. Signed, &c.

Joseph, hierodiakon of the metropolitan Jonah, and the watchmen of the cathedral, Athonka Sideroff and Ivashka Abrosimoff, said: When the patriarch Nicon, &c. . . . he stood in the patriarchal place, and gave his staff to his own monk, and took the staff of Peter the wonderworker, &c. And when the patriarch Nicon went out from the cathedral he took that staff with him. And that they saw. Signed, &c.

Roll ix. No. 9. The pod-diak Theodore Nikitin and the singer-diak Theodore Constantinoff said: In the year 7173, Dec. 18, on the Sunday before the Nativity,[81] &c., we heard in the cathedral the singing of the vigil service, because it had been the custom for us in time past on Sundays and other festivals to hear the singing of the vigil in the cathedral. We stood in the corner of the church, just at the tomb of Jonah the wonderworker. And at the second kathism the side doors opposite the patriarchal residence were opened, and there began to be a tumultuous noise: and there came into the church a multitude of people, and went into the middle of the church, past the ambon. And then they sang, Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα! and Ἄξιόν ἐστιν, κ. τ. λ. And we went to the royal doors. And behold, at the patriarchal place there stood the patriarch Nicon, holding in his hand the staff of Peter the wonderworker. After the Ἄξιόν ἐστιν, κ. τ. λ. his clerks sang again Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα! The singers stood on the left of the patriarchal place, as it were in the midst of the church. And then he bade the deacon Michael say the Ἐκτενὴς. But whether he bade the pod-diak cease reading the psalter, or the pod-diak ceased of himself, when the patriarch's monks after entering the church began to sing (Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα), we did not distinguish, as at that time we were standing at the tomb of Jonah the wonderworker. The Ἐκτενὴς was sung by his monks in the Kieff style; and he, the patriarch Nicon, in the mean time kissed the icons, and returned, and went again to the patriarchal place with the staff of Peter the wonderworker. After the Ἐκτενὴς, he said the prayer, Κύριε πολυελέης, κ. τ. λ. And after that there went up to him for his blessing the metropolitan Jonah, and the archimandrites, and the protopope, and the priests. And we, seeing

[81] This Sunday, in the time of the tsar Michael, had been the day for the *Act* of the Three Hebrews and of the Babylonian Furnace. See above at p. 755 of this volume.

that, feared from the fear of former days; for in truth we supposed that he by oukaz and grace of the great hossoudar, &c., had so come; and so we too went to receive his blessing. But when he went out of the church, whether he went out with the staff of Peter the wonderworker or without it, we did not see exactly on account of the press. Only I, Theodore Constantinoff, as I went out after him from the church, and saw the kliuchar Theodore Terentieff near, a little behind him, asked the same kliuchar why he went out after him. And he said: 'The patriarch has taken out from the church with him the staff of Peter the wonderworker; and I asked it from him, that he should give it back; and he said to me: "I took it without thinking, but I shall give it up only when any one takes it away from me by force."' These are our words; and this deposition has been written by me, Theodore Constantinoff. Signed, &c.

[Roll ix. No. 10 is printed at p. 511.]

Roll ix. No. 11. And the same day the tsar gave command to examine in the Streletski prikaz the streltsi who were on guard at the entrance to the Zemlianni-gorod and to the Bieli-gorod, at the Nikitsky and Smolensk gates, asking them about the coming of the patriarch Nicon; how he came into the city, and how the challenge was given and answered at the watches. And they were questioned, and they answered as follows:

A.M. 7173, Dec. 18. In the Streletski prikaz those of the streltsi commanded by Artemon Matveyeff as their polkovnik and golova who stood on watch at the walls in the Zemlianni-gorod at the Nikitsky gate, and in the Bieli-gorod at the Smolensk gate, and in the Kremlin at the Advanced Tower and at the Troitsky gates, were questioned whether they *knew* when the patriarch came into the city? and how they challenged at the watches? and how he passed himself to them? And they said thus:

The desiatnik Iva-hko Leontieff said: He was on guard with his comrades, seven in number, at (the entrance to) the Zemlianni-gorod at the Nikitsky gate; and that night at four hours and a half before daylight there stood on guard his comrade Ivashko Seliverstoff, a private streletz of the same prikaz (or polk); and the gate was shut. And he, the said Ivashko, with his remaining comrades, was in the guard-house. And that Ivashko came to them to the guard-house, and said that there had driven into the city people, he knew not of what order, with ten sledges and five or six men on horseback; and they said to him that it was the archimandrite of Zvenigorod.

The private streletz Ivashko Seliverstoff said that at four hours and a half before daylight he was standing in the Zemlianni-gorod at the Nikitsky gate, on guard; and at that time there came to the gate people, he knew not of what order, and knocked at the gates to have them opened, and said that it was the archimandrite of Zvenigorod; and he, Ivashko, opened the gates; and those people drove through into the city with ten sledges and five or six men on horseback: but who it was that drove in he saw not, because the face was not visible.

The piatidesiatnik Larka Trophimoff said: This night, early in the morning, at what hour precisely he heard not, there were standing on guard in the Bieli-gorod at the Smolensk gates two men of his comrades of the same prikaz, private streltsi, whose names he knows not, one of

them outside and the other within the city; and he, Larka, with the rest who were off guard were in the guard-house; and the gates were shut; and those sentinels who were on guard came to the guard-house, and said that there had passed into the city people, they knew not of what order, on horseback and in sledges, who said that it was a *vlast* (*i.e.* a church dignitary), and they had opened the gates for them, and had let them through into the city because they said it was a *vlast;* and he, the said Larka, with those his comrades who were in the guard-house saw not that *vlast.*

The desiatnik Laurushka Timopheeff said: This night, four hours and a half before daybreak, he was standing sentinel at the walls in the Kitai-gorod at the Troitsky gate; and at that time . . . there came in sledges and on horseback a considerable number of persons; and he, Laurushka, asked them: Who go there? And they said, 'A *vlast.*' And they said: 'Why do you ask so often? you are everywhere challenging: it is a *vlast.*' And when they had driven into the city, they drove by the road between the podvorie of the Troitsky monastery and the house of the boyar Simeon Lucianovich Streshneff; but the faces of none of them did he see, because there was not (light enough) to see a man's face.

The private streltsi of the same prikaz who were standing sentinels at the Smolensk gates in the Bieli-gorod, Jeremka Semenoff and Ivashka Zenobieff, deposed. Jeremka said: He was standing on guard four hours and a half before daybreak, beyond the gates; and the gates were shut. And at that time there came to the Smolénsk gates people, he knew not of what order, in sledges and on horseback; many people; and they knocked at the gates. And the sentinel who stood on guard within, Ivashka Zenobieff, and he, Jeremka, asked those people of what order they were. And they said that it is the *vlast* (*i.e.* the archimandrite) of Zvenigorod: and his comrade who stood within the city, Ivashka Zenobieff, opened the gates, and let them into the city; but he saw not their faces, because it was not possible to see them. But whether it was the patriarch who then went in or not, that he, Jeremka, knew not, neither did he see him.

Ivashka Zenobieff deposed in the same words as Jeremka.

The private streletz of the same prikaz, Evtiushka Andreyeff, who stood sentinel at the Advanced Tower, being examined, said: That at four hours and a half before day he was standing on duty at the Advanced Tower; and at that time there drove into the city by the stone bridge people, he knew not of what rank, in sledges and on horseback, a large company: and he asked them who they were, and of what order. And they said that it is the archimandrite of Zvenigorod: and they drove into the city rapidly. But who it was, that he, Evtiushka, saw not. Signed, &c.

About the same matter, in connection with p. 544.

Roll v. [The beginning has been damaged, and the first part of the *Re-examination of the metropolitan Jonah* is lost; but no doubt it was nearly identical with what follows here as the deposition of his deacons, and with what has been printed above at p. 542 as Jonah's own statement when he was first examined by the tsar himself. After what is lost, the deposition of the metropolitan Jonah continues thus]:

. . . And when the patriarch went to kiss the icons, the protopope Michael went before him with a light; and the kliuchars Job and Theodore,

going before the patriarch, uncovered the icons and the wonderworking relics; and I, the metropolitan, wished to go out of the church and up to tell the great hossoudar of the coming of the patriarch. And I went to the west doors; but the doors were shut. And I went to the north doors, by which the patriarch had come in; but those doors too were shut: who shut them I know not. And I from grief began to be in alarm, and I sent my hierodiakons, Joseph, Gerasimus, and Barlaam, after the protopope and the kliuchars and the other priests of the cathedral, that I might consult with them how to give information to the great hossoudar; but no one of my deacons obeyed, and no one came to me: they all left me. But the patriarch sent to me to come to him for his blessing: and the protopope, and the kliuchars, and the priests, and the deacons, and all the clerks of the cathedral had already gone near to the patriarchal place, and were waiting for the patriarch's blessing. And I in my grief, seeing about me many of the patriarch's people, was frightened to see that all adhered zealously to the patriarch, and I went to him to the place, and he blessed me. I went on that account, because the patriarch had come into the city with all his monks unhindered, and had entered the church boldly with great confidence. But what expectation he had, whether to be again patriarch in Moscow, or *to do any other mischief* in the Church of God I knew not. And I was afraid lest any dispute should be occasioned between us. And so I went to take his blessing. And then Nicon began to send me to the great hossoudar, and bade me announce his arrival; and I accordingly went up to the great hossoudar; and having gone out from the church I sent my hierodiakon Gerasimus for the kliuchar, that he might go up with me to the great hossoudar. And the kliuchar Job said to my deacon: 'I dare not, without order from the patriarch, go up with the metropolitan.' And he went to the patriarchal place and reported that to the patriarch; and the patriarch bade him go; and the kliuchars came to me together with my hierodiakon Gerasimus. But how the patriarch took the staff I saw not. And I came to the great hossoudar in a state of confusion. Signed, &c.

A.M. 7173, Dec. 22. The hierodiakons of Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff, viz. Joseph, Gerasimus, and Barlaam, said: Towards Dec. 18, at the singing of the matins, at the second kathism, in the cathedral there was suddenly a great noise about the north doors, and a great rush from that direction: and then many people came into the church, rushing in, habited as if on service, with great confidence; and after them came in many monks; and they bore a cross; and after them the patriarch Nicon came into the church, and with great speed went to the patriarchal place, and gave his staff to one of his monks, and took the staff of the metropolitan Peter the wonderworker, and began to make his reverences of entrance, holding the staff in his hand; and his monks began to sing what is usual at a bishop's entering for him, the patriarch. And the patriarch went from the patriarchal place, with the staff of Peter the wonderworker, to kiss the icons, and the relics, and the robe of the Lord. And in the mean time the metropolitan was going out of the church; and he came to the west doors, and they were shut; and he went to the north doors, by which the patriarch Nicon had come in, and they too were shut. But who

had shut them we know not. And the metropolitan of grief was very much shocked; and he repeatedly sent us deacons after the protopope and the kliuchars and the popes and deacons, that they should come to him for consultation, that they might give information to the great hossoudar of the coming of the patriarch; but of the protopope and the kliuchars and the popes and the deacons no one attended to us, nor came to him, the metropolitan: not a single man came to him (all this exactly as in the deposition of the metropolitan Jonah). And we (deacons, going to the metropolitan Jonah) many times spoke of that, that no one attends to us nor comes to him.[81] And while the patriarch was saluting the icons, the protopope Michael went with a light before him, and both the two kliuchars went before the patriarch and uncovered the icons and the relics. And after the salutation of the icons the patriarch went to the patriarchal place; and the deacon Michael began to say the 'Εκτενῆς. 'Ελέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς' and the monks of the patriarch sang Κύριε ἐλέησον in the Kieff style. And the protopope Michael, and the kliuchars, and the priests, and the deacons went opposite to him, the patriarch Nicon, and stood and made their reverences, and came under for his blessing. And the patriarch said a word to them that they should wait, saying: 'I have still a prayer to say.' And the patriarch began, after the 'Εκτενῆς, to say the prayer, Κύριε πολυελεῆς' and the protopope with the brethren (of the cathedral) stood over against the patriarchal place, near the local icons. And after the prayer the patriarch sent to the metropolitan to come to him to the patriarchal place for his blessing. And the metropolitan in his grief, seeing around him many of the patriarch's people, being frightened, went to him to the patriarchal place for his blessing. And after the blessing the patriarch Nicon sent the metropolitan up to the great hossoudar, &c., to inform the great hossoudar of his arrival. And the metropolitan went out of the church up to the great hossoudar. And when he had gone out of the church he sent me, the deacon Gerasimus, for the kliuchar into the church; and I came into the church, and said to Job the kliuchar, in the name of the metropolitan, that he, Job, should go with the metropolitan up to the great hossoudar. And Job the kliuchar said to me, 'I dare not, without order from the patriarch' (as if it were copied word for word from the deposition of the metropolitan) 'go up with the metropolitan to the great hossoudar.' And he, Job the kliuchar, made report of this to the patriarch; and the patriarch bade him go with the metropolitan. And he, Job the kliuchar, went accordingly with me to the metropolitan; and they went up to the great hossoudar; and we, the deacons Gerasimus and Barlaam, went with the metropolitan; and I, the deacon Joseph, remained in the church. But when they sang the *polyeléës* (πολυελεῆς) the patriarch Nicon called to him to the patriarchal place the protopope Michael, and spoke with him; but what he said I know not. And the deacon Athanasius *brought his children to the patriarch to be blessed.* Signatures of the three deacons.

[81] Here what remains of Jonah's own second deposition begins. So what preceded was no doubt nearly word for word the same with what has here preceded as the deposition of his deacons.

Minute.

A.M. 7173, Dec. 22, by oukaz, &c., Paul metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, Theodosius metropolitan of Servia, and Joachim archimandrite of the Choudoff, and Theodore archimandrite of the Bogoyavlensky, which is out of the Vietoshni-riad, interrogated Michael the protopope of the cathedral, &c., and the kliuchars and the priests and the deacons and the watchmen who were on Dec. 18 in the cathedral at the vigil service, at the time, how the late patriarch Nicon came to the cathedral? and did they know of the coming of the said late patriarch? and why did they not inform the great hossoudar of it? And why did they receive a blessing from him at the patriarchal place, when they knew that he had given up the patriarchate, and there had been attestation made of this? and their own hands, viz. those of the protopope and of the other brethren, were subscribed to that attestation? And why did they not obey Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff when he called them for consultation, nor go to him? And who was it that did not open to him, Jonah, the doors of the church, so that he might go out by them and inform the great hossoudar? And how came it that the protopope Michael carried a light about the cathedral before the ex-patriarch Nicon? and that the kliuchars Job and Theodore, when the patriarch went to kiss the icons and the relics, uncovered the icons and the relics? And when the metropolitan Jonah was going up to the great hossoudar, and sent the hierodiakon Gerasimus for him, Job the kliuchar, that he, Job, might go with him to the great hossoudar, why did he, Job, refuse, saying, that he dared not go (without[85] an order from) the patriarch? and went to the patriarchal place and made report of that to the former patriarch Nicon? And at that time whom of other orders of the people did any one see approach to the patriarchal place to be blessed by the former patriarch Nicon?

In the deposition of the metropolitan Jonah, which he sent in, it was written: 'Towards Dec. 18, at the twelfth hour of the night, during the singing of matins, at the second kathism, by the north doors, the patriarch Nicon, with many people and monks, entered by a sudden interruption, with great boldness, the people and the monks with him being habited as if on duty. And with great speed he went to the patriarchal place: and his monks began to sing the introit (usual on the entrance of the bishop), and the Ἄξιόν ἐστιν, κ. τ. λ. And he went from his place to do his reverence to the icons, and the relics, and the tunic of the Lord; and the protopope Michael went before the patriarch with a light; and the kliuchars Job and Theodore uncovered the icons and the relics. And when the patriarch had come again to his place, the deacon Michael bade the Ἐκτενής. And the metropolitan wished to go up to tell the great hossoudar of the coming of the patriarch; but both the west and the north doors were shut: but who shut them he knows not. And the metropolitan sent his black deacons, Joseph, Gerasimus, and Barlaam, for the protopope and the kliuchars, and for the popes and deacons of the

[85] Note that the omission of the word *mimo* or *be*: (without), which is needed before the genitive *patriarcha*, runs through all these depositions, showing how they were arranged by concert, and then copied in their wording one from another.

cathedral, that they might consult, and give information to the great hossoudar: but no one attended to the deacons, nor came to him: and the patriarch sent to him, that he should come for his blessing: and he was frightened because all had gone up to the patriarch zealously; and so he went to him, and the patriarch blessed him. And then Nicon began to send him to the great hossoudar, to inform him of his coming. And having gone out from the church, he sent his black deacon Gerasimus for the kliuchar, that he should go up with him to the great hossoudar. And the kliuchar Job said to the deacon that he dared not go up with the metropolitan without an order from the patriarch: and the kliuchar made a report of that to the patriarch; and the patriarch bade him go.'

And in the depositions of the hierodiakons of the metropolitan Jonah there is written the same as in the deposition of the metropolitan. And, besides, the deacons add that when the metropolitan went up to the great hossoudar, the deacon Joseph, having remained in the cathedral, saw that the patriarch Nicon called to him the protopope Michael, and spoke to him, &c.

But the protopope Michael, and the kliuchars Job and Theodore, and four priests of the cathedral and four deacons, who were present at the time, when examined, said, according to Christ's holy commandment in the gospel, that, Yea, yea, of the coming of the late patriarch Nicon to the cathedral they neither knew beforehand, nor had they heard of it from any man; but he came into the cathedral by the north doors, with a great noise; and before him, the late patriarch, there came into the church lay people in official dress: and after those serving-men there came monks; and after the monks they bore a cross; and after the cross there came the ex-patriarch Nicon. And the cross-bearer set the cross in the church at the royal doors, at the icon of the Saviour, which is opposite to the patriarchal place. And he, the ex-patriarch, went to the patriarchal place, and took the staff of the wonderworker the metropolitan Peter into his hand. And at that time the reader was reading in the church the psalter, the second kathism: and he, the ex-patriarch, bade them cease reading the psalter, and bade his own monks sing Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα! and then the Ἄξιόν ἐστιν· and he bade the deacon Michael say the Ἐκτενής. And that deacon Michael in the Ἐκτενής, contrary to what had been practised before, named the patriarch, fearing his terror. And he, the ex-patriarch, with the staff of the wonderworker Peter in his hand, went about the church to reverence the icons and the relics. But of his coming into the cathedral they did not inform the great hossoudar, because they were in fear and confusion, and through their simplicity, because they supposed that Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff had gone to inform the great hossoudar: for for a long time after the late patriarch had come into the church they did not see him; and (at length) they saw him again at the time when the patriarch, after kissing the icons, had come for the second time to the patriarchal place. And then the metropolitan was standing at the patriarchal place before the late patriarch Nicon; and he, the metropolitan Jonah, received from the late patriarch his blessing. And the protopope, and Job the kliuchar, and the priest Porphyrius, said that before them there had taken his blessing,

after the metropolitan, Sabbatius the archimandrite of the Spassky at Yaroslaff: and after him they, the protopope, the kliuchars, the priests, and the deacons, all did the same. But he, the metropolitan, sent nobody to them to call them to him for consultation, in order to give information to the great hossoudar of the coming of the late patriarch to the church. But of the doors of the church two were open, viz. the south doors and the north doors: but the west doors were shut, because the west doors in the vigil and the matins are not opened, except in case of the coming of the great hossoudar. Also there went for a blessing to the late patriarch the subdeacon Theodore Nikitin, and the singer-clerk Theodore Constantinoff, and the patriarchal treasurer Tichon. And of other non-official persons who went up for his blessing to the late patriarch *there were many*: but who did so by name they (if they ever knew) do not remember; and others (whom they saw doing so) they did not know.

And the protopope Michael said that when the late patriarch was reverencing the icons and the relics, he, the protopope, did *not* carry a light about the church before him; but when the late patriarch came to the icon of our Lady of Blachernæ, a wax-light fell from its socket on to the pavement, and he, the protopope, took up the candle and set it up again before the icon. But, beyond that, he did not go with any light before the late patriarch. That service did not belong to him, the protopope. And when the metropolitan Jonah had gone to the great hossoudar, the late patriarch did *not* call him to the patriarchal place, nor speak with him at all; but he did speak to the kliuchar Theodore about the lighting, saying: 'Why is it so dark? in the silver polykandilo there are no candles.' And he, the protopope, also was standing there close by at the time.

And the kliuchar Job and the deacons said: When the late patriarch Nicon was going about the church, &c., the protopope did *not* carry any light before him, nor did any one else precede him with a light. And the two deacons said that when the late patriarch was going about the church they saw not that any one carried a light before him.

And the kliuchar Theodore said that he was standing with the protopope at the patriarchal place, and the late patriarch asked him, Theodore: 'Why have you the church so dark? in the silver polykandilo there are no candles.' And he, the kliuchar Theodore, said to him that the candles had gone out.

And the kliuchars Job and Theodore said that when the former patriarch Nicon, with the staff of St. Peter the wonderworker in his hand, was going about the church, &c, they, the kliuchars, went with him separately. When he was saluting the icons, and the relics of St. Jonah and St. Philip, there went with him, and uncovered them, the kliuchar Job: but when he kissed the robe of the Lord and the relics of the wonderworker Peter, it was the kliuchar Theodore who went with him and uncovered them. And the icon of our Lady of Blachernæ he did not kiss. And at the robe of the Lord he asked: 'What seal is that?' And he said to him: 'The seal of the great hossoudar the tsar.' When the late patriarch went out of the cathedral with the staff of Peter the wonderworker, he, Theodore, followed him, and, overtaking him, made bold to

ask for the staff. And he said to him: 'I took it without thinking, but now he who wants to have it must take it away from me by force.' But at that time he, the kliuchar Theodore, was struck with horror; and he was, as it were, beside himself; and he thought that Nicon was going to be, as in former time, established in the patriarchal chair. And he, Theodore, wished to be able to hide himself somewhere, no matter where, so long as he were hid, because they who had come from him (the patriarch) in time past, subdeacons and clerks, had been used to threaten him, as Ivan Tveretin and others (but other names he does not remember), for this, that he, Theodore, made a deposition before the synod that he, the patriarch, had left his chair with an oath, as if he had made that deposition by preconcert with the metropolitan Pitirim.

And the priest Martin, in his deposition, added that he did not inform the great hossoudar of the coming of the former patriarch Nicon, because he, the priest Martin, was then in his robes.

Also the priest Cyprian, in his deposition, added that he was standing at that time in one of the choirs, and the metropolitan Jonah came up to the choir, and asked for the kliuchars: and there was no kliuchar then in the choirs. And the metropolitan said, 'I myself do not know now what to do.'

And six men of the watchmen of the church, according to Christ's holy command in the gospel, said: Yea, yea, of the coming to the church of the ex-patriarch Nicon they had no knowledge beforehand, nor had they heard of it from any man. But whether the metropolitan Jonah called the protopope Michael and all the clerks of the cathedral to him for consultation, and whether he sought to go out of the church, and who it was that opened not for him the doors of the church, they saw not, neither do they know. But when the metropolitan Jonah went to inform the tsar about the late patriarch, that they saw: and it was the watchman Eleazar who then opened for him the door of the church. But the ex-patriarch was not preceded with a light by anybody.

Sabbatius, archimandrite of the Spassky monastery at Yaroslaff, said (after the same manner): Yea, yea, of the coming of the late patriarch he knew nothing beforehand, nor had heard anything from anybody. But he was at that time in the cathedral, at the vigil service; and he, the archimandrite, had gone before (before anything had begun) to the cathedral church for the vigil or matin service. But when the patriarch Nicon was going about the church to kiss the robe of the Lord, and the icons, and the relics, whether there went any one before him with a light, and whether the metropolitan called the protopope of the cathedral with the brethren to consult with them, and who it was that did not open for him the doors of the church, of all that he knows nothing. But he, the archimandrite, went for a blessing to the late patriarch, because before him there had gone to be blessed the protopope of the cathedral with the brethren, and many other people.

The subdeacon Theodore Nikitin said . . . much about his ignorance. But he went for a blessing: and there was with him also the subdeacon Peter Theodoroff.

The singer-clerk Theodore Constantinoff said: Yea, yea, he was in

the cathedral at the vigil. Of the coming of the ex-patriarch Nicon he knew nothing beforehand, nor had heard of it from any one. But before the coming of the ex-patriarch to Moscow, a week or more—he does not exactly remember—the subdeacon Nikita Nikitin said to him: 'Let us pray to the Lord God that the great hossoudar may wish to call the patriarch Nicon to Moscow, to sit in the patriarchal chair as before, and may send for him that he may come to Moscow of himself, without being formally sent to.' And he added that there had come to him, Nikita, the monk Alexander, the corrector of the printing-press, to seek for such a man as might be sent to the patriarch. But about this he did not inform the great hossoudar, because he supposed that there was really an oukaz of the great hossoudar.

The monk Tichon, treasurer of the patriarchate, said: Yea, yea, of the coming of the patriarch, &c., he knew nothing beforehand, nor had heard; but he took a blessing from him, the patriarch, after the metropolitan and the clergy of the cathedral.

Also the subdeacon Peter Theodoroff said the same.

But being confronted with the metropolitan Jonah, the hierodiakon Joseph said: Yea, yea, when the ex-patriarch Nicon kissed the icon of our Lady of Vladimir, and went to the side doors where rests Peter the wonderworker, the protopope Michael went before the ex-patriarch with a light: but in any other place than that he did not see the protopope with a light before the ex-patriarch. But the protopope Michael said that he did not go with a light before the ex-patriarch; but a candle which stood before the icon of our Lady of Blachernæ fell on the pavement, and he, the protopope, took up that candle just as the late patriarch was going past that icon: and of that he calls to witness those who were in the cathedral, and all the clerks.

But the hierodiakon Joseph did not appeal to all the clerks of the cathedral as to this, that they were not obedient to the metropolitan Jonah when they, the hierodiakons, called to the metropolitan Jonah for consultation the protopope and the kliuchars and the popes and the deacons, that they might inform the great hossoudar of the coming of the ex-patriarch; and they would not go to the metropolitan: and the metropolitan Jonah, not believing them, the hierodiakons, went himself to the protopope, and called him: and he, the protopope, did not even look at him: and at that time the ex-patriarch was at the patriarchal place; and the metropolitan Jonah had not yet been to him for a blessing: and two of the doors were shut; but who shut them he knows not.

But the protopope Michael said: No one from the metropolitan spoke to him to go to the metropolitan for consultation; and the metropolitan himself did not come to him, nor call him: and two of the doors of the cathedral were open, viz. the south door and the north door.

Also the hierodiakon said that the protopope spoke with the ex-patriarch; but what he said he knows not; and he pointed with his hand to the silver polykandilo. But the protopope said he was standing at the patriarchal place, and the patriarch said to the kliuchar Theodore: 'Why have you no candles in the silver polykandilo?' but to himself, the protopope, he, the patriarch, said nothing.

And the hierodiakon was asked, Does he assert, when confronted, that the metropolitan went himself and called the protopope to himself for consultation, whereas in the deposition of them, the hierodiakons, that was not written? and why was it not written? And the hierodiakon said: It was not written because when the metropolitan went to the protopope he was alone behind the metropolitan: he expected to be confronted: and there are other things besides this not in the written deposition; and he will say what they are now: When the patriarch sent the metropolitan to the great hossoudar, he, the deacon Joseph, bade the singers of the metropolitan go out from the choir—he bade them not sing: and he told the kanonarch and the clerk to unrobe themselves; and the kliuchar Theodore pushed towards us the clerk Rishka without a tunicle, and bade him read the psalter without a tunicle; and he bade us also sing the psalter without sticharia; and again he bade the kanonarch say the *Sqdalui* after the second kathism of the psalter without a sticharion. And they suffered not the singers to go out of the choirs: both the kliuchars forced them to sing; and the kliuchar Theodore said to them: 'Sing! what are you afraid of? the patriarch is not come to disperse you.' And of this he appeals to all the clergy of the cathedral, that they read without sticharia. But afterwards, when they began to sing the Πολυχρόνιον, they, the kliuchars, bade them put on sticharia; and the kanonarch read through the kanons; and the singers, having sung to the end of the kanons, went out from the choirs, and the priests and deacons of the cathedral joined in the singings to the end; and in the Πολυχρόνιον and in the Ἐκτενεῖς they made mention of the patriarch Nicon.

And being confronted with the protopope Michael, the hierodiakon of the metropolitan Jonah, Gerasimus, said: When the patriarch went to the icon of our Lady of Blachernæ, the protopope Michael stood with a light; but where he took the candle he knows not; the patriarch did not then do reverence to the icon of our Lady of Blachernæ. But the protopope Michael said that he did not light the patriarch, but a candle fell, &c. (as before), and he took it up, and set it up again before the icon. And Gerasimus the deacon said that more than this he saw not; and whether the protopope went before the ex-patriarch with a light he knows not, because at that time he went away to the metropolitan. Also the same deacon said that the metropolitan sent him to the protopope and to the kliuchars and to the popes and the deacons (and in particular to the protopope) to speak to the brethren, that they should go to the metropolitan to consult about reporting the patriarch's coming to the great hossoudar. And the protopope said to him: 'How can I go to the metropolitan? I must now take care of myself.' And he went thus at the time when the patriarch was at the robe of the Lord. But the protopope Michael said: The hierodiakon Gerasimus did not come to him, and did not call him to the metropolitan for consultation, that they might report the coming of the patriarch to the great hossoudar. But the hierodiakon Gerasimus said: The metropolitan Jonah came also himself, and called the protopope Michael to him to consult, &c.; and the protopope with his hand put off the metropolitan, and did not go to consult.

But the protopope Michael said: The metropolitan did not come to

him, and did not call him to consult; and he did not put off the metropolitan with his hand, nor did he say such words as these: I will not go to consult. And the protopope petitioned that the hierodiakon Gerasimus should be asked, since he says that the metropolitan came to him and called him to consult, Why the metropolitan and the deacons in their depositions have not written this? The metropolitan and those deacons have written in their depositions that he sent deacons to him the protopope; but the deacons do not add that the metropolitan himself also went.

And the hierodiakon Gerasimus said: Why the metropolitan in his deposition did not write that he knows not; but they, the deacons, in their depositions wrote it not because the thing was done in a hurry.

And the hierodiakon Barlaam, being confronted with the protopope Michael, said: As the patriarch went past the icon of our Lady of Blachernæ there was a candle with him; but what sort of candle he remembers not. But farther than that, at the other icons, he did not see the protopope with a light. And the metropolitan sent him, the deacon, to the protopope, that he should come to him to consult; and he, Barlaam, spoke to the protopope at the left choir, and the protopope said nothing to him. But when he called the protopope to the metropolitan, nobody else at that time heard him. But the protopope Michael said: The deacon Barlaam did *not* call him to the metropolitan to consult with him. And the hierodiakon Barlaam said: Whether the metropolitan *went* himself to the protopope, or whether he only *called* him, he knows not, because he at that time had gone away from the metropolitan, and was seeking the kliuchars. And the church doors were shut, two of them, the north door and the west door; but whether the south door was open or not he knows not. But to that door the metropolitan could not go, because the patriarch and his people were standing near to it (and he would have had to pass in front of them).

And being confronted with the kliuchars Job and Theodore, Joseph the hierodiakon of the metropolitan Jonah said: The metropolitan Jonah sent him to the kliuchars, &c.; and he, the deacon Joseph, spoke in an undertone to the kliuchars at the time that the patriarch left the relics of Peter the wonderworker (the *kliuchars* were then *following after him*), that they should go to the metropolitan; but whether they heard his words or not he knows not. But the kliuchars Job and Theodore said the hierodiakon did *not* come to them, and did *not* call them to the metropolitan, and they heard nothing from him. And *they*, the kliuchars, *do not go together* to uncover the relics, but one of them only goes at a time.

But the hierodiakon said they were both there, and were following the patriarch: and that the west and north doors of the cathedral were shut, and the metropolitan could not go out; but who shut them he knows not. But he did not speak to the kliuchars that they should cause either of the doors to be opened.

But the kliuchars said: The north and the south doors were open; and only the west doors were fastened.

And being personally confronted, the hierodiakon Gerasimus said: The metropolitan Jonah sent him to the kliuchars, &c. And at that time

the kliuchars were going with the patriarch from the robe of the Lord; and the kliuchars said nothing to him.

The kliuchar Job said that he was *not* at the robe of the Lord with the patriarch: and the kliuchar Theodore said that he was with the patriarch at the robe of the Lord, but his colleague Job was *not;* and that it is not their rule for two of them to go anywhere, as to the icons or relics, but they divide that office separately between them; and the hierodiakon Gerasimus did not come to them, &c.

And the deacon Gerasimus said: Two of the doors of the cathedral, the west and the north doors, were shut; but who shut them he knows not. He, Gerasimus, did not speak to anybody about these doors, to have them opened. But the kliuchars said: The west doors were shut, but the north doors were open.

The hierodiakon Gerasimus said: By order of the metropolitan Jonah he called the kliuchar Job to go with him to the metropolitan, when the patriarch had sent the metropolitan to the great hossoudar to announce his having come; that he, the kliuchar, might go with him, the metropolitan: and the kliuchar Job said: 'I dare not go without an order from the patriarch;' and he made a report of that to the patriarch. But the kliuchar Job said: The hierodiakon Gerasimus came to him and called him to go with the metropolitan to the great hóssoudar: and he, Job, was standing at the patriarchal place; and he spoke a word with the patriarch, and went to the metropolitan. But he did not refuse, saying, 'I dare not go without an order from the patriarch.'

And the hierodiakon Barlaam, being confronted with the kliuchars Job and Theodore, said that by order of the metropolitan Jonah he called the kliuchars; and the kliuchars were then going with the patriarch from the relics of Jonah the wonderworker; and they said nothing to him.

But the kliuchar Job said that he, Job, did *not* go after the patriarch from the tomb of the wonderworker Jonah, but his colleague; and his colleague Theodore was not at that tomb; but Theodore was (with the patriarch) at the tunic of our Lord alone, and he, Job, was not there: and the hierodiakon Barlaam nowhere spoke to both of them, the two kliuchars, saying that the metropolitan was calling for them for consultation. And the hierodiakon Barlaam said: The doors were shut, two of them, the west door and the north door: but he spoke to no one to get either of those doors opened. But the kliuchars said: The west doors were shut; but the north and the south doors were both open [as no doubt they were].

APPENDIX XVI. *In connection with p. 555. Roll ix. No.* 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. *The affair of Ziuzin.*

Roll ix. No. 19: *Autograph letter of the patriarch Nicon* (*printed at p.* 526). *No.* 20: *Examination of Nikita Ziuzin.*

And Nikita Ziuzin having been brought before the tsar, &c., and having heard the letters read through, and being shown his own handwriting, said that the letter shown to him was in his own handwriting, and that he had sent such a letter to the patriarch twice by the subdeacon Nikita; and the

patriarch, in answer to those his letters, wrote to him again; and he, Nikita, burned those letters of the patriarch: and those (two other) letters which he, Nikita, wrote, the patriarch returned to him; but he did not return this last letter of his, viz. that which has been given above.

And the tsar, having heard the letters of the patriarch Nicon, ordered, and the boyars counselled, that search should be made for the subdeacon Nikita.

Roll ix. No. 21. And the same day the subdeacon Nikita was found, and examined before the great hossoudar. And he was asked: How long ago, and from whom, and with what letters he had gone from Moscow to the patriarch Nicon, to the monastery of Voskresensk? and when he was with the patriarch what had he heard? and to whom had he received letters from the patriarch? and did he take them? and to whom by name? and what was in those letters? And he gave his written deposition in reply as follows:

A.M. 7173, Dec. 19, the subdeacon Nikita said: In the present month of Dec., the 13th day, being Tuesday—there had come to me before, on the 12th, the monk Alexander, and had bidden me come to him the next day at the first hour: and I went to him on the 13th at that hour, to his cell: and there was sitting with him Nikita Alex. Ziuzin. And he began to say to me: 'Thou art an old acquaintance of mine;' and he saluted me; and he asked: 'Have you been (lately) with the patriarch?' And when I said I had not, though I prayed much that I might have an opportunity of going, he said to me: 'Do you wish to go?' And I said to him: At present I have no reason for going. And he said to me: 'You may go on the tsar's service: it is for the service of God, and of him, the great hossoudar, and of all the people: and there is an order for you to go.' And he gave me a letter, a roll, sealed with three seals: and he charged me to say that he, the patriarch, for God's sake should send that same letter back. 'And if thou wishest to know,' he said, 'what is in it, I will read it to thee.' There was nobody else present at that time with the monk Alexander. And I took from him the letter. And when I took from him the letter he said: 'Shall I read thee that letter?' And I said: As thou pleasest, Nikita Alexievich. And he read that letter in my presence. And in the letter it was written that the great hossoudar had called to him Athanasius Nashchokin, at the matins, in the church of St. Eudocia in the palace *above*, and had said such words as these: That Nikita Ziuzin should write to the patriarch, in order that this secret might be known to no one, that the patriarch should come to Moscow for the 19th of this month to matins in the cathedral, and stand in his place, and take the staff of Peter the wonderworker, and send to the great hossoudar to notify his having come: 'And when he shall send to thee, *great hossoudar* (*i.e.* to thee, Nicon), to ask: Wherefore hast thou come to Moscow? say thou: I have brought peace to thee; and I have come to my chair: when I went away I consulted with nobody; and now I have come again in like manner, without having consulted anybody.' But what besides was written in that letter I do not remember so as to be able to repeat it. And he sealed the letter, and delivered it to me. And I took the letter from him, and went to the podvorie of Voskresensk, and took horses, and went to the

monastery, to the patriarch. But to conduct me there was with me the podiak of the treasury of the monastery Bogdashko, &c.

And I came to the patriarch the same day at night, and went to his hermitage, and caused myself to be announced; and the patriarch bade that I should be admitted to him, and I went in, and delivered the letter. And he read the letter in silence, and said to me: 'The will of God be done in this matter. The heart of the tsar is in the hand of God. I am glad that there should be peace. Go thou now to the monastery, and I before it be morning will write an answer to him.' And on the morrow the patriarch sent for me, and gave me a sealed letter, and sent me away to Moscow; and I carried that letter, and delivered it to Nikita Alex. Ziuzin. And he took that letter from me, and read it in my presence. And in the letter of the patriarch Nicon there was written to him, Nikita, 'blessing and peace. I am glad that there should be peace.' But besides that I do not remember. I delivered to him that letter in the cell of the same monk Alexander (with whom I had previously seen him). And in all that time nothing else took place.

And again, Dec. 15, Nikita Alexievich sent to me a letter, by a boy, into the house, saying: 'It is commanded thee to go quickly.' And I took the letter, and went with it to the patriarch with horses belonging to the monastery, as before. And I came to the patriarch, and delivered to him that letter. And the patriarch took it from me, and read it without speaking: and he said to me: 'Now it is clear: the will of God for this has come to us. I will not resist the will of God, and his, the tsar's, command.' And he sent me away the next morning early to Moscow, and gave me a sealed letter, and bade me deliver it to the same Nikita. And that letter, as soon as I arrived in Moscow, I delivered to the monk Alexander in his own cells, and bade him deliver it to Nikita.

Also the said Nikita Alexievich gave me a verbal message, that the patriarch should trust this letter, and fear nothing, nor suspect anything to be amiss; and I was to say that if he were not to do so, or were not to come, this was the last offer of grace towards him from the hossoudar: and if he should not come now, there would be enmity again. 'And do thou, Nikita, speak to him that he should come' (so he, Nikita Ziuzin, said to me). But of that communication no one—he said—knew anything except himself, Nikita, and the monk Alexander. This deposition has been written by me, the subdeacon Nikita Nikitin.

Roll ix. No. 22. And the same day the monk Alexander, the corrector of the *pechatni dvor* (the printing-house), was sought for, and examined before Paul the metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and before Joachim the archimandrite of the Choudoff, as to the above deposition of the subdeacon Nikita, on the gospel and on his word as a monk. He gave under his hand the following deposition:

A.M. 7173, Dec. 19, Alexander, &c., said: He left the printing-house five or six days ago, and met Nikita Ziuzin, who asked him to go and see his wife, he being confessor to both of them. So he went the next day to his, Nikita's, house. And Nikita then began to say: 'For our sins the patriarch Nicon is angry with us all; and I think he is more angry with me than with others; and I do not know whom I can send to him to ob-

tain his absolution for myself and for my wife, the hour of whose death is approaching. If I were to send any of my own people, *I fear the anger of the great hossoudar, lest he should take it as some insubordination against himself.*' And he, the monk Alexander, said to him that the subdeacon Nikita still goes to the patriarch, as before; and he, Nikita Alex. Ziuzin, arranged with him, the monk Alexander, that he should meet the subdeacon Nikita in his cell. And the next day he did meet the said subdeacon in the cell of him, the monk Alexander, accordingly: and in his presence he, Nikita Al. Ziuzin, gave to the subdeacon a letter, and bade him carry it to the patriarch Nicon. But he said that in that letter there was written a request for his absolution. And there was also a command to invite the patriarch to Moscow. And for that command had been given (so he said at my house) through the dvorianin of the council Athanasius Laurent. Ordin-Nashchokin, and through the *golova* of the Moscow streltsi Artemon Serg. Matveyeff, that the patriarch Nicon should come to Moscow before the Nativity of Christ, for the conclusion of a peace with the king of Poland, and for other affairs of state. Also the patriarch Nicon had had a vision[84] commanding that he should go to Moscow. And after that, on the Sabbath, Dec. 17, he (Nikita Ziuzin) showed to him, the monk Alexander, a description of *that* vision in a letter, in which it was written that he, the patriarch Nicon, fasted three days and three nights, and lay not down on his side to sleep: and on the third night,[85] as he sat on a bench and dozed, he found himself at Moscow in the cathedral, and he saw a multitude of the former deceased bishops and clergy. And one of those bishops was carrying about a paper, with an inkstand and pen; and they subscribed with their hands. And he, the patriarch Nicon, went up to that bishop who was carrying the paper and the ink, and asked him: 'What is this that they are doing?' And he said to him: 'We are all subscribing that thou shouldest be, as before, in the patriarchate.' And when he, the patriarch Nicon, came to the patriarchal place, there was standing there the metropolitan Peter the wonderworker. And he went into the place; and he awoke. But who now, and of what ranks, go to the patriarch, and with what communications, and from whom heretofore the subdeacon Nikita was used to go to the patriarch, he, the monk Alexander, knows not. But as regards the vision of the patriarch, he saw it in the letter at Nikita's house. And as regards the fact, that Nikita Alex. Ziuzin wrote and spoke about his coming, he, the monk Alexander, supposed that all that was by command of the great hossoudar; and he took it to be true. And respecting the coming of the patriarch, he, the subdeacon Nikita, came and told him of it on Dec. 18 (it being Sunday) at

[84] The vision here really alluded to is that of 12th Jan. A.D. 1661 (see above, vol. iv. p. 311, 409, 467); but the priest Alexander seems here to confuse two different visions together, and to suppose that that vision of which he read the description on Saturday the 17th Dec. was the same as that to which Ziuzin had alluded a few days *before*. See below, the deposition of Ordin-Nashchokin.

[85] 'On the third night;' *i.e.* on Thursday night, after receiving Ziuzin's second letter, and before writing to him on Friday morning. 'On the third night' agrees with Nicon's own account at p. 538, though Nicon says 'after four nights and three days:' but as the first day is Tuesday the 13th Dec., he must take in the night preceding.

five hours and a half before light. And he, the monk Alexander, went to the cathedral, at the singing of the kanons, and stood at the west doors with the patriarchal treasurer, the monk Tichon, but did not go up to the patriarch Nicon for his blessing. And Nikita Ziuzin sent the subdeacon Nikita to the patriarch Nicon twice in one week; and he, the monk Alexander, did not write to the patriarch Nicon, nor give any directions or message whatsoever. Signed, &c.

Roll ix. No. 23. A.M. 7173, Dec. 19, the dvorianin of the council, Athanasius Laur. Ordin Nashchokin, deposed: Nikita Ziuzin came to Moscow from Great Novgorod, and said to him, Athanasius, that *when he was at Great Novgorod*, the patriarch Nicon had written to him from Voskresensk about a vision which he had had of the first metropolitan of Moscow, Peter the wonderworker, as if in the cathedral of Moscow (he, the patriarch Nicon, being then in the monastery at Voskresensk), directing that he, the patriarch Nicon, should *write*[86] to Moscow to the great hossoudar that the *people* of Moscow *should abide in the fear of God and in piety*.[87] And he, the patriarch Nicon, in the vision said to the metropolitan Peter that at Moscow *they* probably would not believe what he wrote. And he, the patriarch, asked Peter the wonderworker what sign there should be respecting this, if so be they should not believe him? And Peter the wonderworker pointed with his hand towards that corner of the church where is the tomb of Jonah the wonderworker, and a body of flame seemed to rush through the church.[88] And when he, Nikita, was dismissed from Great Novgorod to Moscow, he saw (on his way) at Voskresensk the patriarch Nicon, and heard from him about this, that he had written an account of that vision to the great hossoudar, and that his letter was regarded as if he prophesied by Beelzebub. However, very soon after the receipt of his letter there was a fire in the palace of the great hossoudar, which consumed the drying-room.[89]

But Nikita Ziuzin came to him, Athanasius, in the present year 7173, about Nov. 30, and asked him if he had agreed with the Novgorodian, with Athanasius Michlaeff, that he, Athanasius, should carry from Moscow to Novgorod or to Pskoff a quantity of potash belonging to him, the said Nikita, and sell it for exportation. And he, Athanasius, said to Nikita (Ziuzin) that in Novgorod and in Pskoff he would be throwing his potash away for next to nothing; and that it would be better for him to send that potash to Vologda. And he, Nikita, said that he had not the money wherewith to hire carriers to take it to Vologda; and on hearing that it would not be possible to sell the potash in Novgorod or Pskoff, he wanted to borrow money. And in that conversation he put in: 'Moreover, the patriarch Nicon would not abandon me in my poverty; but I dare not apply to him, *on account of the reports*

[86] So the account of Nicon's dream of 12th Jan. A.D. 1661 might be understood, if he could not *go* and speak orally to the tsar: but see vol. iv. p. 311, '*go* and say,' and p. 409, '*say* to the tsar,' &c.; and above compare the statement of the priest Alexander at p. 169.

[87] For what is meant by 'abiding in the fear of God and in piety,' see above, Nicon's account of the vision itself, p. 311, 409.

[88] Note how the courtier Nashchokin avoids saying that the *tsar* was to be admonished, and the *tsar's palace* to be consumed.

[89] Or '*dry-room*,' for drying things, and keeping things dry.

it would excite among the people: and I hear that the patriarch weeps much, and says also to his monks that people bring against him to the great hossoudar absurd and unseemly imputations.' And as he, Nikita, said those words, he wept at the same time, that for our sins and the sins of the whole nation, contrary to all expectation, a strife had arisen between him, the great hossoudar, and the patriarch. 'But here,' he said, 'we do not hear that the great hossoudar has said anything about the patriarch as if in anger. And just now, being in the Sabbino monastery, the great hossoudar sent to the patriarch the stolnik Gregory Sobakin with his imperial alms.' And in answer to those particular words of the said Nikita, he, Athanasius, said that of the tsar's grace he had heard from the tsar's majesty, when his majesty had returned from the Sabbino monastery to Moscow, that the archimandrite of the monastery of Voskresensk had been sent to him, the great hossoudar, to the Sabbino monastery, and had petitioned him, the great hossoudar, in the name of the patriarch, with tears, not to give ear to reports which were brought to him; for that they bring many slanderous and unfounded accusations (tending to widen the breach) against the patriarch: and he, the great hossoudar, had dismissed him, the archimandrite, to return to the patriarch. And when he, the great hossoudar, had come from the Sabbino monastery to the village of Khoróshevo there came to him the monk Gregory Neronoff, and spake to him about the patriarch Nicon words intended to excite anger, which were not even worth listening to. But besides this he, Athanasius, said nothing to Nikita (Ziuzin). And respecting the archimandrite of Voskresensk, and respecting the monk Gregory Neronoff, he said what he said to Nikita in consequence of his words of lamentation. He, Nikita, had come to him, Athanasius, to ask him about the sending of his potash, and where he could borrow money to pay carriers for carrying it. And after that he spoke those words about calumnious imputations intended to foster enmity against the patriarch. But neither in company with Artemon Matveyeff nor alone did he, Athanasius, go to Nikita Ziuzin, nor speak to him, together with Matveyeff, about the patriarch Nicon coming to Moscow: nor had he, Athanasius, spoken to him (Ziuzin) alone, that the patriarch should come to Moscow, and be as before. But for the matter of sending him, Athanasius, on an embassy (to Poland) after a council, or of the holding of any council, when he was talking with Nikita, he had said nothing. But if he, Nikita, had written to the patriarch, putting anything upon him, Athanasius, as if he had heard it from him, he prayed the great hossoudar to order him, Athanasius, and Nikita Ziuzin and Artemon Matveyeff to be confronted together. But from the time that the patriarch Nicon was placed in the patriarchate until now he, Athanasius, has never been to him for his blessing; nor before his patriarchate. The patriarch Nicon has no acquaintance with him, Athanasius; and there has never been any transmission of letters between himself and the patriarch through any one; nor did he, Athanasius, ever direct Nikita Ziuzin to write to the patriarch about anything whatever. Signed, &c.

Roll ix. No. 24. A.M. 7173, Dec. 22, the great hossoudar, &c., interrogated Nikita Ziuzin whether he had written also of other matters to the patriarch Nicon, and of what? and how long ago was it that he began to

write to him? and by whom was it that he sent to him? And Nikita said that he wrote to Nicon after his going away in the first year, to inquire about his health; but of any such matter as he had now written about he had in former time never written to him. And his letters he used to send by his monks, especially by the monk Aaron. He, Nikita, also said that when he came from Great Novgorod, and was with the patriarch in the monastery (at Voskresensk), he asked him why he had left his chair? and whether he would return to it again? And the patriarch replied that he had left it in anger, and hereafter he might return to it: why not?

Being asked whether Athanasius and Artemon had really said those words which he had written in his letter, he said that he had falsely imputed them to them, and that nothing of the kind had taken place.

And being asked respecting what he had written in his letter, 'Thy friends have written,' who were those friends? and with whom did he devise this? he replied that he wrote so of himself alone, and that he had no partners in the matter.

And being asked whether he sent to learn beforehand of the coming of the patriarch? and whom by name did he send? he replied that he did send his own man, a master tailor, and that he asked also of Jacob Solovtsoff concerning the patriarch's coming.

Being asked whether he had conversed with any other person about that? and had he a domestic priest? and had he conversed with that domestic priest about the patriarch Nicon? And he answered that he had a domestic priest named Rodion, who lived with him in his house, but he had had no conversation with him about the patriarch Nicon.

Qu. Had he been in the Spassky monastery with the monk Alexander? and how long ago was that? and for what purpose?

Ans. He was with him *the day before* the coming of the patriarch; and he went in order to give a letter to the subdeacon Nikita.

Qu. How many letters had the patriarch written to him?

Ans. The patriarch wrote him one letter by Sisoi, and by the subdeacon Nikita he wrote two: and before that Sisoi went.

Qu. Why did he write to the patriarch to come by night? and with whom did he devise this? And he was commanded with the severest threats to speak the truth; else not only he himself but all his family should be ruined.

Ans. He had never consulted at all about that with any one whatsoever; but he wrote to the patriarch to come by night, that he might come without its being known.

Qu. Why did he *slander* the hossoudar and the tsaritsa, as if they desired the patriarch to come to Moscow?

Ans. He confessed himself guilty herein.

Qu. Had Athanasius and Artemon at other times spoken with him? what had they counselled, or said to him?

Ans. Athanasius said to him that it would be a good thing that before the sending of his embassy there should be also a patriarch. But beyond this Athanasius said nothing whatever.

And after the examination the tsar commanded that there should be taken from Nikita Zinzin a deposition. And by oukaz, &c., a deposition

was taken accordingly, written in his own hand, as follows. [This deposition was carried to the tsar by the doumni dvorianin Ivan Ath. Pronchischeff.]

Roll ix. No. 25. Nikita Ziuzin deposed: In the year, hossoudar, 7166, July 10, I, thy slave, was told by the diak Ivan Kalitin, saying: 'The patriarch Nicon means to leave his chair and go away from Moscow; and I spoke to him, saying: Go not away; but he hearkens not to me.' And I, Nikita, sent him, and bade him speak to the patriarch from me, that he should desist from such a rash resolution (lit. audacity), and not go away from Moscow, nor *disturb* the Church of God, and provoke thee, the great hossoudar, to wrath. But if so be—so I bade him say—thou dost go away indiscreetly and rashly, instead of changing thy mind, then afterwards it will no longer be open to thee to come back if thou wouldst; and I will not flatter thee, nor dissemble that I fear for thee the anger of the great hossoudar, when he sees thee dare to act so rashly. And afterwards the same Ivan said, 'I spoke to him; and he seemed to hesitate after hearing thy words; and he began to write: but after he had written a little, he tore it up, and said: "I will go."'

And after that, in the same year, I sent to him many times the diak Theodore Toropeff with the same message: Why, hossoudar, hast thou left thy chair? lay aside thine obstinacy, and return. And he always sent back word: 'If ever there shall be a convenient time, I will return.'

And when the patriarch was in the Iversky monastery, he wrote to me, thy slave, more than once of what he had done in going away, quoting passages from the holy scriptures. But the exact details of all that was written in his letters I do not remember. Only I remember that he wrote of an attempt to poison him, of his vision of flames, of the Novgorodian Basil Nikiphoroff, and of my letter which I sent by him. For I wrote to him by the hand of my own man Basil Nikiphoroff. But both from the Krestnoy and from Voskresensk he wrote to me the same as before about his departure, quoting many texts of scripture. But all those letters of the patriarch, hossoudar, were taken from me, thy slave, before now, together with other letters. And I, thy slave, on the other hand, wrote to him about his returning, by my own man C. Spiridonoff. And on my way from Novgorod I, thy slave, visited the patriarch; and I said to him: Wherefore didst thou go away rashly, venturing so much? and wherefore dost thou not now humble thyself before God and before the great hossoudar, but hast *deserted* the Church? And he said: 'I went away in anger, but after a time I will return; and do thou write to me hereafter also about that my return.' And I, thy slave, wrote to him, and sent him a verbal message by the monk Aaron about his return: and when he (the monk Aaron) was at Moscow, in the podvorie of the Voskresensky monastery, he went (and delivered my message): and that the monk Aaron told me. And after that I wrote, and I also sent him a verbal message by the priest Sisoi, to the same effect, that he should humble himself. And now in this December I chanced to have a conversation with the doumni dvorianin Athanasius Laur. Nashchokin about the sending of his embassy, and in the course of the conversation mention was made of the patriarch; and he said: 'It would be a good thing certainly, at this present time,

towards such a good work as the conclusion of a peace, that the patriarch should be here.' And I, thy slave, said: But is there not the anger of the great hossoudar against him? And Athanasius said in reply: 'There is no anger on the part of the great hossoudar. On Dec. 7 the great hossoudar said to me that there had come from the patriarch the archimandrite of the monastery of Voskresensk, and had petitioned with tears for the patriarch, that he would be pleased not to believe any kind of reports of his seeking to cause trouble. And he, the great hossoudar, said: "I do not believe any stories of his seeking to cause trouble, and I have no anger against him. There was Ivan Neronoff, who came to Khoróshevo and there accused the patriarch to me; and I believed nothing of what he said, but left all that to the will of God."'[99] And I said to him, Athanasius: I will write to the patriarch that he should come now; perhaps on receiving a letter he will come in humility. 'It would be well,' he said, 'if the patriarch were to enter into your counsel, that so the Lord God, according to his merciful will, might give peace to the holy Church.' But more than this he, Athanasius, said not about that matter.

And I, thy slave, wrote to the patriarch again in the same month of December (but the date I do not remember) by the priest Sisoi. I sent him on purpose, bidding him hire a carriage, desiring that he, the patriarch, should go to the Sabbine monastery, and I sought to draw him into my scheme by all possible means, by falsehood, though I had not really heard anything from any one, hoping so to lead him on, and that so he would come to humility.

But he in reply wrote letters thus: 'I cannot come without a letter from the great hossoudar.' And after that, by the subdeacon Nikita, I, thy slave, wrote without reflection that dreadful matter, and added falsehood concerning thy imperial person, and that of the religious tsaritsa, with the hope of influencing the patriarch thereby, and in order that my confessor Alexander and the subdeacon Nikita, when they saw that letter, might thereby be restrained from attempting to prevent me; and I showed them the letter for this reason, that I wished to inspire them with trust. And my confessor believed (that it was all truth), and Nikita was known to him, and so he went to the patriarch.

But in answer to that my letter, the patriarch wrote that he would come to Moscow, and he desired that I should write to him exactly on what day he was to come, and how he should come? And I wrote to him that he should say at the gates that they were the fathers of the monastery of St. Sabba the wonderworker, and that he should go to the cathedral in humility, as is written at length in my letter to the patriarch. But for what was written on the back and blotted out, and seeming to have been ordered at the time, that was written on this account, that it might inspire him with trust, and to bring him thereby quickly, and that he should come to the matins in humility, and not in such guise as that in which he actually came: and I took measures to be informed of what might take place on the Sunday morning. And I, thy slave, rising up, sent that night a little boy, the son of my porter, to find Fedka, a tailor. And I gave him orders, saying: They said last night that the patriarch was coming; go

[99] That is: 'I made no inquest, nor took any notice of the information.'

and see if he has come. And he returned and said: 'The patriarch came not long ago, and he is standing in his place: but there is nobody of the boyars in the castle (in the kremlin); no one has come.'

And I, thy slave, sent him again, and bade him observe whether he goes from the church to his cells (to the patriarchal residence), and whether any one is sent from the great hossoudar to the church to the patriarch. And for this purpose I told him to wait about till such a time. And he came to me, thy slave, and said that he had heard on the place that there had been some sent to the church, to the patriarch, and the patriarch had gone out from the church and had gone away again; and there had escorted him as far as the Zemlianni-gorod in sledges I know not who besides, and a number of streltsi.

But Artemon Matveyeff spake with me in conversation, in reply to words from me, thy slave, that there was no wrath of the great hossoudar against the patriarch. 'But he does all,' he said, 'according to his own ideas and fashion: he goes about to provoke the tsar; and for that reason *God* does not suffer him.' But more than this Artemon said not.

But for what I wrote of myself to the patriarch, with the exception of my confessor and the subdeacon Nikita, I showed it to no one. But what I wrote in my letters to the patriarch of his coming, that my confessor and Nikita knew, because Nikita told me that the patriarch had shown him my former letter and his own, speaking to him besides. For that reason I also read my last letter to them. I showed it too to Athanasius, that he might know beforehand of the patriarch's coming; and I told him by whose hand I had written. But what I had really written I concealed from him. And it was written in the letter of the patriarch that he sent his thanks to his friends: this too I explained away to him. It was written there that he sent his thanks to his friends by name, to Athanasius and Artemon.

And to Athanasius I said that the reason for which he, the patriarch, wrote thus, was because I had written that I heard from him, Athanasius, and from Artemon, that there was no wrath. But this I concealed, that I had written distinctly, *as if from them*. And he, the patriarch, also wrote darkly.

But more than this I, thy slave, had not in the way of communication on the subject with any one: only before Nikita was sent, I spoke to the diak Ivan Kalitin, having devised a falsehood, as if the great hossoudar had given command to write about the coming of the patriarch; and Ivan wondered at that, whether it was really so? And he wondered at my saying that I would write. And I spoke to him that he should carry the letter, but he refused me, saying, 'I cannot go; and, besides, I dare not.' And it was on that account that I sent the letter by Nikita. And one letter of the patriarch I showed to Ivan, and he wondered at that also. And I, thy slave, in all this, yea, yea, am writing *now* the truth, and *nothing but the truth*, having the fear of God, and the fear of thee, the great hossoudar, before my mind. But before now I did not declare all exactly for this reason, that I might not excite thee, the great hossoudar, to fiercer anger, and might not bring any one into trouble without need, and because I could not recall to memory exactly: and my own letters

and the answers of the patriarch I had burned, that they might not be known. And with him I expected that the matter would be kept secret. But I, thy servant, wrote to the patriarch always of his coming, and spoke to him by word of mouth of the same, from this cause, that the enemy, as I suppose, put it into my mind that this was needful, and that he would return: and from him I hoped that he would *humble* himself, and desist from his former *lofty audacity* in all things. But the counsel of God, hossoudar, it is not for the counsel of a man to oppose: and such an attempt He according to his own will defeats, according to his holy will, not allowing its author success or the attainment of his end, though he may not prevent the conception of it, but may allow a man to follow his own thought and device. And so now I, sinful man, must be punished for my audacity; for that I have dared to undertake such a dreadful enterprise without God's sacred will.

And aforetime also, when I was with the patriarch, *by thy oukaz*, O great hossoudar, I often spoke to him of his lofty audacity, and told him that he was *unmerciful*, that he made no allowances: and he for that *loved me not:* and I spoke, saying that he acted in all things after his own will and fashion; and by this I only the more displeased him: so I ceased; and I *excused myself also to thee*, O great hossoudar.

Also on the Sunday, after the Liturgy, in the cathedral, I, thy slave, asked of Jacob Solovtsoff and of Artemon Matveyeff: Has the patriarch come? And they said, both of them: 'He has come.' And Artemon said: 'He has done nothing, and *worse than nothing:* he *shakes off the dust from his feet* because *God* suffers him not to come to dwell *with us unbelievers.*' And I, thy slave, said: It is *his old indiscreet audacity.* Also he had spoken with Joachim archimandrite of the Choudoff, who had been in the Voskresensky monastery, of his coming, saying that he would come. And he, Joachim, said to me: 'I spake to him (to dissuade him), but he never listens to me; he will have his own way.' But no communications beyond these did I have with any one concerning this matter, in which without reflection I have presumed to anger God and thee, the great hossoudar.

And for that I crave mercy of thee, the great hossoudar, for my crime, that not considering the foulness of such an act, I dared so heinous a thing as to invite the patriarch Nicon to the holy church, and to add that this was the will of thy great majesty and of the religious lady the tsaritsa, and to calumniate by the same act Athanasius and Artemon in my letter to the patriarch. And in all that I, thy slave, am guilty, without any manner of excuse. I crave mercy, guilty and helpless that I am, the last of thy slaves. Be merciful according to thy imperial mercy, in imitation of Christ, to thy slave, my lord, hossoudar, be merciful!

And Dec. 23, the tsar, &c, having heard the deposition of Nikita Ziuzin read, ordered Athanasius *Leont.* (Laurent.) Nashchokin to be examined again as to certain points of the same, and to be made to give a fresh deposition. And the same day the dvorianin of the council Athanasius Leont. Nashchokin was examined; and in his examination and deposition he writes thus. (There was sent to examine him the doumni diak Dementius Bashmakoff.)

Roll ix. No. 26. Dec. 23, the doumni dvorianin Athanasius *Leont.* Ordin-Nashchokin, being examined as to the deposition of Nikita Ziuzin, made in this same month of December, concerning the sending of his embassy, and concerning the patriarch Nicon, whether he said that it would be well that for so great a matter as the conclusion of a peace he should be at Moscow? and whether Nikita asked him, the said Athanasius, whether there was not wrath from the great hossoudar against him, the patriarch? and whether he, Athanasius, said to Nikita that there was no wrath from the great hossoudar against the patriarch; and that there had come to him, the great hossoudar, from the patriarch the archimandrite of the Voskresensky monastery, and had made petition with tears that he would not believe any calumnies meant to anger him; and that the great hossoudar said to him, the archimandrite, that he, the hossoudar, had no wrath against the patriarch, and believed nothing whatever of such a kind; and that there had come to Khoróshevo Ivan Neronoff to make some such accusation against the patriarch, and he, the great hossoudar, had not believed a word of it, but referred all that to the will of God? and whether Nikita Ziuzin thereupon had said to him, Athanasius, that he would write of that to the patriarch, that he now should come to Moscow? and whether he, Athanasius, said to him that it would be well if the patriarch were to be of one mind with him, Nikita, that so the Lord God, according to his holy will, might give peace to the Church? And did Nikita show to him, Athanasius, the letters of the patriarch about his coming to Moscow, that he might know beforehand of his coming? And did he mention by whom he had written to the patriarch? And in the letters of the patriarch was it written that he sent thanks to his friends, viz. to him, Athanasius, and to Artemon, by name? And did Nikita say to him, Athanasius, *why* the patriarch wrote of that, namely, because he, Nikita, had written to the patriarch that he heard from him, Athanasius Nashchokin, that there was no wrath of the hossoudar against him? And he, Athanasius, was charged to make a deposition of the exact truth on all these points.

And he said, &c., according to Christ's holy commandment in the gospels, and after having this same day confessed himself to his spiritual father, that he had in his former deposition said about Nikita Ziuzin all that he had to say, the whole truth, without either addition or suppression. On Dec. 14 he had lent Nikita Ziuzin 50 rubles, for transport by carriers: and the day after that he fell sick. And Nikita came to him, and said that that money was insufficient for the transport of his potash and tar: and he showed to him, Athanasius, a writing of accounts which his people had written to him, to the effect that there were of his, Nikita's, potash and tar many thousands of poods. And he, Athanasius, in his sickness said to him, Nikita, in answer to his words, nothing at all; and even he did not hear those words of his, and did not read his papers of accounts. But except this, and what he, Athanasius, said in his former examination—about the patriarch Nicon's coming to Moscow before he, Athanasius, should be sent on the embassy, and that he, Nikita, should write to him, the patriarch, about that,—he had never spoken at all with Nikita on the subject; nor had Nikita shown him any letters from the patriarch about his coming to

Moscow, nor told him by whom he had written. On all these points Nikita had deposed falsely about him, Athanasius.

Moreover he, Athanasius, asked the tsar's pardon for having forgotten in his former deposition to say that in the past year 7171, in the month of September or October (A.D. 1662), he, the great hossoudar, had been pleased to say to him, Athanasius, that he must not cultivate acquaintance with Nikita Ziuzin, because he, Nikita, was a man with a tongue, who would implicate him in matters not convenient. And after that, when he, Athanasius, came to Moscow from the embassy (on which he had been sent), from Lvoff, and it first chanced that he met Nikita, he told him, Nikita, at once, in his first words with him, that he must never be seen anywhere in company with him, Athanasius; that he was a man in disgrace; and there would be danger of his, Athanasius, incurring some anger from the great hossoudar. And at this present time, inasmuch as it appears from the questions addressed to him, Athanasius, and from his answers to them, that the same Nikita came more than once to his house and conversed with him, and that he, Athanasius, for the tears of the same Nikita, did not give orders to shut his door against him, nor dishonourably send him away from his own presence, in this he, Athanasius, is guilty before the great hossoudar. And for this *his fault* he, Athanasius, submits himself to suffer whatever punishment he, the great hossoudar, may think proper to inflict; and he, Athanasius, deserves for that to be punished. And without command of him, the great hossoudar, after confessing himself to his spiritual father the priest Stephen Matveyeff of the Spassky, he *dares not this day*, Dec. 24,[91] *approach the most holy mysteries*. And with respect to this let it be as God shall inspire him, the great hossoudar, to decide.

To this deposition I, Athanasius, have set my hand, and I hope that I a sinner may not this day lose the favour of my gracious and merciful tsar and father. So I boldly ask of him, my sovereign, forgiveness.[92]

APPENDIX XVII. *In connection with the missions of the tsar to the Levant mentioned at p. 585.*

Letter to the archimandrites, hegoumens, &c., and to all the brethren of Mount Athos, dated 26th Jan. A.D. 1666.

. . . I wish, fathers and brethren, and sons! &c. (sympathising with them in their difficulties). As Christ knew where to find gold, so ye have found the way to the tsar, &c., Alexis Michaëlovich, and he has favourably received your delegate the archimandrite Joannicius. But perhaps you may think that his alms, which he has sent, are *not above* your expectations. Be not surprised at this, but rather consider, as men of understanding, that it is not parsimony (which has no place with his majesty) that has been the cause of this, but *there is a certain other affair*[93] which, so

[91] '23' is erased, and '24' substituted, probably by the transcriber, who thought the correction to be needed.

[92] But in my MS. it is thus: 'And I hope that it may be permitted to me a sinner (to approach, on being assured of his pardon) the life-giving mysteries of Christ. Knowing my gracious tsar and father, I thus boldly ask of him, the hossoudar, forgiveness.'

[93] The affair of Nicon, which was *expensive*: see vol. iii. p. 85, 462, 477.

long as it lasts, makes it advisable and necessary to be sparing of treasure; for the *successful* completion of which the Orthodox tsar heartily *desires the holy prayers*[94] *of all other Orthodox headsmen*, but especially of your most worthy and most religious community on the holy mountain of Athos; that as Moses of old by the stretching forth of his hands to God helped Israel, so you by your zealous prayers may now help him, the Orthodox tsar. And he—*the hope of the Orthodox*—is minded to send you in return a speedy and rich help for your necessities: only do ye, holy fathers, pray diligently for the successful accomplishment of the matter now in hand.[95] And I, the zealous headsman of your venerabilities, as now with much diligence I have interceded for your common suit, so in future do I promise to be your servant: only do ye also not forget my humility in your holy prayers. Wherefore, pledging myself to all, I send the *episcopal* blessing of my humility to all your venerabilities. Written at Moscow,[96] A.M. 7174, Jan. 26 (A.D. 1666). *Dreen. R. Bibl.* vol. iii. No. 50.

APPENDIX XVIII. *In connection with the synod of the spring of* A.D. 1666, *and the foot-note at p.* 605, *and p.* 651-658.

The Synod of Moscow held in A.D. 1654 *by the patriarch Nicon for the correction of the church books*[97] *and maintained by the tsar and by the synod held under him in the spring of* A.D. 1666.

In the name of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the command of the most religious God-crowned great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich of all Russia, by the counsel of his father and headsman the most holy Nicon patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, with the most reverend metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and with the most venerable archimandrites and hegoumens, and with all the sacred synod, according to the canons of the holy Apostles (can. xxxvii.), and of the fathers of the Seventh Œcumenical Council (can. vi.), which have commanded that for all ecclesiastical matters there be held synods:

Address of the most holy Nicon, patriarch, &c., to the most religious great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich of all Russia, and to all the sacred synod:

Nothing is more agreeable to God than that we should be ever improving ourselves in his holy and divine commandments, and should ground ourselves solidly on them. For this cause our Saviour also said to his disciples: 'I am the light of the world: he that walketh in me shall not walk in darkness, but hath the light of life.' And: 'If ye abide in my words, then shall ye be my disciples indeed.' And again: 'He that hath

[94] This is much as if Henry VIII. or Elizabeth from England had asked the holy prayers of all the religious of the Catholics abroad, on the continent, and at Rome itself, for the successful establishment of their own ecclesiastical supremacy!

[95] Such invitations and such prayers deserved what they obtained; a tyrant who should behead some of them, and break others upon the wheel, and force the rest to join him in condemning to death his own son for being too like the tsar Alexis, and for being like him and in the same sense 'the only hope of the Orthodox.'

[96] But the name of the writer is not attached to this copy or draft.

[97] From a MS. on twenty-one small leaves, with five other leaves of signatures, making twenty-six in all.

my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved also by my Father.' And again: 'If ye abide in me, my words will abide in you.' And again: 'If any man keepeth my word, he shall not die for ever.' And: 'Whatsoever ye ask, it shall be given you.'

For this cause the great emperor Justinian, who persevered constantly in meekness in the commandments of God, knew from experience when he wrote: 'Great above the other gifts of God given among men are those two gifts of his supreme lovingkindness, priesthood and empire, the one ministering in divine things, the other ruling and providing in human things. From one and the same source they proceed both of them, and make the order and beauty of human society. And therefore there is nothing which is so much to be desired by emperors as the good character of the priests. For if the priesthood is in all respects blameless, and full of confidence towards God, and the imperial power rightly and competently adorns the state committed to it, there will be a certain happy accord, conferring everything that is profitable on the human race. But all will be administered well and efficiently, if the first principle is seemly and well-pleasing to God. This we believe will be obtained, if that observance of the sacred rules be maintained which the holy and laudable and worshipful eyewitnesses and servants of God the Word, that is, the Apostles, have delivered, and which the holy fathers have kept and explained.'[94]

For this cause we also are in duty bound to attend to the commandments delivered from our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ both by the holy Apostles and by the holy fathers who shone after them; viz. by the CCCXVIII. divinely-inspired fathers who were in the Synod of Nice, and by those who were in the six other later œcumenical councils, even to the Seventh, which was held again at Nice, as also by those who were in the local councils held at different times in the intervals [before or] between the œcumenical.

And since the Orthodox Church attains perfection not only by the dogmas of sound judgment and piety, but also by the sacred order of ecclesiastical matters, it is needful that we root out every innovation from the borders of the Church, seeing that innovations are always the occasions in the Church of disturbance and division, and that we follow the rules of the holy fathers in all their integrity, without any addition or diminution whatever, receiving them according to canon i. of the Seventh Œcumenical Council, which says: 'The divine canons we affectionately embrace, viz. those of the Holy Apostles, and of the Œcumenical Councils, and of the Local Councils, and in addition those of our holy Fathers, as inspired by one and the same Holy Spirit. Whom then they anathematise we also anathematise, and whom they depose we also depose, whom they excommunicate we also excommunicate, and whom they put to penance we also put to penance.'

Following these canons of the holy Apostles and the holy fathers, that holy and sacred and great council which was held in the days of the religious tsar and grand prince of all Russia Theodore Ivanovich, in confirmation of the sacred canons, declared and enacted thus:

[94] *Corp. Jur. Civ.* ii. p. 482, in our vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 639.

Copy of the Synodical Act passed at Constantinople, and written then in Hellenic, in which tongue it was brought to the glorious orthodox capital city of Moscow, where it was translated into Slavonic, that all the society of the faithful might so be able to understand its value:

'A holy and great synod having been assembled in the Name of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ in the church of our most holy Lady the Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary called Paramuthias (Παραμυθίας, *i.e.* of Consolation) in Constantinople, in the days of the religious and divinely-crowned great emperor of Moscow and autocrat of all Russia Theodore Ivanovich, under the presidency of the most holy orthodox patriarchs, viz. the all-holiest Jeremiah archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, œcumenical patriarch, the most blessed Meletius pope and patriarch of the great city of Alexandria and œcumenical judge, and representative at the same time of the all-holiest Joachim patriarch of the divine city of Antioch the Great and of all the East, and the all-holiest Sophronius patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem and of all Palestine, there having come the most illustrious Gregory Athanasieff as ambassador from the aforenamed most religious tsar, there being seated also together with the patriarchs the most reverend orthodox bishops from every province of the Eastern Church, the most blessed Meletius patriarch of Alexandria said:

"Ye know, brethren, that the sign of our love to our Saviour and God is pastoral diligence. For he says: 'Peter, lovest thou me? feed my sheep.' For which cause we also at many different times have suffered and still suffer many hardships and labours and afflictions, as ye know. And now, since there have been sent to us letters from the all-holiest œcumenical patriarch (*i.e.* the patriarch of Constantinople), the brother and fellow-minister of ourselves and of the other bishops, requesting us to assemble at Constantinople for certain ecclesiastical articles, I, having both received the letters sent from Moscow from the most orthodox tsar Theodore, and considering at once both the need of the Church and the respect due to the tsar, beseech your piety carefully to consider what I say, and to express your assent to the same, if it seems to be just and reasonable.

"First, then, since the Church of Christ, by the grace of God being perfect in her divine dogmas, has received also a perfect regulation in the constitutions given by our Saviour himself and by his Apostles, and by the holy fathers who shone here in the East, that is, by those who were in the holy council of the CCCXVIII. divinely-inspired Fathers held at Nice, and in the following œcumenical councils, even to the Seventh, which was held again at Nice, as also in the local orthodox councils held at different times in the intervals between those seven œcumenical; and since the Church obtains her perfection not only by correct understanding and pious holding of the orthodox dogmas, but also through the sacred regulation of ecclesiastical matters, it is needful that we should root out from within the precinct of the Church every innovation, seeing that innovations become always the causes in the Church of disturbance and division, and that we follow the rules of the holy fathers and all that they have taught us unchangeably, without any addition or diminution whatever, according to

canon i. of the Seventh Œcumenical Council, which stands thus: 'They who have obtained the sacerdotal dignity have for their touchstones and directions the forms of the canonical constitutions, which we receiving heartily, in accord with the prophetic David sing to the Lord God, saying: (Ps. lxviii.) "I have had as great delight in thy testimonies as in all manner of riches;" and: "Thou hast commanded justice; thy testimonies are for ever and ever; O give me understanding, and I shall live." And if the prophetic voice enjoins us to keep the testimonies of God for ever, and to live in them, it is plain that they abide unshaken and unmoved for ever. Moses also who saw God speaks thus: "To them nothing may be added, and from them nothing may be taken away." And the divine Apostle Peter (1 Pet. i. 12), extolling the same, cries out: "Into which things the angels also desire to look." And Paul says: "Even though we or an angel from heaven preach to you anything else than that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema." These things then being so, and being so witnessed to us, we, rejoicing in them as a man who should have found a great treasure, affectionately embrace the divine canons, and confirm them all entire and unquestioned; both those, that is, which were put forth by the holy trumpets of the Divine Spirit, the most laudable Apostles, and those of the six holy œcumenical councils, and those of the local synods assembled for the enactment of like constitutions, and those of our holy Fathers. For all being irradiated by one and the same Spirit, have decreed what was expedient. And whom they anathematise we also anathematise, and whom they depose we also depose, and whom they excommunicate we also excommunicate, and whom they put to penance we also put to penance. For "without covetousness, content with what we have"—this is what he who mounted into the third heaven, even the divine Apostle Paul, distinctly cries aloud.'

"We preach then the true creed of the orthodox fathers, such as it has been held and preserved by these so many and so great councils; and it is worded thus: 'I believe in one God, the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten, begotten of the Father before all worlds, light of light, very God, of very God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary; and was made man; and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and he suffered, and was buried; and the third day he rose again according to the scriptures; and he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and he shall come again in glory to judge both the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end. And (I believe) in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father; who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the prophets. (I believe) in one holy Catholic (*sobornoaγou*) and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.'"

'These words having been thus spoken by the most blessed patriarch of Alexandria, the most holy œcumenical patriarch Jeremiah said: "These

things we all confess from the time of our ordination to the hierarchy, or rather from the very moment that we received divine baptism itself." The holy synod said: "We all so confess, and we command that these same things be observed by all, as following all of us our fathers. And what they embrace we also embrace, and what they reject we also reject; as also canon i. of the holy Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon has prescribed, and canon i. of the Seventh Council has explained."

'The most blessed Meletius, patriarch of Alexandria, then said: "Whereas the establishment of the patriarchal thrones was by a certain ancient custom of the Catholic Church anticipated and sketched in outline, and was more clearly imaged in the First holy Œcumenical Council, as its sixth canon shows, being worded thus: 'Let the ancient custom be observed which is in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis, that the bishop of Alexandria have authority over all these, since for the bishop of Rome also the same is customary: in like manner also as regards Antioch and in the other provinces, let their privileges be preserved to the churches: hence universally it is clear that if any one without the will of the metropolitan should be made a bishop, the great synod decrees that such a one is not to be acknowledged for a bishop: but if the general voice and reasonable judgment (of the rest of the bishops) is opposed contentiously by two or three, then, according to the ecclesiastical canon, the judgment of the majority is to prevail:' And the Seventh Council honoured the chair of Jerusalem on account of the economy of our Saviour in the flesh having been in that land, by giving it the like honour, though they made it to rank after the other patriarchal chairs, in order that they might not by giving it precedence over the others suggest to men the idea of magnifying an earthly kingdom of Christ:

"And whereas it is now proper that I should return an answer to the most religious letters of the divinely-crowned tsar (of Muscovy), I beseech your piety, if I shall have appeared to you to say what is right and agreeable to the rules of the fathers, to take the matter in hand and deal with it synodically. I judge then that it is right that the most orthodox city of Moscow, having been by the lovingkindness and grace of God distinguished to be the seat of empire, should be magnified also in ecclesiastical respects, according to canon xxviii. of the Fourth Council of the DCXXX. holy fathers of Chalcedon, which says thus: 'Following in all points the definitions of the holy fathers, and recognising the canon just read of the CL. divinely-inspired bishops assembled in the time of the emperor Theodosius the Great of blessed memory in Constantinople, we also decree and vote the same respecting the privileges of the most holy church of Constantinople or New Rome: For to the chair of the elder Rome, because that city was the seat of empire, the fathers reasonably gave the precedence: And moved by the same consideration the CL. most godly bishops (of the Second Council) awarded equal privileges to the most holy chair of New Rome, judging reasonably that the city which was honoured with the empire, and the synclete, and which had obtained equal rank with the elder capital, that is, with Old Rome, should be exalted, like it, in ecclesiastical matters also, so as to be second after it, and enacting that the metropolitans only of the dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and the bishops

also in the barbarian parts of (or bordering upon) the above-mentioned dioceses, should be ordained by the said most holy chair of the church of Constantinople; that is, that each metropolitan of the above-mentioned dioceses with the bishops of the diocese should ordain the bishops of each province in the same, as is prescribed by the divine canons, but that the metropolitans (themselves) of the dioceses above-mentioned should be ordained by the archbishop of Constantinople, an agreement of votes having been previously obtained, according to the custom, and being reported to him.' But canon iii. of the CL. holy fathers of the Council of Constantinople says: 'The bishop of Constantinople shall have precedence of honour after the bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome.' But neither does the holy and great council of the CCCXVIII. Fathers (of Nice) seem to use any other language when distinguishing the order and regulation and authority of the patriarchal chairs, which it describes only by reference to the imperial dignity, Alexandria presiding over Egypt Libya and the rest, and Antioch over Syria and all the East, in like manner as in Europe Rome. So also (then, by consequence) Asia is rightly presided over by Constantinople, which in later times obtained (civil) equality with Old Rome, because the seat of empire was transferred thence to it, as is decreed by canon xxxvi. of the holy council held in the palace in Trullo, which speaks thus: 'Renewing the constitutions of the CL. holy Fathers who were assembled in this capital, and those of the DCXXX. of Chalcedon, we decree that the chair of Constantinople shall receive equal honour with the chair of Old Rome, and shall be magnified like it in ecclesiastical matters, being the second after it: after it the chair of the great city of Alexandria; then that of Antioch; and after that the chair of the city of Jerusalem.'

"Now, then, I judge that it is right, and I propose to this great synod so to judge with me, that the chair of the most religious and orthodox city of Moscow should be and should be entitled henceforth a Patriarchal chair, because the same city has been honoured to become the seat of empire in that country; and that all Russia and the Northern regions should be subject to the Patriarchal chair of Moscow and all Russia and the Northern regions; and that the same chair should have its place next after the most holy patriarch of Jerusalem in the sacred diptychs, and in ecclesiastical assemblies; that we may observe the above-mentioned canons of the holy fathers in full force; and that it should have precedence over all bishops, metropolitans, and archbishops throughout all the Catholic Orthodox Church of Christ; and that it should be the head of all that province (or region, *eparchia*) of Moscow and all Russia and the Northern countries, and should be recognised as such, in conformity with canon xxxiv. of the holy and most laudable Apostles, which commands thus: 'The bishops of every nation must recognise their primate (him who is first among them) and regard him as *head*, and do nothing extraordinary without his consent, each doing of himself those things only which it is his duty to do in his own see and its dependencies: nor either is he, that is, the primate, to do anything without the consent of all: for so there will be concord; and God will be glorified through the Lord Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that he (the patriarch of Moscow)

shall be and shall be called the brother of the orthodox Patriarchs, having equality with them in point of title, and in the rank of his chair, and shall be styled in writing and shall subscribe himself, after the custom of the orthodox Patriarchs, *Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and of the Northern Countries;* and that at his ordination the usual order of the Church shall be observed, the bishop of the first see (after that of Moscow) pronouncing the prayer of consecration. I, for my part, judge that this should be so: but let the holy synod declare its mind."

'The most holy Œcumenical Patriarch (*i.e.* the patriarch of Constantinople) Jeremiah then said: "In this matter we have ourselves acted by anticipation; and we have made a declaration concerning the same in writing to the most religious tsar." The most holy patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius, said: "I too without any variance give the same judgment." The holy synod with one accord said: "This constitution, as being framed in accordance with the holy canons, we all accept; and we ordain concerning that empire thus:

"That the most religious Tsar of Moscow, autocrat of all Russia and the Northern countries, shall be commemorated, as hitherto, in the sacred services of the Eastern Churches, both in the sacred offertory and in the holy diptychs: likewise, that before the beginning of the Six Psalms (the Ἐξάψαλμος), *i.e.* after the ending of the two psalms for the king or emperor (said in the porch before the matins), he shall be proclaimed, after the exclamation, by name, as '*the Most Orthodox Tsar.*'"

'All said: "This also is good and proper. And further we decree that it is proper that this act be sent, confirmed by our signatures, to the most religious Tsar of Moscow, and to the most holy Job Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia and of the Northern countries." All said: "So it pleases us." And to these things they subscribed their hands, and affixed their seals for a perpetual confirmation.

I.

'These things having been decided rightly and canonically, Metrophanes the most God-loving metropolitan of Athens said: "Let it please the synod to order that throughout each of our dioceses (*eparchies*) all monks be subject to the diocesan bishop." And the sacred synod ordered that canon iv. of the Fourth holy and Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon, as being on this subject, be read, as follows:

"Let those who in truth and sincerity follow the monastic life be duly honoured: but since there are some who take advantage of the monastic profession to trouble both the churches and civil society, going about indifferently among the cities (*i.e.* from one episcopal city and district to another), and even scheming to form monasteries of their own, it is decreed that no man is anywhere to build or establish a monastery, or a house of prayer, without the consent of the local bishop (lit. the bishop of the city), and that in every city and district all who follow the monastic life are to be subject to the bishop, and to be content to live quietly, and to give themselves only to fasting and prayer, abiding in the same places where they renounced the world; but they are not to trouble either the ecclesiastical or the civil society, nor to leave their monasteries to meddle with the affairs of either, unless at any time they be permitted for some press-

ing need by the local bishop. And no one is to receive in the monasteries any slave to become a monk without the consent of his master. And if any man transgress this our determination, we decree that he is to be out of communion, that the name of God may not be blasphemed. The bishop of the city, however, is bound to take proper care for the monasteries."

'The holy synod said: "Let this canon be observed; since it has been so ordained by the fathers."

II.

'Meletius, patriarch of Alexandria, said: "Since through our infirmity and the difficulties of the times many constitutions well and profitably enacted by the fathers are now buried in oblivion, owing to the holy books and the sacred canons not being read, it is proper that according to the canon there should be held twice a year a synod, and that ecclesiastical questions and cases should therein be read and judged, and all things referred (to the same synods), according to the canons of the holy fathers." The holy synod said: "It is in truth very proper that so it should be: yet since on account of the troubles of these times this is not very feasible, let there be a synod held *once* in the year, and let them in it examine ecclesiastical matters. If in any case it happens that a matter needs immediate attention, then *let the bishops who happen to be present* in this the capital city, *with those of the nearest eparchies, assemble with the most holy Œcumenical Patriarch*, and let them examine the matter, and decide it according to the canons."

III.

"We enforce canon vi. of the Fourth holy Œcumenical Council, which enacts that ordinations are not to be conferred vaguely (*i.e.* without designation to a particular church or monastery); and that bishops who ordain are not to ordain for a consideration; according to the canons of the fathers, and the example of the Apostles; and that neither are bishops nor other clerks to move from city to city and change their dioceses (*eparchias*).

IV.

"Also we decree that those who have fallen into such sins as defile the priesthood (*i.e.* such as are canonical impediments to ordination) or have been convicted of such sins, whether committed before or after ordination, shall not be priests. For it is improper that they who have been ordained should exercise the powers conferred by ordination when they are unsanctified by it.

V.

"They who engage in secular business or take on themselves any secular office are to be punished by the constitutions of the holy Apostles. For it is said in canon vi. that 'a bishop or priest or deacon is not to take upon him secular cares, else, let him be deposed.' The like is decreed by the DCXXX. divinely-inspired fathers of the Council of Chalcedon in their canon vii., which has these words: 'Of all such as have once been admitted among the clergy, or have become monks, we decree that they are neither to undertake military service, nor any secular office; or else, if they dare to do anything of the kind, and do not repent so as to return to that profession

which for God's sake they had previously chosen and taken upon themselves, they are to be anathematised.'

VI.

"We enforce canon xvi. of the Seventh Council of the holy fathers, held at Nice (which is the Second Council of Nice), that men who have been ordained clerks are not to wear costly or soft clothing.

VII.

"The sacred synod decrees that every bishop in his own eparchy is to use all possible diligence, and to excite others, that they who are capable may learn to read the divine and sacred books; and he is to assist, according to his ability, those who are desirous of teaching and those who are willing to be taught, if they have a suitable capacity.

VIII.

"We desire that there be an exact observance of the rule laid down by the holy fathers for the salutary Pasch (the Easter festival), being as follows: That all who dare to disobey the constitutions of the holy and œcumenical council held at Nice, in the presence of the religious and God-loving emperor Constantine, respecting the holy festival of the salutary Pasch, are to be excommunicated and cast out of the Church, if they persist contentiously in standing out against what is rightly taught. And this of lay people. But if any of the rulers of the Church, any bishop or presbyter or deacon, after the passing of this constitution dare to pervert the people and to trouble the churches by separating himself and keeping the Pasch with the Jews, such a one the holy synod sentences thenceforth to be *ipso facto* cut off from the Church, &c. For we are bound to follow the canon of the fathers which has hitherto been observed, and which by the grace of God is at this day observed by us here, as it is also by the other churches of God."[99]

'In the year of the world 7101 (A.D. 1593), the sixth of the Indiction, Feb. 12, being the commemoration of St. Meletius, this tome (τόμος, *i.e.* synodal constitution) was made.

'Jeremiah, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch, has attached his seal.

'Meletius, by the mercy of God, Pope and Patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, and Œcumenical Judge (for himself), and also as representing the most holy Kyr Joachim Patriarch of the great city of Antioch and of all the East, has also attached his seal.

'Sophronius, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem and all Palestine, has also attached his seal.'

On this account it is my[100] duty to bring under your notice certain innovations which have been recently introduced into the church offices:

i. In the priest's service-books (the slujebniks or missals) of the Moscow printed edition it is written thus: 'The episcopal prayers, as they

[99] This is no doubt directed against the correction of the Kalendar made in A.D. 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII.

[100] Here (after the reading of the acts of the Patriarchal Synod of Constantinople of A.D. 1593, establishing the Patriarchate of Moscow) the patriarch Nicon addresses the Synod of Moscow held by himself in A.D. 1654.

are called, by which the many sins of human infirmity are absolved by bishops and priests, are, when a priest celebrates (alone), to be said by him for himself. They are now changed to the person of the priest, so that the priest may say them for himself.' But in the Greek slujebniks (*euchologia*) and in our own old ones, which were written one, two, and three hundred years ago, or more, those prayers are not to be found.

And in the performance of the service (of the liturgy, in the action) there are many discrepancies.

And before the holy liturgy there was no dismissal for the whole (congregation in the) church inserted in the Greek, nor in our own old books translated from the Greek.

And respecting these things I ask you for a judgment, whether we ought to follow our new printed books, or rather the Greek and our own old books, both of which concordantly indicate one and the same order and rule?

And to the ectenia (in Greek ἐκτενὴς, or συναπτὴ) in the liturgy there are put double prayers (or responses); but in the Greek and in our own older books short ones. And of this, how is it to be?

And the great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich, autocrat of all Russia, and the most reverend metropolitans and archbishops and bishop, viz. the metropolitans Macarius of Novgorod and Velikoloutsk, Cornelius of Kazan and Sviajsk, Jonah of Rostoff and Yaroslaff, Silvester of Sarai and Podonsk, and Michael of Servia, the archbishops Marcellus of Vologda and Velikoperm, Sophronius of Souzdal and Torouss, Misael of Riazan and Mourom, and Macarius of Pskoff and Izborsk, and the bishop *Paul* of Kolomna and Koshira, and the venerable archimandrites and hegoumens, *Adrian* archimandrite of the Troitsa of St. Sergius, Therapont of the Choudoff, Nicon of the Novospass, Elia of the Simonoff, Hermogenes of the Andronikoff, Barlaam of the Znamensky, Serapion of the Bogoyavlensky behind the market, Elia of the Solovetsky, Barlaam hegoumen of the Znamensky, *Antony* of the Borisoglebsky at Pereyaslaff, *Stephen* protopope of the sobor of the Annunciation, Nikiphor of the Archangel, Gregory of the Preobrajensky, Peter of the Sretensky, Andrew of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, *Joachim* of the Voznesensky, Clement of the Nikolsky, Hierotheus of the Nativity of Christ, Alexander of the Holy Face of the Saviour (Ἀχειροποίητος), Artemius of the Pokrovsky, Theodore of the Alexandro-Nefsky, *Michael* protopope of the church of St. Alexander Nefsky at Chernigoff, and all the sacred synod answered, all of them unanimously, that it is right and proper to correct the books, so as to make them agree with the old parchment Russian MS. books and with the Greek.

ii. In our *oustaves* (τυπικὰ, or *directories*) there are directions in the service of the liturgy when to open the holy doors, viz. only at the lesser and the greater introits. But with us now they are left standing open till the great introit. What then, O sacred synod, do ye say on this point? Are we to do according to the oustave, or according to our present custom? Among the Greeks they do as is directed in the oustave: it is only at the lesser introit and at the great that they open the doors. About this there was also a synodical constitution made in the time of the religious tsar and grand prince John IV. Basilievich.

And the sacred synod said: We also reënact and confirm the order that it be done so as the Greek books and our own old books and the oustaves prescribe.

iii. Again, in our oustaves it is written: On the Sunday the holy liturgy is begun at the beginning of the third hour. But according to our present custom when there is a synodical moleben (or παράκλησις, for which the clergy come together), the liturgy is begun at the beginning of the seventh or eighth hour, and is ended in the ninth. But by canon lxiv. of the Apostles if any clerk fasts on the Sabbath or the Sunday, he is to be degraded; or if a layman, he is to be excommunicated. What then do ye say of this? Is the liturgy to be begun according to the rule of the holy fathers at the beginning of the third hour, or according to our present custom at the beginning of the seventh or the eighth; though of this there is nowhere any written mention? And the sacred synod decided that on this point also the rule of the holy fathers is to be followed.

iv. Canon vii. of the Seventh Œcumenical Council orders thus: 'Relics of holy martyrs are to be put into those churches which have been consecrated without them, with the customary prayer: and if any one in time to come consecrates a church without relics, he is to be deposed as a transgressor of the traditions of the Church. The gloss: As for those churches which before this council were built without the customary prayer made by the bishop, and without having relics of holy martyrs placed in them, the council orders that relics of saints be placed in them, and that the bishop make the customary prayer. But if any of the bishops after this council be found consecrating churches without holy relics, they are by this council sentenced to deposition as transgressors of the ecclesiastical tradition.' But with us in Russia all the churches have been consecrated without relics: only they sew up in the antiminsia (the corporals) particles of relics. But under the altar they do not use to put relics as our old office-books (or rituals, '*trebniks*') direct. For in our old office-books there is a rule about this, that three particles of relics of holy martyrs are to be put under the altar. What then do ye say of this? And all the sacred synod decreed that the canon of the holy fathers and the rubric, as it stands in the old office-books, is to be obeyed.

v. Canon xv. of the local synod of Laodicea says thus: 'Without the lesser tunicle (*rizitsa*) no one is to mount the ambon. The gloss: No one ought to mount the ambon or read to the people the sacred words (of the scripture), unless he has on his head the clerical tonsure, and has received the blessing (*i.e.* ordination) from his pastor, according to the holy canons. And even though he may have received these things, yet even thus he may no otherwise sing or read on the ambon than vested in the lesser tunicle (*rizitsa*). But by the *rizitsa* is meant the diphthera, or phelon.' But with us common laymen, without any blessing, and men who have been twice married, or even thrice, read and sing in the churches. And of this what do ye say? And the holy synod said the like to what it had said before; viz. that the canonical rule was not to be changed.

vi. In the Greek oustaves, and in our own old ones, there are the same directions about the metánoias (kneelings, prostrations, or low reverences) made in the great Lent: but what is printed in the new books is not in

accordance with the Greek nor with our own old books. And about this it is necessary to make exact inquiry. And the sacred synod said that the metánoias must be made according to the old rubrics.

vii. In our old office-books and service-books, and likewise in the Greek, it is directed that the liturgy is to be celebrated on the antiminsion (on the corporal). But now this is not done. They put the antiminsion under the pokrov (the cover, or napkin). And of this, O sacred synod, what do ye judge? And the sacred synod said: It is right to correct (the present practice) according to our own old books, and according to the Greek.

And this synodical constitution the religious hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich, autocrat of all Great and Little Russia, and the *great hossoudar* the most holy Nicon, archbishop of Moscow and patriarch of all Great and Little Russia, ordered to be put in writing for the greater confirmation, in order that hereafter a correction may be made in the printing of the divine books according to the old parchment (MSS. Russian) and Greek books, oustaves, trebniks, slujebniks, and chasosloves (τυπικὰ, ἐυχολόγια, and ἀρολόγια). And to this end the *great hossoudar* the most holy Nicon, archbishop of Moscow, &c., with his *sons* in the Holy Ghost, the most reverend metropolitans, archbishops, and bishop, and with the archimandrites and hegoumens and protopopes, and with all the sacred synod, have confirmed this by the subscription of their own hands, that in years to come the same may be observed as an immutable decree. This synodal constitution was made in the palace of his majesty the tsar, &c., in the year of the world 7162.

✠ Nicon, by the mercy of God, archbishop of the imperial city of Moscow and patriarch of all Great and Little Russia.

The humble Macarius, metropolitan of Great Novgorod, &c.

Cornelius, of Kazan, &c.

Jonah, of Rostoff, &c.

Silvester, of Sarai and Podonsk.

Michael, of Kalosisk and Kratovska.

Marcellus, archbishop of Vologda, &c.

Sophronius, of Souzdal, &c.

Misael, of Riazan, &c.

Macarius, of Pskoff, &c.

Paul, bishop of Kolomna and Koshira. But for what I said in the sacred synod respecting the metánoias, I adduce here in justification the same parchment MS. oustave.

Therapont, archimandrite of the Choudoff.

Nicon, of the Novospass.

Elia, of the Simonoff.

Hermogenes, of the Andronikoff.

Serapion, of the Bogoyavlensky *iz za Torgou*.

Elia, of the Solovetsky.

Barlaam, hegoumen of the Znamensky.

John, protopope of the sobor of the Annunciation.

Nikiphor, of the sobor of the Archangel.

Gregory, of the Preobrajensky.

Peter, of the Sretensky.
Adrian, of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin.
Trophimus (Hierotheus ?), of the Nativity of Christ.
Clement, of the Nikolsky.
Alexander, of the Spass Ἀχειροποίητος.
Artemius, of the Pokrovsky.
Theodore, of the Alexandro-Nefsky.

For what followed after the Moscow synod of A.D. 1654, for the correction of the church-books, see vol. ii. *Travels*, &c. Appendix ii. p. 407-412 (of Nicon's consultation of the patriarch of Constantinople Paisius, and the Answer sent by Paisius in A.D. 1655); p. 412 (of Nicon's second synod, held at Moscow in A.D. 1655); p. 413 (of Nicon's synodal constitution of 29th Dec. A.D. 1655); and p. 415 (of Nicon's third synod, held 11th May A.D. 1656). Of the synod of C.P. of A.D. 1593, see vol. i. p. 47.

Also Appendix iii. p. 419-436, from the *History of the Russian Raskolniks*, by Macarius, who observes that 'of those who were *present* in the synod of A.D. 1654, besides Paul the bishop of Kolomna, two archimandrites (Adrian of the Troitsa, and *Misael of Loutsk*), one hegoumen (Antony of the Borisoglebsk at Pereyaslaff), and two protopopes (Stephen Bonifatieff of the Annunciation, and Joachim of the Ascension), seem not to have subscribed the acts of that synod,' p. 420.

Then that part of vol. iv., p. 602 to 658, with which this appendix is connected (respecting the tsar's synod of the spring of A.D. 1666); and lastly the constitutions of the tsar's synod of A.D. 1667, in vol. iii. p. 284-300, and Appendix xxiv. p. 479-518.

APPENDICES TO VOL. V.

APPENDIX XIX. *In connection with p.* 695 *and p.* 704-708. *Of the incompleteness of Solovieff's account of the sessions of the tsar's synod of Dec.* A.D. 1666; *from Subbotine's 'Affair of the Patriarch Nicon.'*

We should have wished – Subbotine writes—to exhibit a full account of these synodal discussions, or altercations; but the sources accessible to us oppose no small difficulties. Agreeing in the main, they differ much as to details; so that though we may make out the substance of what passed in the synod, it is difficult to fix the true *order*, and to assign to each part its proper place. We have (1) an official account, headed: *Act of the Moscow synod respecting the deposition of the patriarch Nicon;* (2) the account given by Shusherin in his *Life of the Patriarch Nicon;* (3) the account of Paisius Ligarides; and (4) that of Solovieff. This last we reckon among our *sources*, because it is taken from some other original source unknown to us, which Solovieff, as is too much his custom, omits to specify: and hereby he renders it impossible for us not only to judge how far that source of his is trustworthy, but even to *name* it as a document contemporary with the synod: so we are forced to reckon among our *sources* the text of Solovieff himself [which, however, is by no means the same thing as the full text of the original document or documents used and followed by him would be].

The official document, no doubt, ought to be set above all the rest for exactness as to the facts which it relates: but it is very brief: it confines

itself to general statements. So, for instance, respecting the first session of the council (held on Sunday the 2d Dec.), all that is said in it is only the following: 'The tsar, having risen, began to declare before the most holy patriarchs and all the sacred synod his pain, &c. (as in our vol. iii. p. 440; and compare vol. v. p. 680). This is all that is said of a session which lasted nine whole hours!

[But here Subbotine is led astray by the brevity of the official account, which passes to the reading out of Nicon's letter to the patriarch Dionysius of Constantinople, without mentioning that this letter was read at another meeting of the synod, held on the 3d Dec.; and it is of this *second* session, not of the first, that it is said in the official document that 'the reading of this letter and the examination of the other charges lasted from the fourth hour of the day even to the second hour of the night.' See our vol. iii. p. 441, and vol. v. p. 693, and p. 704.]

It is plain—Subbotine continues—that when such is the brevity of the official relation of the synodal acts against Nicon, it must be difficult to verify by them other relations which are fuller (see our vol. iii. p. 437-450).

Of the relation of Shusherin one must say that it too is deficient in fulness: and, besides that, Shusherin wrote it not at the time itself, nor as an eye-witness of what had passed at the synod (for at the very moment of Nicon's entrance into the Kremlin he was arrested, and he was kept a prisoner over fourteen years), but he wrote from the relations of others. But since his relation is written in a spirit favourable to Nicon, while all the other accounts show quite a contrary spirit, and, besides that, it gives details of importance, to set it aside without notice—and this is what Solovieff has done—would be unfair: it would be a violation of the rule: '*Audiatur et altera pars.*' Besides, there is really no ground whatever for suspecting it. It does not even fall into any contradiction with the other narrations, but only exhibits a side of the affair which they omit, and in that respect it is a supplement to them (see this vol. v. p. 661-734, and the text of Shusherin in vol. vii.).

As regards the relation of Paisius Ligarides, in it, in the first place, besides the wish to vilify Nicon, there is manifest an effort to set in the most advantageous light the action of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch [that is, his own action and management, since in this affair they and the other Greek bishops were only puppets moved by him] and even to justify it, as if he felt that it might draw upon itself objections or sinister criticisms. Secondly, in his narrative there is no small amount of matter which plainly comes only from himself, and which scarcely *could* come from the patriarchs or the synod. Such are certain classical quotations, and testimonies, in unpremeditated speeches of the patriarchs [and even of the tsar himself!], flowers of rhetoric, of which Paisius himself was so fond. Such are some sufficiently mal-a-propos utterances which he ascribes to the tsar Alexis, and especially—as might have been expected—to the patriarch Nicon. For example, he relates that when Nicon appeared before the synod, and blamed the tsar because he had not prepared for him a suitable seat, '*both* the patriarchs said: "Is this then Nicon, on account of whom for eight years and more all Muscovy has been *disturbed*, and the *Eastern Church* has suffered *intolerable evils*, and *the four*

patriarchates have been in danger, and on account of his single person have all but been overthrown and desolated? And dost thou demand a chair? Rememberest thou not that to *sit* is reserved to a *judge*, and belongs not to a man *who is being condemned?* We read in act xvii. of the synod held *against Photius*, that when Photius came in with his staff the vicars of Nicholas, pope of Rome, immediately cried out: Take the staff out of his hand; for it is a sign of the pastoral dignity, of which he is unworthy [which Photius had not canonically received, but Nicon had]: and so immediately Photius was deprived of the pastoral staff. It is not therefore for thee to sit now,"' &c. (vol. iii. p. 170). After this most unluckily selected example, there follow some others. But is it possible that the patriarchs, and '*both* of them,' uttered impromptu a long speech, with learned quotations, on occasion of that casual incident that Nicon declined to sit on a bench in a row with the other bishops?[1] It is doubtful enough whether at any time they, not knowing a word of Russ, could utter long speeches in the synod, even without learned quotations. But the exclamation at the beginning of the passage just quoted is altogether out of place in the mouth of the patriarch Macarius, who had known Nicon personally long before (see our vol. iii. p. 166-196).

Lastly, the source from which Solovieff has taken his relation is fuller than all the others; and, as it shows or professes for itself, it relates the disputes which took place in the synod in consecutive order, that is, as they occurred in the synod itself; at least Solovieff recognises expressly as such that order which he has followed in the narrative of his own text. But in reading this narrative one cannot but wonder at the extreme disorder and want of connection of the disputes which took place in the synod, at the jumps made from one question to another, without considering them deliberately, as was proper; lastly, at the laconic brevity and abruptness of the objections and the answers. Possibly all this was so in fact, and is so recorded in the text of the minutes or record which Solovieff has followed [the minutes, seemingly, taken for the tsar by the diaks of his prikaz of secret service]; but in an historical relation all this produces a disagreeable impression on the reader, and wearies him; nor does it either give him any sufficient understanding of the character of those synodal altercations. Expressions such as the following:[2] 'They went on even to Streshneff's dog;' or, 'Voices were heard from all sides: "How dost thou not fear God?"' do not at all enliven the narrative. The author might have enlivened it—and readers had a right to expect this of him—if he had pointed out the inner grounds, the reasons for which this or that question was moved, and why they dwelt so much longer on some, and tried to despatch others more quickly; and if, besides, he had shown the weight and force both of the accusations and of the defence made against them, in what degree the one and the other were just and legitimate. For this, certainly, it is not enough to say: 'The answer was very unsatisfactory;'

[1] Really, on a seat which, though on the same bench with the bishops, was not prepared as for a bishop, but implied to the eye that its occupant was already degraded not only from the patriarchate, but also from the episcopate, being without the cushion and the footstool customarily set for bishops.

[2] But these are plainly from Solovieff himself.

or, 'The defence was too flimsy.' But to two or three such utterances all that the author has found to remark on the synodal disputes is limited. Nevertheless, as regards fulness, the relation of Solovieff has the advantage over all the other sources from which we can draw notices of what passed in the synod (Subbotine, *The Affair of the Patriarch Nicon*, p. 144-148; and compare our vol. iii. p. 416-437).

APPENDIX XX. *In connection with notices of the bad ends of some of those who served the tsar against Nicon, part iii. ch. i. p.* 778.

1. *Petition of the Servian metropolitan Theodosius to the tsar Alexis, in the spring of* A.D. 1664.

. . . 'I have found a country after exile, a safe haven after storms. I am as Adam when he was translated into Paradise, as Noah when he had gone forth upon dry land, as Israel when they had gone forth from Egypt and had come into the promised land. . . . My father and my mother forsook me, but thou hast taken me up: thou hast taken me up from the dunghill, and hast set me among knianzes. I was a stranger, hungry, naked, and homeless, &c. &c. But by thy imperial grace I now have a house, well furnished, for the abode of my humility; and thou didst order 200 rubles to be given me for it; and they gave me them; and I had to pay all that money only for the walls: but for other wants I dared not trouble thy majesty.' And he petitions to have remitted to him what his peasants paid as imperial dues (*poshlini*) into the monastery prikaz, 'for the sake of the festival of the angel (the names-day) of thy son the tsarevich Alexis Alexievich,' &c. (*Dvorn. R. Bibl.* vol. iii. No. 47.)

2. In the same vol. (No. 55, p. 420) there is an act or letter of the two œcumenical patriarchs and Joasaph II., titular patriarch of Moscow, addressed to this same Theodosius, dated in June 1667, erecting in his favour a new metropolitan see of Bielgorod. In this they write: 'Having been asked by our great hossoudar, &c., the true defender of the Orthodox faith, the new Constantine, the new Theodosius, in meekness like David, to provide for the needs of the Church, we therefore spoke to our brother Kyr Joasaph, &c., saying: The harvest indeed is plentiful, but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the lord of the harvest that he send forth labourers into his harvest. And they having made diligent prayer together with us to *the heavenly Lord of the harvest*, have been diligent at the same time to pray also *the earthly lord of the harvest* to *send forth labourers into the harvest*, that is, to increase in his empire the number of the bishops; more especially in those cities in which the patriarch of *Jerusalem* [of Constantinople] of blessed memory, Jeremiah, advised that there should be such episcopal chairs, when he instituted a patriarchal chair in the capital city of Moscow. The tsar . . . expressed his will that this plan should be forthwith carried into execution; and among other cities it pleased him that the city of Bielgorod should be honoured with an episcopal chair. This honour had long been promised[1] to it. . . . But now [by this our act, &c.] Biel-

[1] In fact, the earthly lord of the harvest had already done by himself all that the patriarchs are now doing over again for him; taking also 'the heavenly Lord of the harvest' somewhat irreverently into their counsels. For Theodosius figures already in the Synodal Act of Dec. 12, A.D. 1666, for the degradation of Nicon as '*metropolitan of Bielgorod*.' See vol. iii. p. 439, 448.

gorod and Oboiansk, &c., are separated off from the patriarchal diocese of Moscow; and there is raised to the dignity of this chair, or rather called out to the work of that flock, a man in truth given of God according to the sense of his *name*, the metropolitan *Theodosius*, who in time past, for his merits, &c., was honoured with the Servian metropolitan see of Varshatz. And as he had given away for the debts of that diocese of Varshatz the alms received by him in Moscow from the tsar, there was given to him the headship of the sobór of the Archangel (in the Kremlin) for his maintenance, with all its lands and emoluments, &c. And inasmuch as there also he deserved praise, God has put it into the heart of the tsar and of our humility and of all the sacred synod to raise him to the see of Bielgorod and Oboiansk. So we have appointed him, and have committed to him the field of that Church, &c. And *we have united him to the Russian Church absolutely*, so that he is no longer to be spoken of as belonging to the province of the land of Servia, but is to be absolutely under the most holy patriarch of Moscow, like the other Russian bishops. And in token thereof we have given him this our patriarchal letter, A.M. 7175, June - -th' (A.D. 1667).

But he did not long enjoy his reward: and No. 56 of the same volume is a similar letter from the patriarch of Antioch, Macarius, dated in A.D. 1668, appointing to the same see of Bielgorod and Eremsk a certain Ephrem, spoken of in the letter as having been 'a friend of Theodosius, who was honoured like thee, *for like virtues*, with the chair of Bielgorod.'

APPENDIX XXI. *Of the later history and end of Paisius Ligarides: in connection with part iii. ch. i. p.* 778. (*From Solovieff*, '*History*,' *&c. vol. xii. p.* 253.)

We have seen that P. Ligarides had asked permission to leave Moscow before the arrival of the two Eastern patriarchs and other bishops in the autumn of A.D. 1666. However—whether willingly or unwillingly we know not—he remained at Moscow. In the summer of A.D. 1667 he petitioned the tsar: 'I am now serving thee, the great hossoudar, at Moscow the seventh year (*i.e.* he had come in the spring of A.D. 1662, A.M. 7170, and now when he wrote, which should be after the 1st Sept. in A.D. 1667, A.M. 7176 had begun), and I have an allowance of 18 altines and 4 dengi per day, and on this I and my people cannot live.' The petition was not granted: it was ordered to give him the same allowance as before. In order to show his service, Ligarides presented to the tsar a letter, in which he informed him of a certain prophecy, to be found in the *Life of St. Andrew the Simple*, that a fair-haired people are to gain possession of Constantinople. Paisius, of course, applies that prophecy to the Russians; and he has an interpretation about a Russian prince '*Mosoch*' in whom he sees a *Muscovite*. But Ligarides was not left to occupy himself at Moscow at his ease with the interpretation of prophecies. In A.D. 1668 the patriarch of Jerusalem, Nectarius, wrote to the tsar: 'We give you authentic information that P. Ligarides is nowise a metropolitan, nor a bishop, nor a teacher, nor a vladika, nor a pastor, because it is many years since he has abandoned his diocese, and by the canons of the holy fathers he is deprived of the episcopal order. He is among the Orthodox orthodox, but the Latins call him their own, and he gets from the Roman Pope yearly 200 ephimki

(dollars). And the money that he, Paisius, obtained as alms for the Catholic Apostolic Church (or as if for his 'poor see' of Gaza; see vol. iii. p. 427, 547), that he, the ravening wolf, sent by his nephew to the isle of Scio.' This letter, as it appears, had no effect.[4] For soon after it had been received there was made the following order: 'The great hossoudar has showed his grace to the metropolitan of Gaza Paisius, and has ordered that there be given him, instead of an increase of his allowance, a sum of 100 rubles (143*l.*); that the house in which he lives be surveyed, and anything needing repair repaired; also that on the wine which he may buy at Archangel there be charged no duty.'

However, that there might not be in future any more such informations against him, P. Ligarides applied with a request for his protection to the logothete of the church of Constantinople Constantine [probably a Greek of the Danubian Principalities, and there a friend of P. Ligarides]: he wrote that his enemies calumniated him; that his condemnation had been pronounced unjustly. 'I have not passed my life,' he wrote, 'in sensual pleasures, in drunkenness, and immorality; from my youth I have loved wisdom: with the greatest labour and at great expense I made voyages by sea, of love for learning. They call me a latiniser and an heretic; but I do not obey the commands of the Latins; there is one thing only that I have in common with them, viz. science: in accord with them I have been, and I am, a zealous admirer of the old Athenian philosophers Libanius and Jamblichus, those good servants of God. Interfere for my protection, O thou most learned man, that the dunces may not, by their success against me, be made vain and elated. Be my intercessor and helper by deed and by word.' The logothete showed this letter to the successor of Nectarius Dositheus [after the retirement of Nectarius]. He was violently incensed against Ligarides, when he saw his sharp expressions about his enemies and persecutors, one of whom was Nectarius. But there came an envoy from the tsar with [another letter and] a request to pardon Ligarides, and to send him a letter of absolution. Not to do what was asked *was impossible*: they sent a letter of absolution to Moscow; and Dositheus let out the bitterness of his heart by writing only on the letter of Ligarides to the logothete these words: 'If there had not been the sacred intercession of the tsar, thou shouldst have known who is spiritually dead and mad,[5] he who for fifteen years past has abandoned his flock without a shepherd, or he who lays down his life for the sheep. There is fulfilled in thee that fable of Esop: "A goat from a high rock railed at a wolf, &c.:" Thou of thyself art not great, but empty-headed, unfeeling, and impudent, only the place where thou art is—the tsar's palace. Learn discretion at any rate now.'

At the end of A.D. 1672 Ligarides packed up, as if to go to Palestine; but when he had only reached Kieff he stopped there, and lived there a long time in the service of the tsar, writing information to him about affairs in those parts. So in A.D. 1675 he wrote to Matveyeff: 'After

[4] Paisius was so infatuated, that he asked and obtained of the tsar to write again in his favour to the patriarch Nectarius, asking him to *absolve* and rehabilitate him, as if the offences *mentioned* by that patriarch were *all* that he *could* have mentioned. See vol. iii. p. 551-558.

[5] Soloviefl has 'miserable,' *bieden*, instead of *bieshen*.

God and the tsar I have in thee a gracious defender: assist me with a certain favour, instead of alms; obtain for me by thy request that they should *allow me to celebrate as a bishop*. They are collecting here now much money from all sides, but for whom, and for what purpose, I know not. Be pleased to make inquiry into this, O thou most vigilant guardian of Kieff! find out to what purpose it is that the revenues of the metropolitan see are applied. Here there are reports, as if the bishop Methodius had been set at liberty and appointed metropolitan of Kieff. Keep him close, and take care that no such thing be done; for there will be a great disturbance between the clergy and the laity. To this day discord is still in full life and activity, and that treason which he wrought not long ago, and which was the cause of so much bloodshed. St. Sophia too cries out against him, for the restoration of which he received from the tsar 14,000 rubles: of his other self-willed acts I will say nothing.'

Soon after this there came to Kieff an oukaz of the tsar, that Ligarides should immediately return to Moscow. He took this as a mark of displeasure, and as soon as he had come to Moscow he wrote to the tsar: 'The prophet and king David sang on his ten stringed psaltery, "Turn not away thy countenance from thy servant, for I am in trouble; O haste thee to hear me:" the same I also venture to say to thee, sole-ruling tsar: Turn not away thy most bright countenance from me, so that I perish in soul and body: I am in great trouble, because I know not the cause of my being recalled.' In Jan. A.D. 1676 Ligarides addressed himself to Matveyeff with a petition, writing that he was dying of hunger and thirst; that his petitions are sent about, as if in mockery, from one prikaz to another; that he had contracted debts in consequence of his long and laborious journey; that for the church service in his house he had neither a priest, nor a deacon, nor a singer, nor a subdeacon. 'Thou attendest diligently to everything in this most rich empire; thou hast forgotten only me, who am a bishop.' They remembered him, and ordered that an allowance should be given him, the same as before. How Ligarides was employed appears partly from this, that he brought with him to Moscow from Kieff an hieromonach named Bessárion, who had been director of the Kieff schools, 'to help him in his diligence, and in the service of the tsar's majesty.'

APPENDIX XXII. *Of the degradation of Joseph, bishop of Kolomna: in connection with part iii. ch. i. p. 778.*

The affair of Nicon was finished; but the painful impression which it must have caused was renewed by the affair of the bishop of Kolomna, Joseph, who, when archimandrite of the Pechersky at Nijny, had, as commissioner from the Synod of Dec. A.D. 1666, taken Nicon to the place of his exile and imprisonment; and there, in the name of the tsar and the synod, had taken from him his episcopal mandya and his staff. He became bishop of Kolomna in A.D. 1672. This bishop allowed himself to be angry because imposts were laid upon the property of the Church. Joseph said of the great hossoudar: 'He is quite unable to decide any cause in the empire by himself; other people rule him;[a] former sovereigns used to provide for

[a] Solovieff adds in a note, p. 374: 'Joseph called the great hossoudar an

and endow holy places, *but now they ruin them, taking from them all kinds of special and excessive imposts:* as for the boyars, they are true sons of Ham; the hossoudar has no idea what they do: the patriarch Joachim has not much learning; in the synod the only one who says anything is the metropolitan of Nijny, and myself; the patriarch only sits and strokes his beard; he knows nothing, he vacillates, he is a coward, he bids them ring the bells first in one way and then in another; if he attempts to preach, he only hums and haws (*gnoit*), and one can hear nothing.' Joseph had a touch of the new age: he reproached the patriarch for ignorance, for not being able to speak in the synod, or to preach a sermon.

If Joseph began to *humble* any one, he cried out: 'Who shall take you away from me? I am afraid of nobody; neither tsar nor patriarch shall take you from me!' His punishments for those who were guilty of any offence were severe: they were flogged with whips and pleyts, they were put into irons, they were kept three days without anything being given them to eat, they were chilled with cold water and snow after the matins of the popes and singers of the cathedral, water was poured upon them, snow was put under their armpits: one, Petrushka Cyrilloff, was struck by the bishop himself during a moleben in the cathedral such a blow that it brought blood: he caused popes to be stripped bare and beaten with pleyts, and would cry: 'Strike harder; our people are dead!' Joseph in the synod denied all this; but when confronted with the parties he made no reply[6] to their testimonies. The *synod* sentenced him to be degraded. The patriarch's letter, enumerating the crimes of Joseph, amongst other things, says: 'Quite after the manner and with the violence of a wild beast he seized the sheep, to be devoured by his bestial voracity, that is, by his boundless covetousness and injustice: he uttered no justification to us against the charges, but was altogether convicted and put to shame by his accusers, and stood speechless as one dumb.'

Joseph was banished to one of the monasteries at Novgorod, but *he was allowed to have the government of it.*

Nicon[7] and Joseph of Kolomna complained of being plundered; but society at large could not sympathise with their complaints: first, because all were suffering alike for the common national cause, all were suffering

---

oaf and a great blockhead: the patriarch he called an oaf and a scarecrow (one who had no people with him, or who alienated people from him, *bezliuditsegou*); the bishops cattle, cowards, offal. He made excursions to his episcopal and monastic properties with monks and with his house-people, and after dinner in the villages and pogosts and in the meadows, when they were in liquor, his confessor the archimandrite, and the hegoumen of the Goloutvin monastery, and the diak, and others of his house-people used to amuse him with much buffoonery and all manner of practical jokes, rolling about on the ground: and those monks in their tussles with one another were thrown down, and their dresses disordered in an indecent manner.'

[6] It does not follow at once from this—as Soloviеff assumes—that the bishop had been guilty of any such enormities; but he is indirectly through this bishop pleading the cause of Peter I. and Catherine II.

[7] Nicon was zealous enough to make the clergy contribute towards the expenses of the tsar's wars, only he contended that this must be done *by themselves*, by *mutual counsel*, not as if the church property belonged to the state, and was to be confiscated or taxed like a crown domain, or like the property of lay citizens, by direct edict.

from the war which had been undertaken *in behalf of Orthodoxy*; secondly, all knew that the bishops and monasteries were *not* plundered or ruined. In A.D. 1653 dvorians had been sent in the tsar's name over the patriarchal province to make a register [on behalf of the patriarchate] in the towns and ridings of all the parish churches, and of all the clerks in their dvors, of all the church lands, and of all their usufructs, and of all the parishioners by name. And having made this register, they imposed a tribute [on behalf of the patriarchate]: from every pope's house four dengi; from every deacon's, two; from every house of a diachok, ponomar, prosphirnik, and bobil, one denga; from houses of boyars, princes, dvorians, sin-boyars, and of people of the tsar's palaces and prikazes, six dengas from each house; from houses of posadskie and peasants, four; of kozaks, streltsi, and poushkari, two; of bobils and people employed by the boyars, one; from stands of beehives, fisheries, and rights of beaver-hunting, three altines and a denga from every boundary mark; from church land, if arable, three dengas from every chetvert, if grass land for hay two dengas for every kopna: and besides this, for the salary (*oklad*) of the desiatilniks, and for riding, three altines and two dengi from each church; and for fiscal dues payable, three altines and three dengas from each church. And the other bishops *in like manner* taxed for themselves their dioceses. For the benefit of the bishops there were also collected certain dues on weddings and funerals. Lastly, there were other augmentations. The metropolitan of Rostoff, Jonah, wrote to a priest of Yaroslaff: 'God has helped you, that you feed us with fresh fish from the Volga: you have made us a richer offering than all your brethren the other priests at Yaroslaff.' In the latter half of the sixteenth century, in the reign of John the Terrible, there was a constitution made in a synod to put a stop to the farther increase of the landed property of the monasteries. But it was not kept to. At the time of the compilation of the Code, all the orders of the laity petitioned that the hossoudar should order those estates which had been given to the spirituality since A.D. 1580 contrary to the oulojenie of the tsar John to be taken back to himself, and that he would order them *to be distributed to the people of his service*. An order was made to make a description and inventory of these lands; but there the matter stopped: the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, especially during the patriarchate of Nicon, was *not capable* of carrying out such a measure, but he *was capable* of continuing to act in contravention of the constitution of the tsar John: so in A.D. 1654 he granted to the Iverskoy monastery, which Nicon was founding, the whole prigorod of Kholm.

It was only Nicon, Joseph of Kolomna, and men like them, who could complain of *any* plundering of the church property. They did not plunder it. But naturally, in a time of such pressure as was nearly all the reign of Alexis, the monasteries and the episcopal sees, like all other proprietors, had to bear their burdens. The immovable property of the monasteries was not touched, nor even the extension of it limited: but the privileges (*tarchani*) and letters of exemption from customs, tolls, &c., given to bishops and monasteries were annulled; they took money from the monasteries for the pay of the soldiers. So in A.D. 1655 the tsar wrote to the Tichvin monastery: 'It has become known to us that you have in the monastery a large sum of money, and we have made order to take from

you for the payment of the soldiers 10,000 rubles; and you must not be grieved at that as at a wrong done to you: when the service shall be over, we will order that money to be repaid to you.' Besides this, the government sent to different monasteries and quartered upon them such men as were badly wounded; and the monasteries fed and clothed them. Lastly, superannuated people of the tsar's service were, upon oukaz from the tsar, tonsured and received to be monks in the monasteries without any dower, while others had to find a dower. (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 152.)

APPENDIX XXIII. *Of the boyar Bogdan Mate. Khitroff: in connection with what is related by Dr. Samuel Collins of his relations with the Jew doctor Daniel Von Haden, part iii. ch. i. p.* 807 (*and compare p.* 777, *and vol. iii. p.* 536).

Solovieff relates that a monk named Flavian, in Oct. A.D. 1668, brought to the tsar from Nicon with a letter the information that Theodore *Rtischeff* had applied to a secular priest named Joel, saying: 'Do something (*i.e.* practise some sorcery) that I may be the first boyar with the tsar.' Joel replied: '*I* cannot do that; but thou hast in thy dvor a *gipsy* girl (a *tsiganka*) who knows how to do things of that kind better than I do.' *Rtischeff* answered: 'I cannot speak to the girl about that, for she wants me to marry her.'

But Nicon himself wrote in his letter not about Rtischeff, but about Bogdan *Khitroff*, that the priest Joel had spoken as follows: 'Nicon is no friend to me; he calls me a sorcerer and a dabbler in the black art (lit. in *black books*); but I am nothing of the kind; only I do know something of *astrology*: that I have learned pretty solidly: The hossoudar sent for me up into the palace when the tsarevna Anna was ill (in the spring of A.D. 1659), and I told him that she was not to recover, and she did not recover: and the hossoudar ordered that I should live in the Choudoff, so as to be nearer: Bogdan Khitroff also is my friend; and he spoke to me to enchant the hossoudar, so that he should love and favour him, Bogdan, above all others; but I, remembering the hossoudar's grace to me, refused; and he said to me: "Well, anyhow don't blab." And I said to him: You have with you a *Lithuanian* girl who understands that sort of thing; here in Moscow there is no one who can compare with her. And Bogdan said: "That is true; but I cannot touch upon any great questions with her; she wants me to marry her: and I *would have married her*, but the hossoudar will not let me."' When the inconsistency between the words of Nicon's messenger and his own letter was objected to Nicon, he replied: 'Flavian misheard, or blundered; that is clear of itself, for *Rtischeff has a wife living.*' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xi. p. 381.)

It may be that the name of Rtischeff had really been mentioned: Khitroff may have expressed some jealousy of him (though they were good friends[a]), as if the tsar had a greater regard for Rtischeff than for himself: and this may have led to the blunder.

[a] In the *Life of Theodore Rtischeff*, printed in vol. xviii. of the *Drev. R. Bibl.* p. 396, it is written thus: 'In his last sickness, calling his brother the blijni Bogdan Khitroff, he commended to him the old age of his father Michael, and his household generally. . . . Khitroff is also called *brother* to the okolnik Simeon *Ivan.*

Solovieff elsewhere gives another anecdote of Bogdan Khitroff. Khitroff wrote to Basil Bas. Golitsin: 'You have been so good as to write me word that six families of peasants have run away from my Koursk estate. Be so kind as to try to ascertain whether this has not been caused by some over-severity of my man Savka Tancheyeff. When he was with me in my Epiphanskay derevnia, his severity caused many peasants to run away. However, I know that his fault is not drunkenness, nor thieving, but *only* excessive severity' (vol. xiii. p. 131). Solovieff calls this 'naïveté' on the part of Khitroff; but it shows that, besides being a profligate, he was not distinguished either for humanity. Yet no very signal punishment overtook him. He *did* marry a second wife, and lived to old age, dying on the 27th March A.D. 1680. Only it is said of him in an account of the Khitroff family, published afterwards by themselves, that 'he was *unhappy in his private life*.' And again we read: 'Of his last years little is known.' At the end, it is said, he suffered great bodily tortures.

From a book entitled 'The Khitroff Family.'

The sixth ancestor of Bogdan Matveyevich was one of two Tatar brothers, named *Edougan*, with the Russian surname *Silno-Khitr* (*i.e.* the *Very-Cunning*), and *Solochmir*, who came from the great horde to the grand prince of Riazan Oleg Ivanovich.

An uncle, named Dementi Temka, during the troubles which followed after the reign of Boris Godounoff, was put to death for refusing to swear allegiance to the impostor Otrepieff. Bogdan himself, who was born probably in 1615 or 1616, was appointed to be a strapchi in 7141 (1632-3), getting at the same time a pomiestni oklad of 500 chetverts of land and 8 rubles in money: then, in 7143 (A.D. 1635), he was made a stolnik, through the patronage (according to the *Account of the Unjust Exile of Matveyeff*) of Boris Iv. Morozoff, to whom Bogdan's mother had been nurse. But baron Meyerberg writes that *Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy* was the cause of his rise, by turning the attention of the tsar Michael to his intelligence. At that time the tsarevich Alexis Michaelovich was six years old; and from what Dr. Samuel Collins (who was physician to the tsar Alexis from about A.D. 1659 to 1667) writes, it would seem that Alexis as a boy or lad had a liking for him: for Collins writes that he was the tsar's prime favourite, as being of the same age,[9] and as having been bred up with him and his playfellow, though this is plainly inaccurate. From A.D. 1632 to 1645 he was a *blijni chelovièk*, *i.e.* one of those in *close* personal attendance on the tsar Michael, and always accompanying him. In 1641, on the 19th of Sept., he was made a full *kŏmnatni* stolnik (*i.e.* stolnik 'of the chamber'); and then he married Maria Ivanovna. The family name of his wife is not known for certain: only (the okolnik) Simeon Rom. [Ivan.] Pojarsky, who was slain [taken prisoner by the Tatars and Kozaks] in 1659 at

Pojarsky, who was taken prisoner by the Tatars in A.D. 1659; and the name of his *wife* was Maria *Ivanovna*. Rtischeff was connected also with the Odoefskys, his daughter Akindyna being married to Basil Theod., grandson of Nikita Iv. Odoefsky.' Theodore Rtischeff was born in April A.D. 1626, and died 21st June 1673, in his 48th year.

[9] As if confounding Khitroff with Peter Mich. Soltikoff, another favourite, who *is* said to have been of the same age with the tsar Alexis.

Konotop, is called his brother (which may be either brother or cousin by marriage), and it has been surmised that the wife of Bogdan Khitroff was sister to the wife of Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy.

In A.D. 1646 Bogdan was voivode against the Nogai Tatars and the Kalmucks: and in 1647 he was similarly employed as voivode; but on the 27th of Nov. 1647 he was at Moscow. Then, for his services, his pomiestia were enlarged by 250 chetverts, and 62 rubles were given him in money: and the Selo Gorodishche in Tsarevo Sounchoursk with 500 dvors of peasants was given him as a freehold family estate (a *votchina*). When on the 7th of Nov. A.D. 1647 he was made an okolnik, the treasurer and doumni dvorianin Bogdan Minich Doubrovsky would not announce to him this promotion, and was sent to prison for doing him that dishonour; and another, viz. the doumni diak Michael Voloshenikoff, announced it (p. 21). He had more than one such contention; and he always had success on his side. In A.D. 1648 he was again voivode against Atamar, but scarcely went on that service. On the 25th Nov. A.D. 1648 he was present at Moscow at the nomination of the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky to be boyar. Thenceforth he always appears among the *blijnie* (the close personal attendants) of the tsar Alexis. After Leonti Pleshcheyeff had been slain in 1648 by the rioters for his tyranny and corruption (the tsar giving him up to their will), Khitroff presided in the zemski prikaz (the prikaz of criminal jurisdiction) and in the prikaz called the *Novaia Chet.* In A.D. 1650 the tsar sent against the insurgents of Pskoff the boyars and voivodes princes Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy and Michael Petr. Pronsky, the okolnik Timothy Theod. Boutourlin, and Bogdan Matv. Khitroff, &c. He did not actually march; but there was again on this occasion an objection made on the ground of *miestnichestvo* against him from the golovas of streltsi the Zibins; and they were both imprisoned three days (p. 23). In A.D. 1651 he held the chelobitni prikaz (prikaz of petitions and suits); and on the 17th March he petitioned against prince Benedict Andr. Obolensky, on the ground of seniority, that he should not be required to announce to him his appointment to be okolnik; and he carried his point; and Simeon Zabourofsky was named to announce it instead. From that time till A.D. 1653 nothing is recorded of him except his accompanying the tsar on his pilgrimages, and dining with him. On the 2d of June A.D. 1652 he was sent with three others of the boyars to look after Moscow at the time of the fire there; and on the 3d of July he announced to the tsar at their audience the Polish envoys. On the 22d of Aug., together with the secretary Larion Lopouchin, he led by the bridle the horse on which the metropolitan Jonah sat, as he went round to bless the city walls after his consecration to the see of Rostoff. In A.D. 1653 he was one of the envoys sent to Poland before the declaration of war. The two originally appointed were the princes Boris Alex. Repnin and Theodore Theod. Volkonsky; but when the latter fell sick, Khitroff was substituted with the *title* of namiestnik (the tsar's deputy) for Rjev. They started on the 21th of April, and did not find the king of Poland at Warsaw; but they found him at Lemberg on the 20th July, and were received on the 22d; and on the 7th of Aug. they had their audience of leave, and left; and on the 25th Sept. reached

Troitsa, where the tsar then was, and dined with him. The same year there was given him an oklad (salary) as okolnik of 300 rubles. On the 18th of May A.D. 1654 he went with the tsar to the war, and came on the 28th of June to Smolensk. In an unsuccessful assault on the night of the 15-16th of Aug. he attacked the Louchinskoi, the Dnieprskoi, and the Naougolnoi towers, having under him the colonel Alexander Gibson and the golova of streltsi Artemon Matveyeff. About Christmas he was at his votchina of Peremuishla, where he stayed as long as the plague lasted. While there, on the 9th of Nov., he gave 1000 rubles to build a church in the neighbouring monastery of Liutikov. Letters of his are preserved which he wrote at this time to the boyar Boris Iv. Morozoff, and to the patriarch Nicon, to whom he gives the title of '*Great Hossoudar*.' In the spring of 1655 he was named, together with the prince Ivan Sem. Prozorofsky, on the 22d of March, as colleague to the voivode of the chief corps (polk) of the army, the prince Yakoff Kouden. Cherkassky. Khitroff, together with Cherkassky, took Minsk in the beginning of July: on the 29th they defeated Radzivil and Gonsevsky, and took Vilna. During the winter of A.D. 1655-1656 he was at Moscow; and on the 17th of Dec. he was present when the tsar's answer was given to the envoys from the emperor of Germany Ferdinand III., the Jesuit Allegretti and Lorbach, who had come with an offer of mediation. In Apr. A.D. 1656 he negotiated with the Polish envoy Galinski, but without effect: no peace was then made; but on the 17th of May war was declared against Sweden. Again he was the colleague of the voivode prince Yakoff Kouden. Cherkassky and of the prince Ivan Sem. Prozorofsky, and received a reward of a shoub of satin with gold, a cup, and an addition to his former oklad of 80 rubles. On the 31st of July they took Dinaburg, and then also Kokenhausen. On the 23d of Aug. there was formed the siege of Riga; but he did not remain till the siege was raised. On the 29th of Sept. he was sent to Moscow on business of the tsar, and prince Osip Iv. Scherbatoff took his place. In A.D. 1657 he was made oroujnichey, and charged with the superintendence of the oroujnichaia palata (the armoury hall or chamber). On the 15th of Aug. A.D. 1657 the hetman Bogdan Khmielnitsky died, after which the Zaporog kozaks made his son Youry their hetman, with the secretary Vigovskoy for his guardian. Vigovskoy, writing of this only to the voivodes of Kieff, and not to the tsar, began to tamper with Youry Khmielnitsky; and when he fled to the Zaporogs, Vigovskoy sent to the tsar to ask that he might himself be confirmed as hetman. In Nov. A.D. 1657 the tsar sent Bogdan Khitroff to confirm Vigovskoy, and to swear the kozaks to allegiance. Again his colleagues protested on the ground of *miestnichestvo*; but the stolnik Ivan Athan. Pronchishcheff was imprisoned and cudgelled in the rozriad for his pains (p. 32). In the assembly (*rada*) of the kozaks at Pereyaslaff he confirmed Vigovskoy, and would not let Poushkar begin a civil war against him. On this occasion he showed himself—so it was said—*khitr* (cunning, sharp) only in name. On the 5th of March A.D. 1658, on his return to Moscow, he was met with a message of praise from the tsar. Gregory Iv. Kaphtireff, refusing on the ground of *miestnichestvo* to go and meet him with this message, was on the 16th of March beaten in the rozriad with rods. On the 6th of July

he was the *involuntary*[10] cause of the open breach of the tsar with Nicon. As he was clearing the way for the tsarevich Teymouraz of Georgia he struck the patriarch's boyar. 'Strike me not,' he cried, 'Bogdan Matveyevich! I am not come here of myself, but on duty' (with a mission). 'Who art thou?' Khitroff replied. 'I am the patriarch's man, sent on business.' 'Don't make much of thyself,' Khitroff then said, and struck him again on the forehead. To Nicon's application for redress the tsar replied by an autograph letter, that he would order an inquest to be made, and that he himself would see the patriarch. But he saw him only (in Dec. of A.D. 1666) at his condemnation[11] (p. 31). On the 9th of July Khitroff was present when the tsar's answer was given to the Lithuanian envoy Adam Sakovich. From that time for nearly two years, till A.D. 1660, there are no traces to be found of his having been at court.[12] But on the 8th of May A.D. 1660 he was present at the tsar's banquet, given in honour of the Georgian tsarevich Nicholas Davidovich. It was he who on that occasion marshalled the chashniks (*i.e.* the cupbearers) and the stolniks. In A.D. 1661 he was present when the tsar's answer was given to the envoy from the emperor of Germany, the baron Meyerberg, who calls him 'a man of experience in peace and in war.' In A.D. 1662 he was appointed to confer with the Swedish envoy Bent Horn, who came to ratify the convention of Kardis. This convention was ratified on the 6th of March, to be a final termination of differences. The naloi (ἀναλογεῖον, reading-stand) with the gospel was brought to the tsar by the boyar the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky and Bogdan Matv. Khitroff; and he also brought to the boyar the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy the dish on which this last placed the tsar's cap while he made oath. In this summer he went with the tsar to Selo Kolomensk; and he remained there by oukaz on the 22d July, together with the boyar Peter Mich. Soltikoff, when the tsar went to Moscow on the festival of St. Elias: and he was there probably at the time of the riot. But it is to be noticed that, though he was a creature of Morozoff and Miloslafsky, his name was not then uttered by the mob: only once we find it uttered for obloquy, and that far from Moscow, in the insurrection of Stenka Razin. In 7172 (A.D. 1663-1664) he held the prikaz of the *bolshoi dvoretz* (*i.e.* of the great palace), and the zolotaia and serebriannaa palata (the gold and silver chamber). On the 1st of Sept. A.D. 1667 he was created a boyar. He was unhappy in his private life. His eldest daughter Bassa (Basilissa) Bogdanovna, who was married to the prince Boris Iv. Troekouroff, died in March A.D. 1666. In spite of the rising power and authority of Matveyeff he retained all his importance to the end of the reign of Alexis. He was always present at the reception of envoys, and had the second place, that is, the first place to the left of the tsar. He always went with

[10] So it is said in the book of *The Khitroff Family*, published by that family itself later: and as Bogdan Matveyeff was their great hero, who first raised them from obscurity, they write nothing to his disadvantage.

[11] This is inaccurate: for Nicon came to Moscow afterwards from Voskresensk in 1659, and was then seen and received as patriarch by the tsar. See vol. iv. p. 173-179.

[12] Could it be that the tsar, though he gave way to the boyars, was annoyed, and displeased with Khitroff for having 'made that beginning of skirmishing'?

the tsar on his pilgrimages in the same carriage, reported to him personally, and sat in the council. In the night of the 29-30th Jan. 1676 the tsar died. The young tsar Theodore was devoted to his maternal relations the Miloslafskys. Matveyeff, as the head of the Narishkin party, saw the danger which threatened himself and them. There was no *proof* of any *plot* having been formed by him to [do anything wrong on this account], but *probably*,[13] &c. &c. It was necessary to find a pretext to get rid of Matveyeff. The name of *Bogdan* Khitroff does *not appear* in the *process* with those *of the rest of his kinsmen* and connections, who are considered to have caused the fall of Matveyeff. A letter of Matveyeff, written to him from the fort of Poustozersk in 1681, does not show that Matveyeff considered him to be his enemy (p. 40); but Matveyeff calls him his 'benefactor,'[14] and begs him thus: 'Intercede for me, and remember thy kindness to me, and my service to thee though poor yet sincere. If thou wilt say, "It is not my business; let every man look to his own," still the gospel,' &c. At the coronation of the tsar Theodore, Bogdan Khitroff stood on the imperial platform, and had the highest honour, that of *Dvoretskoy s' poutiem*, given him: and with this there were given to him (as pomiestia) the palace and chase manors of the government of Yaroslaff, and his oklad was increased to 500 rubles. In A.D. 1677, after the suppression of the monastirski prikaz, he was appointed *to do all the business which had belonged to it* in *the prikaz of the bolshoi dvoretz*. Of his last years little is known. A few days before his death he lost his *last remaining solace*,[15] a young daughter—only a child—named Irene: and on the 27th of March A.D. 1680 he died; and they were both buried together in one grave, in the Novodivichy monastery.

A contemporary *foreigner*, who may perhaps have been indebted to him, praises Khitroff most highly, especially for his civilisation, grace, and courtesy, saying that he was not rough, like the rest of the boyars of that age; that he was able; and that he was good to petitioners, *especially to strangers* (p. 44). Meyerberg also speaks well of him. And Theodore Mich. Rtischeff, when dying, on the 21st June A.D. 1673, committed his father and all his household to the friendship of Bogdan Khitroff. He gave considerable gifts to monasteries. His wife, Maria Ivanovna,[16] survived him thirteen years, and died on the 29th June 1693.

But Dr. Samuel Collins, writing at some date between A.D. 1664 and 1668, relates that: 'One morning last winter the wife of Khitroff was found dead in her bed; and as his infidelities were notorious, and his wife's jealousy had made her a burden to him, this her sudden death caused much suspicion and rumour among the people.' He adds, that 'since that the tsar has urged him to marry, and to abandon that wicked life he was leading with his Polish doxies, or else he should quit his place.

[13] Here the writer goes on with no regard to the truth of history, dissembling the complicity of Bogdan Khitroff to the intrigue against Matveyeff.

[14] As beggars in Italy say 'benefattore mio!' not of gratitude for any *past* benefits, but begging for something as yet future.

[15] He left, however, his son the boyar Ivan Bogdanovich, and many other relatives who owed their advancement to him, in prosperity and favour.

[16] The writer has before given the name *Maria Ivanovna* as that of Bogdan's *first* wife; but perhaps he did not know that there were *two*.

'Twas said he would take one of his mistresses for his wife.' See vol. iii. p. 536, where, however, Dr. Samuel Collins, the tsar's physician, is inaccurately described, as if he had been chaplain to the English merchants. The patriarch Nicon, as well as Collins, mentions the fact that Bogdan Khitroff in A.D. 1668 was without a wife, and that he was reported to have said of himself, that he had in his dvor a Lithuanian girl ('one of his Polish doxies,' as Collins calls them) who wanted him to marry her, and whom he would have married, only the tsar would not let him. So the wife who outlived Khitroff 'thirteen years,' the one whose name was Maria Ivanovna, whatever may have been her family, was his *second* wife.

APPENDIX XXIV. *In connection with the death of the tsar Alexis, mentioned in this volume at p.* 783, 814, 856, *and* 903-918.

Reflections on the reign of the tsar Alexis, from Solovieff's 'History,' &c.

The discontent of the paying classes, which had expressed itself under the tsar Michael strongly, but lawfully, expressed itself under his young son Alexis by the Moscow insurrection of A.D. 1648, when there were grounds for imputing the sufferings of the people not to the tsar, but to the boyar who was regent. The Code of the great council, the suppression of mortgage as a means of evading imposts, and the suppression of the privileges of the foreign merchants, served to allay the discontent. A riot, projected by the mortgagees who were deprived of their advantageous position, did not succeed: Solvichegodsk and Oustiog were too late with their risings, and still more so Novgorod and Pskoff; but still all that was a heavy time both for the government and for the people. But meanwhile, at that very same time that Moscow was distracted by insurrection and by conflagrations, in the south Khmielnitsky was gaining victories over the Polish hetmans and raising up the Oukraine. Khmielnitsky sent to Moscow with a request to the tsar to receive the kozaks as subjects, at a moment when the tsar knew not how he was to put down the insurrections of Novgorod and Pskoff. These insurrections died out from being isolated, as a fire dies out when there are no other buildings contiguous; but two years later it was necessary to begin a war with Poland. The poor empire exhausted all its means in order to prepare itself for the war, and at first success justified the sacrifices: but soon there followed the plague, the Swedish war, the vacillations of Little Russia, and in the east risings of barbarous tribes. The treasury was completely exhausted: the soldiers deserted from hunger and cold. They attempted to have recourse to credit; but the copper money fell in value, and the populace at Moscow again rose in insurrection. The truce of Andrussoff put a stop to the calamities of a war that had lasted thirteen years. But was the empire long at rest? It was in A.D. 1667 that the truce of Andrussoff was made, and in the same year 1667 Razin rose up in rebellion, and in A.D. 1668 Briuchovetsky; in the cities of Little Russia the kozaks slaughtered the Muscovite voivodes and soldiers, while in the north there broke out the revolt of the Solovétsky monastery. In A.D. 1671 the rebellion of Razin was extinguished; and in A.D. 1672 the Turks took Kamenetz, and kept Moscow in continual alarm till the end of the reign. After this we cannot wonder at the slowness and the

indecision of the dispositions made by the government for the moving of its forces, or the small numerical strength of these last, and their bad condition, in consequence of which the greatest part was always on paper and never effective. We ought rather to wonder how the poor empire could endure such a succession of blows—such a succession of wars.

At the same time, however, we must not forget one fortunate circumstance. We have seen that in the reign of Alexis the Muscovite empire was struck by a succession of blows coming one after another. But this fact itself is important, that they did come one after another. The insurrections of Novgorod and Pskoff occurred at the interval of a year after that of Moscow, when in the capital all was now quiet, and there had been made important changes which had pacified the population of the central districts, and so the government was able to concentrate its attention on the north-west. Razin rebelled when the war with Poland had ended: he rebelled in A.D. 1667, and in A.D. 1668 there began the rebellion of Briuchovetsky: but Razin at this time had gone off to the Caspian Sea, and so gave Moscow time to settle the affairs of Little Russia; and he made his second insurrection when now in Little Russia all was quiet, when consequently the greater part of the military force could be moved to the east. The Turks began to threaten when all was already over with the rebel kozaks in the east.

But whatever favourable circumstances there might be which enabled the Muscovite empire to bear up under such trials as were sent upon it in the latter half of the seventeenth century, these trials, following so rapidly one after another, might have been too much even for a firmer nature than was possessed by the tsar Alexis. In addition to these public calamities, he had also bitter family afflictions. By his first marriage to Maria Ilichna Miloslafsky he had six daughters and five sons, but all the sons were sickly; two of them, Dmitri and Alexis, died before their father and mother: in March A.D. 1669 the tsaritsa Maria Ilichna and her new-born infant died: after her in the same year there followed the death of a third tsarevich, Simeon. On the 22d Jan. A.D. 1671 Alexis married, as his second wife,[17] Natalia Cyrillovna Narishkin, the adopted daughter of the doumni dvorianin Artemon Serg. Matveyeff, and by her he had before his death three children, Peter, Natalia, and Theodora (of whom the last lived only three years).

On the 1st September A.D. 1674 the tsar showed publicly, as his successor, his son the tsarevich Theodore, then thirteen years old. 'On the krasnoi ploshchad,' these are the words of the *act*, 'they showed the hossoudar the tsarevich to all the Muscovite empire and to the foreigners.'

[17] In the latest editions of the work of Olearius, after mention of the children of the tsar Alexis by his first and his second marriage, the writer adds: 'He (the tsar Alexis) had, besides these, a *natural* son, whom he created a kniaz, and whose mother he married to a nobleman named Mousin-Poushkin; but when the tsar married his second wife, this lady having through jealousy dropped some injurious expressions against the new tsaritsa, both she and her son were sent to Astrachan, where they died.' Thus the illicit connection of the tsar Alexis and the birth of his illegitimate son seems to be placed between the death of his first wife, 3d March A.D. 1669, and his second marriage, 22d Jan. A.D. 1671; and to have been rebuked by the deaths of his two legitimate sons, Simeon and Alexis, 14th June A.D. 1669, and 17th Jan. A.D. 1670.

After the *act* the tsarevich wished his father and the patriarch health for the new year, and made a speech; after which another speech was addressed to the tsar, the tsarevich, and the patriarch by the boyar the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky. On the same day the tsarevich was seen in the sobor of the Archangel by the foreigners, the sons of the hetman Samoilovich, and the envoy from Lithuania. The hossoudar sent to them the boyar Khitroff to show to them the tsarevich, and to say: 'You have now seen yourselves the bright eyes of the hossoudar the tsarevich, and what is his stature: write therefore of this expressly to your sovereigns.'

In A.D. 1676, on the night between the 29th and the 30th of Jan., between the Saturday and the Sunday, at four hours of the night, the tsar Alexis Michaelovich died, in the forty-seventh year from his birth, after having blessed to succeed him in the throne his eldest surviving son Theodore (born 30th May A.D. 1661). Besides Theodore, there was left of the issue of his first marriage the tsarevich John (born 27th Aug. A.D. 1666), and by his second marriage the tsarevich Peter (born 30th May 1672); and daughters by the first marriage, Eudocia (born 18th Feb. A.D. 1650), Martha (born 26th Aug. A.D. 1652), Sophia (born 17th Sept. A.D. 1657), Ekaterina (born 27th Nov. A.D. 1658), Maria (born 18th Jan. A.D. 1660), and Theodosia (born 28th May A.D. 1662); and by the second marriage, Natalia (born 22d Aug. A.D. 1673), and Theodora (born 4th Sept. A.D. 1674). There were also living the three sisters of the tsar Alexis, Irene, Anna, and Tatiana Michaëlovna. The children of Alexis who had died before their father were Dmitri (born 22d Oct. A.D. 1648, died 6th Oct. A.D. 1649), Alexis (born 5th Feb. A.D. 1651, died 16th Jan. A.D. 1670), Anna (born 29th Jan. A.D. 1655, died 8th May A.D. 1659), Simeon (born 3d Apr. A.D. 1665, died 14th June A.D. 1669), and Eudocia (who was born 26th and died 28th Feb. A.D. 1669).

At the first outset of our relation of the actions of the tsar Alexis, we noticed that in some respects his nature was like but in others unlike that of his father. In the course of his reign of thirty years both the likenesses and the differences showed themselves more distinctly. Beyond a doubt Alexis Michaelovich presented the most attractive character of all the sovereigns that have ever been seen on the throne of Moscow. Foreigners who knew Alexis could not emancipate themselves from the charm of his soft, humane, good-hearted nature. These traits of his character stood out all the more sharply, and attracted all the more attention and sympathy, owing to the dark shadows by which they were in that age surrounded. 'It is something marvellous,' foreigners said, 'that with unlimited power over a people who are used to absolute servitude, he has never touched any man's property, nor any man's life, nor any man's honour.' The simple patriarchal bearing of the Russian autocrat with his subjects must have struck foreigners all the more on this account, that in the west of Europe the same had already disappeared; there they were in the age of Louis XIV.! A special softness, a special attraction, was given to the nature of Alexis, and to his acts, by his deep religiousness, which penetrated his whole being. But while he reminded one of his father by the softness of his nature, Alexis, on the other hand, resembled

his distinguished son in vivacity, susceptibility, passionateness. He was very irascible; and when the man who provoked his wrath was one *near* to him, then, according to the manner of that time, Alexis righted himself with his own hand, and *humbled* him; and this, as we have seen, was not considered to be any dishonour. The envoy of the emperor of Germany, Meyerberg, who was so charmed with the character of the tsar Alexis, relates of him the following anecdote: When they knew at Moscow of the defeat of Khovianskoy and Nashchokin in A.D. 1661, the tsar convoked the council, and asked what was to be done? how were they to bring the war to a good end with so formidable an enemy? On this the tsar's father-in-law, Elia Dan. Miloslafsky, began to speak, and said: 'If the hossoudar will give me the command of the army, I will soon bring him the king of Poland as a prisoner.' Nothing provoked the tsar Alexis like brag and presumption; he broke out: 'How darest thou, thou who art only fit for field work (*straduik*), thou great hulking lout, to boast of thy skill in military matters? When didst thou ever march with an army? What victories hast thou ever won over an enemy? Or is it that thou art jesting at me?' The matter was not ended either with these words. The angry tsar gave a *combing* to his old father-in-law, pulled his beard, pummelled him out of the room, and fastened the door. Another story: The tsar bled himself, and finding himself relieved, proposed that those of his suite who were present should follow his example. All, willingly or unwillingly, consented, except the tsar's kinsman by the mother's side, Rodion Streshneff, who declined on the ground that he was an old man. Alexis broke out: 'Is thy blood then more precious than mine? dost thou think thyself better than us all?' And here too it was not all over with words: Streshneff was bled in spite of himself. But when the tsar's anger had spent itself he sent to Streshneff from the palace handsome presents to make him forget the tiff. When any one of the distinguished voivodes did anything amiss, Alexis in like manner lost his self-control, and would write to the offender a long angry letter; but the tone of these letters is constantly tempered by this, that the tsar strives to set clearly before the eyes of the offender his sin before God, his responsibility before the King of kings: the angry threatening tsar disappears, and one sees only the man who is disturbed by the offence and by its consequences, and strives to represent their gravity to the offender. In the midst of angry expressions there are audible words of sympathy from the man to the man.

Thus in A.D. 1668 he sent the strapchi Golovkin to ask the boyar the prince Gregory Sem. Kourakin: 'Why he did not, in obedience to the oukaz of the great hossoudar, go to Niejin, and to Chernigoff? how it was that he had no pity on God's people and the people of the empire who are at the end of their lives (*i.e.* in danger of death)? how will he be able to answer for them at the terrible judgment? How could he, the boyar, forget our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his miraculous power which had before given victory through his tears and zeal? Why had he been lifted up? and what was his pride? He had listened to rogues and narrowminded tattlers, who will have none the better opinion of him for that. Why did he halt at Glouchovo? It was improper of him not only

to halt there, but so much as to go there at all: only he might have written a letter to the town, to summon it to surrender. He ought to have gone straight to Niejin, and to have cleared Chernigoff, and to have made war. But for what he wrote, that, without thinking first about Glouchovo, it was impossible so to advance, that thought also was of pride, and such as to incur the anger and abomination of God. 'Thou wert then beginning to trust in thyself, and not in God: thou wert trusting in thine own power and good fortune. But those poor men of Niejin and Chernigoff sigh to Him against thee. The hossoudar would have shown them grace and rescued them, but they will be lost through his boyar. God will exact of him an account for them. It is better to seek success by tears and zeal and humility before God: after thy former fashion as thou didst begin so shouldest thou go on and complete thy work, but not by betaking thyself to power and vainglory. It is a matter of great astonishment to the great hossoudar that, having received such glory from the Lord God by his tears, he, the boyar and voivode, should lose it by himself. It were better perhaps that he should take Glouchovo with much bloodshed, and let the people at Niejin and Chernigoff perish needlessly by an unseemly and lingering death, without thinking, according to the proverb, what will be the consequence? The consequence will be this: *first*, he angers God: he trusted in his own vainglorious strength, he wished to take a town, and he sheds much blood to no good end; *secondly*, he loses the people, and brings fear and perplexity on the people; *thirdly*, he incurs wrath from the great hossoudar; *fourthly*, from the people shame and reproach because he needlessly lost people; *fifthly*, that glory and honour in the world which had been given him by God he, by his improper conduct and by his unseasonable halt before Glouchovo, casts off from himself, and instead of glory gets to himself all manner of reproaches and disparaging criticisms. And all this the tsar has written to him, the boyar, wishing well to the holy Eastern Church, that the work of God, and the work of himself, the hossoudar, may be done well, through good conduct in the command of the army, and with graciousness to him, the boyar, and wishing him honour, and having compassion upon his old age.'

Still more vehemently did Alexis express himself in a letter to the prince Gregory Greg. Romodanofsky: 'To the enemy of the cross of Christ, the new Achitophel, the prince Gregory Romodanofsky. May the Lord God reward thee for thy simply satanical service to us, the great hossoudar, as he rewarded Dathan and Abiram, and Ananias and Sapphira: they lied against the Holy Ghost; and thou hast treated the command of God and our oukaz just like Judas, who sold Christ for gain. Thou too hast sold the command of God and our oukaz and favour with a lie. Thou hadst orders to send out a reinforcement to the stolnik Simeon Zmeyeff, to the army of our soldiers, for the more speedy execution of God's work and ours; and thou didst indeed give orders to send them, but with such strict order and discipline and precise injunctions and promise of our grace in all things, that when they had gone five versts they came back to thee to thy army; and thou not only didst not then send them forth again, according to our former oukaz, to the destination appointed

for them, but didst take them with thyself, deceiving them by a promise of our higher pay, and promising them secretly to let them go off to their homes for thine own thrice-accursed gain. And as thou hast ruined God's work and ours, so the Lord God shall ruin thee thyself: and thy wife and thy children shall see such and the same tears as those poor orphans weep who are causelessly slain: and thou thyself, thou thrice-wretched and inglorious enemy of Christendom, because thou didst not send those men, and our true traitor, and son of the true Satan, and friend of devils, shalt fall into the bottomless pit, from which no man has ever returned. Remember, wretched man, by whom thou wast sought out? by whom thou wast favoured? On whom dost thou rely? Where canst thou hide? Whither fly? Whom is it that thou disobeyest? Before whom art thou a worker of iniquity? Thou manifestly castest reproach on Christ himself, and undoest his work. Knowest thou the never-ending torment that awaits him who honours him with hypocrisy, and who passes his days in doing evil deeds before his sovereign, and alters his commands, and fears them not? We know perfectly, O thou our envier and true *non*-servant, how thou didst with evil cunning and purpose do that thing. But thy colleague, who is a blockhead and a very poor kind of prince, we are ordering to be put to the question; and the under-*clown* Klimka we shall order to be hanged. God has blessed us, and has given us the charge to rule as hossoudar and to judge his people in the East and in the West and in the South and in the North, for justice: and we order God's matters and our own imperial matters in all the regions, considering, according to the man, whom to employ: but it is not for thee alone, our enemy, to do the work of all the regions, for this reason: it is impossible for the human nature to operate on all regions: only the devil intrudes himself in and over all countries. Our former imperial letters have been written and sent to thee with our word of gracious favour, such as never were sent even to thy masters: and thou by that hast been lifted up, and hast shown a pagan obstinacy. But if thou wishest for the future to have from God mercy and blessing, and dost *not* wish to go to the abyss without repentance, but wishest to be in our imperial favour as heretofore, then, laying aside all obstinacy, do according to this our oukaz, and send to the stolnik Zmeyeff *immediately* a regiment (a polk) of reitars and a regiment of dragoons, giving them their pay in money.'

In the letters of the tsar Alexis his *patriarchal* relations are also exhibited, without any embellishments, in all their impropriety. Thus in a letter to his cousin the stolnik Matiushkin he writes: 'I will tell you how I amuse myself: I make a habit of ducking the stolniks every morning in the pond: there is a *Jordan* very well made for the purpose: I duck four or five, or it may be a dozen of them, for this: whoever has not come in time for my inspection (to my levee) I duck him: and after the ducking I show him grace: I invite every day all those that I have ducked: they come and eat their full: and some say: "We don't go in time on purpose:" so they buy of us an invitation, and come to dinner: there are *many* of these who of purpose do not come in time' (*Letters of the Tsar Alexis*, p. 78).

Elsewhere Mr. Solovieff, writing of the drunkenness which was prevalent in old Russia, after observing that people destitute of intellectual resources are prone to seek a change from the monotony of daily life in artificial and physical excitement, adds: 'Even the religious and moral Alexis Michaelovich himself liked sometimes to amuse himself in that way. In 1671, Oct. 21, the tsar gave an evening banquet (a supper) in the *amusement* rooms: the boyars all sat and ate without places (*i.e.* without regard to claims of precedence), the dumnie diaki, *and the confessor*. After they had eaten, he was pleased to amuse himself with divers amusements: a German played on the organ and on the clarion (*souma*), and they trumpeted with trumpets, and played on clarionets, and on cymbals and drums: he was pleased to give *the confessor*, the boyars, and the diaks drink *till he had made them all drunk*, and they went away at the eleventh hour of the night' (*Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 155).

The outward appearance of the tsar Alexis, as it is described by foreigners who had seen him, helps us much to illustrate his character. He had a mild expression of countenance, was fair complexioned, with ruddy cheeks, chestnut coloured hair, a fine beard, and a body strongly built: but meanwhile an early obesity, especially of the belly, enfeebled him, notwithstanding the activity of his life. He was used to rise early for the matin service: sometimes he passed nights in prayer (*i.e.* he attended the vigil service called *vsenoshni*, in Greek ἀγρυπνία): he attended energetically to business; he often went hunting or hawking, of which he was passionately fond; he would not miss the festivals of the dedications of monastic or parochial churches. He had energy enough to determine to give up the life followed by his father, to leave his palace at Moscow, and go out into the field to war. A tradition has been preserved that his campaigns in White Russia and Lithuania *developed* Alexis, inspired him with more self-reliance, and caused a change in his relations to those who surrounded him. He became more independent. But his energy, as it appears, needed to be kept up by success: when his successes ceased, we no longer see Alexis at the head of armies. Whether that increasing corpulence which has been mentioned already was a consequence or a cause of the decrease of his activity is a question difficult to decide. Contemporary foreigners speak of the admirable natural talents of Alexis, and lament that such gifts had not been developed by scientific cultivation. Morozoff (the instructor of the tsar's youth) could only sympathise with cultivation, and regret that in his youth he had not been taught. Alexis read through, as it seems, all that it was possible at that time to read in the Slavonic and Russian dialects. But his strongly-excited spiritual activity manifested itself in a passion for writing. What a number of autograph letters, usually sufficiently lengthy, of notes, and instructions did he leave behind him! Alexis undertook to write an account of his own campaigns. Some foul copies, with corrections in his own hand, of a description of the marching out of the army from Moscow have been preserved, with the dismissal of the voivodes, and the speeches spoken on this occasion. Probably the plague and those military reverses which followed arrested the work. Lastly, the tsar Alexis also tried his hand at writing verses: and Solovieff gives, as a specimen, a letter *of*

instructions written by him in *verse* (very slipshod verses, of irregular lengths) to the prince Gregory Greg. Romodanofsky.

Owing to the overgreat softness of his nature, Alexis Michaelovich could not but allow a very great influence to the people surrounding him. He was ever ready to flare up, but was not of a nature to keep it up long. Excessive trust of unworthy people and the allowance to them of power were the consequences of a weakness of character, not of any want of accurate discernment of the characters of the men trusted. So, for instance, he saw quite well what sort of a man was his father-in-law Miloslafsky, and in a moment of indignation he did not spare him; but to disgrace him or deprive him of his offices would have been to hurt the very nearest to himself of all beings, his wife, whom he so much loved; and this was beyond the strength of the tsar Alexis. So it was also in respect of other persons, who were in close league with one another, and held strongly to one another. To disgrace one, and to have all at once so many persons appear discontented and sad, and those too persons in general all together from morning till night filling the court, without its being possible to get away from them, made the whole day for a good-natured soul like Alexis an insupportable burden—and he gave way. Hence (in part) one may explain his strange relations with the patriarch Nicon. Nicon could not, like his enemies the *blijnie bogari* and okolniks, be constantly in the palace; and through this cause alone his was *a lost game*. Duplicity and cunning is the child of weakness, and we find Alexis Michaelovich *acting a double part* in the affair of Nicon: he agreed with the boyars that the patriarch had gone too far; *that he* was *insupportable; that one could not live with him;* and at the same time he tried to persuade Nicon of his personal goodwill to him, and would justify himself in the eyes of the angry patriarch. Thus the good Alexis demeaned himself so as to strive to please both sides, when, if he had acted with more decision and independence, he might have terminated the matter. Beyond a doubt the chief cause of the fall of Nicon is to be found in the personal character of the tsar. If he had been of a firmer character he would have kept his bosom friend *within due bounds*, and the first collision would have prevented all the painful consequences of the last.[18] Alexis Michaelovich lost his bosom friend precisely because he was unequal to the first conflict: *weakness* in sovereigns *has sometimes the same consequences as tyranny*.

But the softness of the personal character of the tsar Alexis did not in the least degree diminish the importance of the authority of the great hossoudar. Alexis Michaelovich had *exactly the same exalted idea of his own rights as John IV.* (John the Terrible) *had had.* 'God has blessed us, and has committed it to us, the hossoudar, to rule and to judge his people in the East and in the West and in the South and in the North, for justice.' The very same relations which we have seen in the time of the tsar Michael were in force also now. In the popular movements in which the reign of Alexis was so *rich*, and in which it is impossible not to recognise the echoes of the previous troubled time, after the necessary rest in

[18] If only Solovieff could have been tsar at that time instead of Alexis Michaelovich! But no doubt John the Terrible or Peter, when full grown, would have brought the matter more speedily to an issue.

the time of Michael—in those popular movements there were expressed very sharply the same relations of the majority to him who stood at the head of the minority. The masses rose up against the boyars, setting forth the identity of their own interests with the interests of the tsar. The minority had nothing else left for it than to seek timidly for protection at the foot of the throne. Thus it was to the tsar's personal attachment to him that the most eminent of the boyars, Morozoff, was indebted (in A.D. 1648) for his life. While pursuing with their hatred Morozoff, the majority showed a special respect for the boyars Nikita Ivan. Romanoff, the uncle of the tsar, and the prince Yakoff Kouden. Cherkassky, knowing or supposing them to be enemies of Morozoff. But both these persons were destitute of that ambition which might have prompted them to avail themselves of the favourable dispositions of the people towards them. Nikita Ivanovich appears on the scene at the time of the insurrection against Morozoff and Miloslafsky, and there exerts himself to pacify the people. Afterwards, at the time of the disorders at Pskoff, he personally introduces to the tsar the deputies sent from the people of Pskoff. Lastly, respecting this personage there has been preserved a tradition that he was a lover of foreign customs; that he dressed his people in liveries after the foreign fashion. He was the owner of that English *boat* which afterwards so interested his grand-nephew the tsar Peter Alexievich, and became the germ of the Russian navy. Naturally, one would have wished to know more about this personage who excites our curiosity; but the absence of all notices of him seems to show either that he had not the personal qualities requisite for playing a more conspicuous part, or else that they purposely barred the way against him, and the boyar himself was so cautious as not to attempt to break through the barriers opposed to him. But as respects the prince Yakoff Kouden. Cherkassky, his want of personal talents was shown later clearly enough at the time of the Polish war.

In the time of the tsar Alexis there were *sixteen* of the most distinguished families, the members of which generally became at once (from *stolniks*) *boyars*, without passing through the intermediate grade of *okolnik*. These were, 1. the Cherkasskys, 2. the Vorotinskys, 3. the Troubetskoys, 4. the Golitsins, 5. the Khovianskoys, 6. the Morozoffs, 7. the Sheremetieffs, 8. the Odoefskys, 9. the Pronskys, 10. the Sheyns, 11. the Soltikoffs, 12. the Repnins, 13. the Prozorofskys, 14. the Bouenosoffs, 15. the Khilkoffs, and 16. the Ourousoffs.

Of the Cherkasskys, besides Yakoff Koudenevich, there is known the prince Gregory Sounchoukevich, of whom they say that he was a savage, who sought occasions to show his physical strength, who knew well how to break horses, with which his extensive stables were filled, a man who had more sympathy with beasts than with his fellow men.

The representative of the illustrious race of the Vorotinskys was the prince Ivan Alexievich, a man of no sort of note.

The family of the Troubetskoys, after the prince Alexis Nikitich, had no other worthy representative: and Alexis Nikitich, after the disaster of Konotop, in A.D. 1659, lost his renown for being 'successful in war, and terrible to the enemies.'

Of the Golitsins, the prince Basil Basilievich, who later became distin-

guished, had under Alexis only just begun his career: of the prince Alexis Andreyevich they said that the more prosperous he was the more unassuming did he become.

But if the representative of the Golitsins was not distinguished for the *patrician* spirit, this spirit had passed in full force to the representative of another patrician line, the prince Ivan Andreyevich Khoviansky. We have noticed his curious conflict with Ordin-Nashchokin, in whom the proud descendant of Hedimino saw merely a low-born adventurer, who was powerful only by the favour of the tsar, after the fashion of Maliuta Skouratoff. But Khoviansky himself, of whose ancestors no great deeds or services had been recorded, had not any influence, nor reputation for abilities; and the tsar Alexis could say to him: 'I sought thee out, and chose thee out for service; but everybody called thee a blockhead.' The judgment both of his own countrymen and of strangers represent to us Khoviansky as a man of patrician hauteur, supercilious, incapable of restraining himself, and inconstant. Ordin-Nashchokin calls Khoviansky inconstant, and liable to be influenced by the suggestions of others. This is the judgment of an enemy: but Meyerberg also says that Khoviansky had made himself famous in all the world for his defeats; that he lost battles by his heedlessness, from not being capable of properly estimating and comparing his own forces with those of the enemy: the tsar Alexis bears witness that everybody called him a blockhead; and the people gave him the name of Tararouia. There has been preserved a notice of his *immoralities* at Pskoff: also a notice of his arbitrary and oppressive manner of dealing with the people, when he held military command in White Russia and Lithuania.

Of the Morozoff family, the distinguished preceptor and brother-in-law of the tsar was the last historical personage.

The Sheremetieffs by their personal merits kept up the importance of their family. We have often had to notice the activity of the two Sheremetieffs who were voivodes at Kieff, Basil Borisovich who ended so unhappily (being forced in A.D. 1660 to surrender with his whole army to the Poles and the Tatars at Choudnovo), and Peter Basilievich. As regards the last, the character that has come down to us of him is this: that he was a man of great parts, but vainglorious, excessively greedy of military fame, and intolerably proud and arrogant. They praise the shining military talents of Basil Basilievich Sheremetieff, but add that the government itself did not give a worthy field of action to this nobleman, sending him out of the way to be voivode in an ill favoured province, the appointment to which was shunned by all the boyars.

We have often had to name the representative of the family of the Odoefskys, the prince Nikita Ivanovich. They praise his polished manners, by which he stood out in sharp contrast to his fellows. We have seen him more than once an envoy plenipotentiary: but it is difficult to discern in him anything beyond an *exact executor of the orders given him*.[19] The tsar himself wrote of him in a letter to Dolgorouky: 'I suspect that the prince Nikita influenced thee: but there was no good in

[19] He was not so in the compilation of the Code of A.D. 1648 and 1649. See vol. I. *Reptiles*, &c. p. 351-355, p. 121, and p. 469-471.

listening to him: thou thyself knowest what a wise provider he is! and how they sing of him at Moscow.' The family of the Odoefskys was not rich: the tsar after sending money for the funeral of his son, wrote to the father: 'I knew quite well and had learned before of you, that except God in heaven, and on earth except me, you have no one.'

Of the Pronskys we know only the prince Ivan Petrovich. To him was committed the important charge of educating the tsarevich Alexis Alexievich; but they say that the choice was not a happy one.

Of the Sheyns no one comes to view.

Of the Soltikoff's we have seen the boyar Peter Michaelovich presiding in the prikaz for Little Russia. They say that he was of the same age with the tsar, and much beloved by him. Peter Michaelovich is praised for his rare good sense, and firm fidelity.

Of the Repnins we see at the beginning the favourite of the tsar Michael, the prince Boris Alexandrovich, whom they accused of cruelty and oppression. Of his son, the prince Ivan Borisovich, we find this character given: he was reputed to be cautious and judicious, but people suspected that he hid his father's vices under the mask of virtues. It is difficult for us now to determine whether these unfavourable judgments were derived from the ill-will of enemies, or really deserved.

The intellectual talents of the prince Ivan Semen. Prozorofsky appear in a not very favourable light at the time of the negotiations with the Swedes, when the distinguished boyar occupied only nominally the first place, but in the transaction of business the first part was taken by Ordin-Nashchokin.

About the prince Ivan Andr. Khilkoff there has been preserved a notice, that he did not take bribes, but that he was of a dreadfully violent temper.

Some of the members of these sixteen families of the first rank were men of talents; but, except the old men Morozoff and Troubetskoy, and of the younger ones except only one, viz Soltikoff, we do not see any one in close proximity to the tsar, or having any great influence on the course of affairs. Of ancient families, but of the second class, there made their way to the first employments the Dolgoroukys, in the person of the distinguished voivode the prince Youry Alexievich. Of him we have from a foreigner this unfavourable judgment, that 'he wished to show himself a Fabius, but was more like to a Catiline.' It is a judgment which sounds epigrammatic, and therefore we have no right to rest much on it: we know the military services of Dolgorouky: but his other actions are so little known, that we have no positive grounds for determining the degree of his resemblance to Catiline.

In the military history of the reign of Alexis the name which has come before us oftenest of all is that of the prince Gregory Greg. Romodanofsky. One branch of the princes of Starodoubsk, the distinguished family of the Pojarskys, goes off from the scene; another, that of the Romodanofskys, remains, and vigorously raises itself. The prince Gregory, as they say, was distinguished by the ferocity of his character and by his bodily strength: he was more of a soldier than of a commander; he surpassed all in military ardour, in indefatigable activity, in rapidity,

and in lion-like valour. In Little Russia, as we have seen, he gained the goodwill of the inhabitants. Of the other Romodanofskys, the princes Basil Gregorievich and Youry Ivanovich, we find only unfavourable judgments.[20]

In the history of the wars of Alexis Michaelovich, especially in the history of the rebellion of Razin, distinction attaches to the names of the princes Bariatinsky. To the prince Youry Bariatinsky belongs the honour of the first and the last battle with that dangerous rebel: but we have come across proofs of bad actions also of Bariatinsky himself.

There occurs repeatedly in the notices of military affairs the name of the boyar and voivode prince Gregory Semen. Kourakin: they speak of him as being of an insignificant character; and we have no data enabling us to refute this judgment. Of another Kourakin, the prince Theodore Theodorovich, they say that the choice made of him to be the governor of the tsarevich Theodore Alexievich was a bad one.

Lastly we come to the very *nearest* people; viz. to the Miloslafskys, the Streshneffs, and Khitroff.

All witnesses with one voice depose to the abilities of the Miloslafskys, both of the celebrated boyar Elia, the father-in-law of the tsar, and of his nephews Ivan Michaelovich and Ivan Bogdanovich: but in no one of them were there moral good qualities corresponding to their intellectual talents. To Ivan Bogdanovich, who is known to us by his defence of Simbirsk against Razin, they ascribe also extensive information, but conjoined with cunning.

It is curious that there has been preserved a notice (from a foreigner, however) about Bogdan Matv. Khitroff, describing him as a man of gentle engaging manners, an active intercessor for the distressed, one who does not shut his ears to petitioners, *especially foreigners*. The last words may give us a hint of the value of such a flattering appreciation of a man whom we know chiefly from his conduct to the patriarch's sin-boyar. But, however partial may be this appreciation, we must still collect from it that Khitroff, on certain occasions, and with certain people, could show himself gentle and obliging: and we must see what a dangerous enemy Nicon *made* for himself in Khitroff. We have seen that Khitroff was an enemy of Nashchokin: but the notice of Khitroff's special favour to foreigners forces us to reckon him also, in respect of his tendencies, among those people who *looked to the West*, like Morozoff, Rtischeff, Nashchokin, and Matveyeff.

Of another enemy of Nicon, Rodion Matv. Streshneff, it is said that the tsar Alexis Michaelovich regarded him as a man not subject to human

[20] In vol. xiii. of his *Hist.* &c. Solovieff writes: 'Some people of the prince Youry Iv. Romodanofsky invited the starosta of the Silversmiths row (*Serebriannaia riada*) to come to them with wares for sale to a dvor outside the city, and beat him to death; they confessed besides to twenty other murders, and made statements implicating others, their fellows, of the same household (*dvoravie liudi*).' In the next generation Theodore Romodanofsky, the son of prince Youry, was the tsar Peter's mock Cesar and chief inquisitor, torturer, and executioner, *not only against robbers and murderers*, but also against streltsi and nobles and people of the prikazes and clergy, and all who took after the tsar Alexis and his servants, rather than after the patriarch Nicon, or after the tsar Peter.

passions; and this throws fresh light on the question how it was that the tsar could so vacillate as he did between Nicon and his enemies; as if the authority of Nicon might be counterbalanced by the authority of Rodion Streshneff.

Elsewhere, in his *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 159, Solovieff, while describing the social disorders of that time, writes: 'At Dmitrovka no one could pass in safety, on foot or otherwise, on account of the people of *Rodion Streshneff* and the princes Golitsin and Tateff.' Shusherin writes of Rodion Streshneff that 'he was very *plausible*, and knew well how to employ words.' But why does Solovieff here omit to mention Simeon Lucianovich Streshneff, the tsar's uncle, who, both in the council and in private with the tsar, was the foremost of Nicon's adversaries. Is it because he *repented* before his death?

Lastly, we find a judgment about a third enemy of Nicon, *Nikita Michaelovich* Babarikin, a relative of the Romanoffs and the Sheremetieffs, who is represented to us as 'a man who loved what was good, a candid soul, and entirely disinterested.' If the tsar had exactly this opinion of Babarikin, one may well understand why he was not in a hurry to give satisfaction to Nicon, according to whose complaints Babarikin appeared *an altogether different man*.[21]

We have already stopped to notice the activity of one of the favourites of the tsar Alexis, Theodore Mich. Rtischeff: we have seen the patronage which he gave to learning and enlightenment: we have seen too that he was supposed to have been the suggester of the plan of having recourse to *credit* at the time that money ran short.

There has come down to us a short *Life of Theodore Rtischeff*, written in the form of a panegyric. This Life represents him as a man of unusual good sense and moderation; it says that he *restrained* both Morozoff and Nicon. Meyerberg confirms the testimony of the Life; he too extols the good sense and wisdom of Rtischeff, by which he, while yet under forty years of age, surpassed old men. In the Life we find also some curious notices of the character of Rtischeff;[22] as, for instance, this: that once, when he was selling one of his estates, he lowered the price on condition that the purchaser should treat the peasants well. Again, he gave some land to the town of Arzamas, on learning that the inhabitants had need of it, but were not in a condition to buy it. At his death he begged of his heirs only one thing, viz. that they should treat the peasants well.

On the whole, if we look at the character and actions of the favourites of the tsar Alexis, of the people whom he brought forward and supported, such as Rtischeff, Ordin-Nashchokin, and Matveyeff, one cannot but acknowledge that he had the talent—so valuable for sovereigns—of choosing well his men.

[21] *Roman Theodorovich* Babarikin, with whom Nicon had to do, *was* no doubt an '*altogether different man*' from *Nikita Michaelovich* Babarikin, whose good qualities are here so much praised by M. Solovieff. See vol. iii. p. 525, where for 'Nik. Mich.' there is a misprint of 'Mich. Mich.;' and vol. iv. p. 389, 397, 439, and Appendix ix.

[22] The Dutch traders called him 'the *Jesuit*,' because his manner was always gentle, demure, and humble.

Moreover, as respects the personal character and relations of all those courtiers who were in credit, we can also discern that the power of the son of the tsar Michael could not meet with any counteraction from them. We have seen above that the interests which were supported by the boyars of Moscow under John III., his son, and his grandson, had been replaced by other interests. After they had submitted to the power of the great hossoudars, the distinguished families began to clamour, at least for this, that the highest dignities should not pass out of their class, that they should not sit as equals with this or that Andronoff, nor be put under an equal brother of their own, still less under a man of lower origin. After the rule of Philaret Nikitich, which had pressed heavily on some of them, they succeeded in getting rid of Repnin, thanks to the softness of the tsar Michael. The tsar Alexis during his youth was still more like his father than he was later, as is clearly to be seen from his letters written to the Solovetsky, to Nicon, and to the prince Troubetskoy, at the time of the first campaign before Smolensk. However, even at that time he had already a favourite from the men of low extraction, Matveyeff; only this last was cautious enough not to let himself be brought forward conspicuously. At the time of his campaigns, as they say, the hossoudar became more independent; he brought into near relation with himself Ordin-Nashchokin, who had not the caution of Matveyeff, and collisions began. Alexis Michaelovich found himself, for a man of his character, in an embarrassing situation. On the one hand, he considered it necessary to support the impetuous Athanasius; on the other, how could he offend Odoefsky and Dolgorouky and their fellows? Not having the strength to act in a straightforward and open way, Alexis Michaelovich, like all people of his character, went to work in a roundabout way; he dissembled, and made his dispositions secretly, so as to avoid oppositions and discontents. He established his own personal prikaz, the prikaz of secret service,[23] from which he sent out papers and orders (*nakazi*), of the contents of which nobody was to know anything except the man who received them. Hence Nashchokin also received instructions directly over the heads of his seniors, and hither he sent in his opinions and his complaints. Meanwhile Odoefsky and Dolgorouky had also received satisfaction; the tsar had named them 'great envoys and plenipotentiaries,' and that '*in consideration of the highly ancient honourable families.*' He would have added to their names, in the third place, also their colleague Athanasius Laurentievich, but he *blotted it out*, because he had written before '*of the highly ancient honourable families.*' And at length, after all these condescensions, Alexis Michaelovich promoted his own man Athanasius to the rank of boyar; he promoted eventually to the same rank of boyar also Matveyeff, the son of a diak. Quietly, insensibly, there was prepared the way on which the young son of Alexis, Theodore, advanced so boldly.

Here we end the history of ancient Russia. The actions of both the sons of Alexis, Theodore and Peter, belong to a new modern history (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xii. p. 325-345).

[23] The germ of that 'secret chancery' which became so terrible and so odious in later reigns.

APPENDIX XXV. *In connection with part iii. ch. iv. p.* 919, *and ch. i. p.* 832-834, *and p.* 854. *From Schebolsky's 'Regency of the Tsarevna Sophia.'*

After the death of the tsar John IV. the troubles which for half a century agitated Russia diverted the attention of her sovereigns from ecclesiastical reforms, so that it was not till the time of Michael Theodorovich that they were again thought of. At the bidding of his son Alexis Michaelovich, there met in A.D. 1654 a new synod (the writer has just before been speaking of the *stoglav*, or *synod of the Hundred Chapters*, held under John IV. and the metropolitan Macarius), under the presidency of the celebrated Nicon, who two years before had been raised to the patriarchal dignity.

Many different opinions have been expressed about this remarkable man, but it seems that as yet history has not pronounced upon him a final judgment. His youth was passed in deep solitude.[24] He lived on a small desolate island in the Northern Ocean (in a *skeet* or hermitage, ἀσκητήριον, on the isle of Anzer), or surrounded (*i.e.* later, at Kojeozersk) by the waters of a dreary lake; and only three times during his *long life of seclusion* from the world, and that against his own will, had intercourse with men. His *zeal* for *the faith* went to the length of *fanaticism;* and perhaps the continued strain of thought in one direction, ecstatic meditations, and complete solitude had given at last to his mind a *one-sided* cast. Perhaps he would have died an unknown schimnik, if the tsar had not called him forth to a career of positive activity. In a short time from the rank of an archimandrite he attained that of metropolitan of Novgorod. In this exalted *post* he had the fortune to display all the force of his character: it is well known what *high civil loyalty* and courage he manifested during the insurrection which occurred (in A.D. 1650) while he was at Novgorod. The daring spirit of this man knew no fear, no more than his positive mind knew how to yield. It is not possible to carry inflexibility of convictions farther than Nicon carried it. He had something about him *which reminds one of Innocent III. or of Gregory VII.*, those great types of the Latin Church, viz. a deep conviction of the infinite greatness of his own calling and authority. They reproach Nicon with *ambition* (lit. 'with love of power'); that is true; but he wished to subject all around him *not to his own person*, but to his *office and calling:* they reproach him with excessive severity; that too is with reason; but as he exalted the spiritual order, he desired that the persons belonging to it should be *worthy of it.*

While he was as yet only metropolitan of Novgorod, Nicon very strikingly evinced these two qualities. He punished unsparingly unworthy priests, and raised the character of the clergy; he subjected himself to voluntary deprivations, and he required the same of others; and at the same time he filled the churches with beauty and magnificence, he formed skilful singers, and added to all the services and ceremonies such solemnity, order, and magnificence as were nowhere to be found in other dio-

[24] This is inaccurate: he was a married priest, and lived at Moscow the capital, for ten years, before he became a monk and a hermit.

ceses. This soon turned upon Nicon universal attention. Some spoke against him, and condemned him with bitterness; others admired and praised him. The tsar openly patronised him; while, on the other hand, the patriarch who was then sitting, Joseph, no less manifestly was ill-disposed towards him. However, in this the aged primate was moved not so much by his own personal convictions as by the suggestions of the people about him, especially those of the priests Abbakoum and Nikita, who later became celebrated as leaders of the *raskol*.

In the year 1652 Joseph died, and the tsar desired to see the patriarchal chair filled by Nicon. They say that Nicon long persisted in refusing this honour; *we quite believe it.* With his inflexible convictions, with his quick temperament, *he must have foreseen that he would have a desperate battle to fight*, if he were in the patriarchal chair. But the tsar insisted; Nicon at length consented; and from his first step he went right forward in the teeth of the danger' (p. 47-49).

APPENDIX XXVI. *In connection with ch. v. of part iii. p.* 923-954. *From Schelobsky's 'Regency of Tsarevna Sophia.'*

Here we will pause to take a nearer view of this new personage which comes on the stage to play the first part in the new drama now opening before us. It would be in the highest degree curious to follow psychologically the development of this powerful and unusually original character. At the same time it is not easy for us now to appreciate fully all the strangeness of the appearance at that time in Russia of a woman taking a leading part in politics. In the seventeenth century Russian women could scarcely think of power even in their own domestic household sphere; and the daughters and consorts of the tsars even still less, perhaps, than those of a lower rank. To be given in marriage to foreign princes was not allowed to our tsarevnas by the ideas and manners then prevailing: to marry simple subjects was considered beneath their dignity. Consequently they were condemned to a joyless and useless celibacy; their life was to be passed in still seclusion, their days in the same round of dull monotony, employed in embroidering with silks and gold thread, or in frivolous bickerings and intrigues of the ladies (the wives of the boyars) and the maids of honour of their service. They were born, lived, and died without knowing anything of what was going on around them, and without being known themselves to anybody. Even to the church they went—so writes the contemporary foreigner Meyerberg—by a private gallery. They went out for recreation in thickly-veiled carriages, surrounded always by a suite of ladies and maids of the court, inaccessible even to the eyes of the male sex; so that, as the same writer adds, out of all the multitude of grandees and courtiers who constantly filled the court, very few had had the luck in all their lives to see closely a daughter of the tsar or his wife. The stolniks in waiting about them were transferred to some other service as soon as they ceased to be mere boys. The tsar himself, according to the semi-oriental manners of old Russia, only rarely allowed himself to share the table of his wife; and as for his daughters, such a thing would scarcely happen at all. In what way then, when she was so strictly shut off from all external influ-

ences, could the tsarevna Sophia enter into relations with any political party? How could thoughts of ambition spring up in her heart? Whence could there be inspired into her a thirst for public activity? Unhappily, we have very few data for the solution of this curious question; and we are forced here, as in so many other similar cases, to content ourselves with inferences and conjectures.

Under the tsar Alexis there were some persons at Moscow who began to feel an indistinct need of a somewhat larger cultivation than that which existed in old Russia; who, instinctively, rather than in consequence of reflection, sympathised with that echo or reverberation of Western ideas which reached them. The most remarkable of such persons was Matveyeff, who was placed by his position, as president of the posolski prikaz, in the way of having frequent intercourse with foreigners. A proof of his more or less European cultivation is to be seen in this fact, that he first in Russia introduced dramatic representations, and a musical orchestra. It may be conceived that in the composition and acting of these pieces there was very little artistic development; but such tastes and recreations at any rate took up time, which might else have been spent in mere eating and drinking; and even if that were all, they were so far a gain. The tsar himself, as has been said above, was fond of these amusements, these Western inventions; and, no doubt without any reflection on his own part, he submitted himself to that influence of civilisation which was penetrating into Russia.

At the same time there was another man who contributed perhaps even more powerfully than Matveyeff to the success of that movement which was commencing in the court at Moscow. This was the celebrated Simeon of Polotsk.[25] By origin from what are now our Western governments, he had received an education somewhat different from and superior to that which was commonly received by Russian ecclesiastics. They accused him of a leaning to the Latin Church; but whatever were his religious convictions, he brought with him to the court at Moscow a love for literature and learning. An astrologer, a spiritual writer, a poet, and an orator, Simeon was a very remarkable person at the court of Alexis Michaelovich. The tsar liked him, and supported him against the jealousy with which he was regarded by other ecclesiastics; he brought him near to his own person, and admitted him to an intimacy such as was shared by only a very few persons of those who were incomparably higher than he by name and station. Being, so to speak, domesticated at the court, he had opportunities of seeing, and of becoming intimately acquainted with the tsarevna Sophia. The impetuous and original mind of this tsarevna must have found a difficulty in conforming itself to the narrow bounds of the life of the *terem*. Simeon of Polotsk could disclose, and in fact did disclose, before her a wide world of thought; and the tsarevna, with the ardour characterising her impetuous nature, devoted herself to read-

[25] He was born in A.D. 1628, studied in the Polish Academies, became a monk in White Russia, and, like many other ecclesiastics, after the tsar Alexis had taken Smolensk and Little Russia, he came to Moscow, not later than A.D. 1666. He had already become known to the tsar when he was at Polotsk in A.D. 1656. The tsar made him preceptor to the tsarevich Theodore, and lodged him in the palace: he died 25th Aug. A.D. 1680.

ing, to learning, to poetry. Her instructor read to her his compositions; and it is even said that some of them were acted before her in her own apartment. [But this, which is asserted also in the article upon Simeon of Polotsk in the *Dict. of Russ. Eccl. Writers*, is scarcely possible, even after the death of Alexis, during the reign of Theodore. In A.D. 1680 Simeon himself died; and Sophia, after she became regent, was occupied with other matters.] He presented to her some other persons who were then at Moscow, and who were cultivators of learning and literature, such as was Medveydeff, who has left us curious memoirs of the events of the first months after the death of Theodore. It is said that the tsarevna herself also wrote verses. It may be affirmed at any rate that her first steps beyond the beaten path of ordinary women of that time had a literary direction: it seemed as if she were destined to be the Mæcenas of that enlightenment which was about to dawn on Russia.

Meanwhile the manner of life also of the tsarevna would naturally change with the change of her habits and occupations. She allowed herself in many ways to overstep the strict etiquette of the rules of the terem, and received in her own apartment men whose company had an interest for her. Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky, as being her mother's first cousin, was doubtless one of those who had access to her. After him, and probably some others, she received also the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin, when he was at Moscow, and not on service in the Oukraine. The conversations of these people, who had devoted all their lives to political activity, would produce a strong impression on the mind of the tsarevna, which was naturally more practical and positive than theoretical. Besides, purely studious occupations were not favoured by the spirit of the time and of society, which was not by any means directed towards *ideal* interests. But in political activity, in ruling the masses, in the idea of power, there is a certain inexpressible fascination so taking that in no age has man been insensible to it. And at the present day are there *many* souls of such disinterested magnanimity that the calm pleasure afforded by science does not appear to them insipid and lifeless, in comparison with the intoxication of a victory, with the triumph of a successful stroke of policy, or of a conspiracy? Are there *many* who would not exchange the sympathy of a few chosen minds for the plaudits of a whole people, for the obedience of millions? The tsarevna gave herself up to the fascination of ambition. This new passion—or if not new, it was one which had hitherto been lying hid and unrecognised in the depths of her soul—suddenly burst into a flame; and in the midst of burning feelings of hope, fear, and anxiety, in the midst of relations which became more and more embroiled, she forgot—she for ever forgot—the calm pleasures which had been revealed to her by Simeon of Polotsk.

Both the choice of the persons surrounding the tsarevna and her inveterate antipathy for the tsaritsa Natalia Cyrillovna, and her close union by blood with John; and, lastly, her expectation in his name to govern the empire; and, on the other hand, the impossibility of supplanting Matveyeff and the widowed tsaritsa, and her relations, in the mind of Peter—all these considerations decided her political line of conduct.

For the first time she appears on the political scene at the bedside of the dying tsar Theodore; and she appears there the same as she remained throughout all her life—insinuating, irresistible, for those over whom she wished to obtain power. She soon succeeded in almost entirely separating the wife from her husband, who naturally found more comfort in the intelligent attentions of his sister than in the unavailing lamentations of the tsaritsa. What Sophia said to Theodore Alexievich as she leaned over his pillow has remained a secret for history. Death cut short the work of the tsarevna. She had not yet succeeded in persuading the tsar to name as his successor the elder of the two brothers; but neither was Peter recognised as the successor. This was already an important success: the decision of the great question was put off; and to gain time was for the tsarevna the same thing as to increase the probability of her being victorious. From this time the question of the succession could be decided only by a struggle between the two parties.

APPENDIX XXVII. *In connection with part iii. ch. v., and especially with p. 946-949. Notices respecting the regent Sophia and her friend and minister the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin.*

No. 1. In his second Crimean campaign (A.D. 1689), after having repulsed the Tatars, Golitsin hastened to send news to Moscow of his victory. He wrote to the regent, and asked her to pray for his happy return. Sophia replied: 'My friend, my brother, Basemka! health to thee, my batushka, for many years! And again health to thee, who by the grace of God and of the most holy Mother of God, and by thine own ability and good fortune, hast defeated the infidels! The Lord grant thee still to conquer the enemies. But I, my friend, cannot believe (for joy) that thou art returning to us; I shall then believe when I see thee in my embraces,[26] my friend. Why dost thou write, my friend, asking me that I should pray? I may be in truth sinful before God, and unworthy; however, sinful though I be, I dare to trust in his goodness. Yea, yea; I always pray to see thee, my friend, in joy. Finally, health be to thee, my friend, for countless ages.'

And later, when Golitsin had informed Sophia of his return from Perekop, he received from her the following letter: 'My friend, batushka, my hope, health to thee for many years! This day is a very joyful day for me, that the Lord God has glorified his holy name and that of his Mother,

[26] The raskolniks who were living in A.D. 1719 beyond Solikamsk on the river Tagila, monks and nuns who had fled from Kerjensk, said: 'We are pilgrims who wander up and down, persecuted by heresy; the progeny of our tsars has become insane: the tsarevna Sophia was a harlot, and lived unchastely with the boyars; another tsarevna too, her sister (meaning the tsarevna Martha, who was said to have had a liaison with a deacon); and the boyars went in to them, and those tsarevnas bare children, and some of them they strangled, and others they privately kept at nurse. And the hossoudar Peter Alexievich is of the same sort; he took to living with a low Swedish woman,' &c. See Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xvii. p. 227 and note 159, from an inquest of the secret chancery of Preobrajensk, A.D. 1723. Medveydeff too, when put to the question, stated that the tsarevna Sophia had wished to *marry* the prince Basil Golitsin, and to make him, Medveydeff, patriarch; and a fortune-teller said that the prince Basil Golitsin was not well pleased with his wife.

the most holy Mother of God, upon you, my friend! Such as has never been heard of from the beginning, nor have our fathers told us, is this mercy of God. It is no less for you now than when God brought the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt. It was then through Moses, his chosen servant, but now through thee, my soul! Glory be to our God, who has been gracious to us through thee! O thou my batushka, how can I repay thee for all thy innumerable labours? My joy, light of my eyes, I cannot believe, my heart, that I am soon to see thee again, my friend! That will be a great day for me when thou, my soul, shalt come to me. If it were possible for me, I would transport thee in one day to be with me. Thy letters, committed to God, have all reached me safely. From Perekop there came reports on Friday the 11th. I was going on foot from Vozdvijenskoy; I had only just got to the monastery of St. Sergius, just to the holy gates; and at the gates there were given me the reports of the engagements. I don't remember how I went in; I read as I was walking. I know not, my friend, how to thank Him for that his great mercy, and his Mother, and the venerable Sergius, the gracious wonderworker! As for what you write, my batushka, about sending to the monasteries, I have done it all: I went about to all the monasteries myself, on foot. My care for thee, my soul, shows itself in deeds. Why dost thou write, my batushka, that I should pray? God, my friend, knows how I wish to see thee, my soul; and I trust in the mercy of God that he will vouchsafe me to see thee, my hope. As thou writest thyself about the military, so do. I, my batushka, am well, by thy prayers, and we all are well. When God vouchsafes to me to see thee, my friend, I will tell thee all about our life here. And thou, my friend, do not tarry; move by degrees. And so you have wearied yourselves? How can any one repay you for such essential service, especially for all thine own labours, my friend? If thou hadst not so laboured, no one else would have done so.'

Officially, in the name of the tsars, there was sent to Golitsin a letter, thus: 'We, the great hossoudars, graciously, and most graciously, commend thee, our near boyar and Keeper, for thy manifold and careful service; for this, that such fierce and old enemies of the holy cross and of all Christendom, by thy service, beyond all expectation and in a way unprecedented, have been by our imperial forces, in their own pagan dwelling-places, smitten and conquered and put to flight; and for this, that they have been made themselves to lay waste their own habitations: giving up their usual fierce audacity, driven to despair and terror, they burned at Perekop all their inclosures and fields and villages, and dared not show themselves to you by coming out from Perekop with their pagan hordes, nor show themselves as you were returning; and for this, that thou, with all the troops, hast returned without loss to our frontiers with the world-wide glory of the above-mentioned victories.'

Blinded by her passion, Sophia was in raptures that her friend (*sviet*) had escaped the terrible danger, and had returned safe and sound from the campaign in the steppes, where he might have perished with all the army. Golitsin appeared to her as a second Moses, who had led his people as if through the depths of the sea. She thought only of his labours, his dangers: in the repulse of the Khan she saw a real and great victory. But

For the first time she appears on the political scene at the bedside of the dying tsar Theodore; and she appears there the same as she remained throughout all her life—insinuating, irresistible, for those over whom she wished to obtain power. She soon succeeded in almost entirely separating the wife from her husband, who naturally found more comfort in the intelligent attentions of his sister than in the unavailing lamentations of the tsaritsa. What Sophia said to Theodore Alexievich as she leaned over his pillow has remained a secret for history. Death cut short the work of the tsarevna. She had not yet succeeded in persuading the tsar to name as his successor the elder of the two brothers; but neither was Peter recognised as the successor. This was already an important success: the decision of the great question was put off; and to gain time was for the tsarevna the same thing as to increase the probability of her being victorious. From this time the question of the succession could be decided only by a struggle between the two parties.

APPENDIX XXVII. *In connection with part iii. ch. v., and especially with p. 946-949. Notices respecting the regent Sophia and her friend and minister the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin.*

No. 1. In his second Crimean campaign (A.D. 1689), after having repulsed the Tatars, Golitsin hastened to send news to Moscow of his victory. He wrote to the regent, and asked her to pray for his happy return. Sophia replied: 'My friend, my brother, Basenka! health to thee, my batushka, for many years! And again health to thee, who by the grace of God and of the most holy Mother of God, and by thine own ability and good fortune, hast defeated the infidels! The Lord grant thee still to conquer the enemies. But I, my friend, cannot believe (for joy) that thou art returning to us; I shall then believe when I see thee in my embraces,[36] my friend. Why dost thou write, my friend, asking me that I should pray? I may be in truth sinful before God, and unworthy; however, sinful though I be, I dare to trust in his goodness. Yea, yea; I always pray to see thee, my friend, in joy. Finally, health be to thee, my friend, for countless ages.'

And later, when Golitsin had informed Sophia of his return from Perekop, he received from her the following letter: 'My friend, batushka, my hope, health to thee for many years! This day is a very joyful day for me, that the Lord God has glorified his holy name and that of his Mother,

[36] The raskolniks who were living in A.D. 1719 beyond Solikamsk on the river Tagila, monks and nuns who had fled from Kerjensk, said: 'We are pilgrims who wander up and down, persecuted by heresy; the progeny of our tsars has become insane: the tsarevna Sophia was a harlot, and lived unchastely with the boyars; another tsarevna too, her sister (meaning the tsarevna Martha, who was said to have had a liaison with a deacon); and the boyars went in to them, and those tsarevnas bare children, and some of them they strangled, and others they privately kept at nurse. And the hossoudar Peter Alexievich is of the same sort; he took to living with a low Swedish woman,' &c. See Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xvii. p. 227 and note 159, from an inquest of the secret chancery of Preobrajensk, A.D. 1723. Medveydeff too, when put to the question, stated that the tsarevna Sophia had wished to *marry* the prince Basil Golitsin, and to make him, Medveydeff, patriarch; and a fortune-teller said that the prince Basil Golitsin was not well pleased with his wife.

the most holy Mother of God, upon you, my friend! Such as has never been heard of from the beginning, nor have our fathers told us, is this mercy of God. It is no less for you now than when God brought the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt. It was then through Moses, his chosen servant, but now through thee, my soul! Glory be to our God, who has been gracious to us through thee! O thou my batushka, how can I repay thee for all thy innumerable labours? My joy, light of my eyes, I cannot believe, my heart, that I am soon to see thee again, my friend! That will be a great day for me when thou, my soul, shalt come to me. If it were possible for me, I would transport thee in one day to be with me. Thy letters, committed to God, have all reached me safely. From Perekop there came reports on Friday the 11th. I was going on foot from Vozdvijenskoy; I had only just got to the monastery of St. Sergius, just to the holy gates; and at the gates there were given me the reports of the engagements. I don't remember how I went in; I read as I was walking. I know not, my friend, how to thank Him for that his great mercy, and his Mother, and the venerable Sergius, the gracious wonderworker! As for what you write, my batushka, about sending to the monasteries, I have done it all: I went about to all the monasteries myself, on foot. My care for thee, my soul, shows itself in deeds. Why dost thou write, my batushka, that I should pray? God, my friend, knows how I wish to see thee, my soul; and I trust in the mercy of God that he will vouchsafe me to see thee, my hope. As thou writest thyself about the military, so do. I, my batushka, am well, by thy prayers, and we all are well. When God vouchsafes to me to see thee, my friend, I will tell thee all about our life here. And thou, my friend, do not tarry; move by degrees. And so you have wearied yourselves? How can any one repay you for such essential service, especially for all thine own labours, my friend? If thou hadst not so laboured, no one else would have done so.'

Officially, in the name of the tsars, there was sent to Golitsin a letter, thus: 'We, the great hossoudars, graciously, and most graciously, commend thee, our near boyar and Keeper, for thy manifold and careful service; for this, that such fierce and old enemies of the holy cross and of all Christendom, by thy service, beyond all expectation and in a way unprecedented, have been by our imperial forces, in their own pagan dwelling-places, smitten and conquered and put to flight; and for this, that they have been made themselves to lay waste their own habitations: giving up their usual fierce audacity, driven to despair and terror, they burned at Perekop all their inclosures and fields and villages, and dared not show themselves to you by coming out from Perekop with their pagan hordes, nor show themselves as you were returning; and for this, that thou, with all the troops, hast returned without loss to our frontiers with the world-wide glory of the above-mentioned victories.'

Blinded by her passion, Sophia was in raptures that her friend (*svit*) had escaped the terrible danger, and had returned safe and sound from the campaign in the steppes, where he might have perished with all the army. Golitsin appeared to her as a second Moses, who had led his people as if through the depths of the sea. She thought only of his labours, his dangers: in the repulse of the khan she saw a real and great victory. But

others, and many, had a right to take a very different view of the matter, and to be annoyed at the encomiums and rewards bestowed for a campaign which had not answered its purpose, and which was now the second failure of the same kind.

Golitsin knew what people thought and said. The government supported him through all this, and extolled his services; but this government itself had need of support, and Golitsin had no means of supporting it. He had not obtained the glory of a great commander, nor that consequent popularity which might have been a protection to Sophia, and might have kept her enemies at a respectful distance. All moral means of preserving the regency had been lost in the two unsuccessful Crimean campaigns. To support Sophia there remained now only Shaklovitoy, with such means as he could use—means which Golitsin was not capable of using himself. The Keeper found himself in a painful position. It remained for him to look on, unable to approve the means of Shaklovitoy, and yet timidly, in spite of himself, wishing them that success which alone could save him. To temporise, to dissemble, to wait for chances was no longer possible: the problem was now approaching rapidly to its solution. (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 59, 94.)

No. 2. (From an article by A. Malinofsky in the *Troudi i Lietopisi*, &c., of the *Society of Russian Hist. and Ant.* part vii. p. 68-85. Moscow, 1837.)

On the evening of the 9th Sept. A.D. 1689, at Troitsa, the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin and his son the prince Alexis were summoned to the imperial lodgings in the monastery, in front of which, in presence of the boyar Streshneff, their sentence was read aloud to them by the doumni diak Derevkin, as follows:

'In the year 7198 (A.D. 1680), Sept. 9, the great hossoudars the tsars and grand princes John and Peter Alexievich, autocrats, &c., have made oukaz that the prince Basil and his son the prince Alexis Golitsin be deprived of their rank as boyars, for this cause: When they, the great hossoudars, were pleased to take the throne of their ancestors, their sister the tsarevna Sophia Alexievna, without their counsel or consent, entered upon all autocracy; and they, the prince Basil and the prince Alexis, seeking to please and favouring their, the hossoudars', said sister, made reports to her respecting affairs of all kinds, irrespectively of them, the great hossoudars; and they, the great hossoudars, remained uninformed of those affairs; and in all affairs they wrote her, their sister, jointly with them, the great hossoudars. And they, the prince Basil and the prince Alexis, sent to the towns of Little Russia letters from them, the great hossoudars, and gave orders to print in the books the name of their sister the tsarevna Sophia jointly with their, the great hossoudars', names, without any order of theirs to that effect. Likewise in the prikazes, in all affairs, they ordered her name to be written jointly with the names of them, the great hossoudars; and for this they sent from the posolski prikáz a minute to the rozriad.

'Also he, the prince Basil, in the year 7197 was sent with their, the great hossoudars', army against the Tatar horde of the Crimea; and having marched to Perekop, he did nothing, but after halting a very short time, retreated; and by that his negligence the treasury of them, the great

hossoudars, suffered a vast loss, and the empire and its people were heavily burdened.

'And for these their above mentioned offences the great hossoudars have decreed that they, the prince Basil and the prince Alexis Golitsin, and Leonti Nepliueff, after inquest made, are deprived of their rank of boyars, and are to be banished; and their pomiestia and family estates, and houses in Moscow, and personal property are to be confiscated and granted away; and their people (slaves and bondmen and bondwomen all *kabalnie* and *kriepostnie*, except the peasants and sons of peasants) are to be set at liberty.'

This sentence of itself is the fullest and most convincing proof that could be adduced to clear the prince Basil from all suspicion of complicity in the crime of Shaklovitoy.[27] The tsarevna Sophia, it seems, respected her favourite so highly as not to like, maybe, to communicate to him her barbarous attempt against the life of the tsar—her brother; and it *may be* also that Golitsin—as his enemies said against him—guessed her designs, and held his tongue, leaving all to the issues of chance. The fall of Golitsin was an event of historical importance. Many families lost in him a powerful protector. In the time of his prosperity he was called the Great Golitsin. If the criminal ambition of the tsarevna Sophia had not drawn him into misfortune, the experience of this nobleman in matters of state might long have been serviceable to his country. Foreigners who were then at Moscow extol him much, saying that no nobleman so enlightened, so engaging, and so great, had ever appeared before him in Russia. He know well both Greek and Latin. His house was like an European palace, furnished with paintings of celebrated masters, and with other works of art.

When going on his first campaign (in A.D. 1687), he asked Sophia to let his son take his place in the posolski prikaz, in order to secure himself at Moscow; and so the son did, from Nov. 28, 1687.

Under the portrait of the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin engraved, and his arms or device, representing a horseman galloping, there are printed in Russ eight lines, said to have been written by the tsarevna Sophia:

Whither so fast, thou gallant knight,
With glory crown'd in many a fight?
Enough! Of endless fame possest,
'Tis time from deeds of arms to rest.
And now no more can blazon'd shield
Fresh glory to Golitsin yield;
But he whose form is imaged here
Doth glory on his shield confer.

[27] Above, the writer had written thus: 'In A.D. 1689 there was *organised* a *plot* against Peter's life, in which the chief actor was Shaklovitoy. Peter received information of it only just in time to escape,' &c. A *wish to get rid of Peter* there certainly was, but the means were wanting: an *organised* plot as yet there was not; if it be called a *plot*, nothing could be more awkward, irresolute, and feeble: some troops were brought into the Kremlin by Sophia and Shaklovitoy, *as if they expected an attack from Preobrajensk*. Peter, alarmed, rode off from Preobrajensk, *as if he was about to be attacked from the Kremlin*. The feint of Sophia, designed only to excite the streltsi to become her partisans, led to a totally different and unexpected result.

APPENDIX XXVIII. *In connection with part iii. p.* 949-951. *Verses of Sylvester Medvejdeff.*

Presentation to the piously-believing and Christ-loving hossoudárina, the most *wise* and gracious tsarevna Sophia Alexievna, of the Charter or Grant of Privileges to the Academy, A.M. 7193, A.D. 1685, Jan. 21.

In the books written by the wise king Solomon there are concerning wisdom the following sentences:

By means of wisdom I shall obtain immortality, and leave behind me an everlasting memorial to them that come after me. Wis. viii.

Seek wisdom, that ye may live. ix.

Honour wisdom, that ye may reign for evermore. vi. 21.

The desire of wisdom leadeth to an abiding kingdom. vi. 20.

The multitude of the wise is the salvation of the world. vi. 24.

For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom. vii. 28.

But vain are all men in whom there is not wisdom about God. xiii. 1.

For whoso despiseth wisdom and discipline, he is miserable, and their hope is vain, and their labours are unfruitful, and their works are unprofitable. iii. 2.

Noble and piously-believing, beloved by God, wise and gracious great hossoudarina, tsarevna and grand princess Sophia Alexievna!

It is not given, they say, to know for certain
Who of the sons of men are sons of grace;
Still, as fire shows itself where it is present,
So does the Spirit of God, by certain signs.
For when He deigns within a soul to dwell,
He fills it with three gracious energies:
He maketh wise the *mind* good to *discern*,
He moves the *will* the same good to *desire*,
He quickens *memory* to *execute*:
He governs, as a good man in his house;
He sitteth, as a teacher in his school;
He reigneth, as a tsar upon his throne;
He is a gardener in his fruitful garden;
He is a sun, enlightening all with light,
And vivifying all with genial heat;
He is the steersman of a noble galley;
He teaches how to do what pleases God.
That soul is ever striving to see God,
To keep within itself perennial joy.
Therefore does it forget all injuries:
It imitateth God, who wills his light
As on the good, so on the bad to shine
It would be good to all, as to itself;
It prays, as Christ pray'd, for its enemies;
It fixes all its care and thought on God,
Seeking in all His glory to promote:
Its greatest pleasure is to hear God's praise,
And to see men do deeds to honour *Him*

Who in that soul as in a temple dwells.
Faith, hope, and charity it shows; to mercy,
To justice, and to judgment it adheres;
Prudence and fortitude and temperance
It holds; and ever progresses in grace.
That soul is ever ready to obey
God's word; and to perfection it aspires;
In all the virtues constantly it walks,
And serving God with cheerful readiness,
It knows not how to murmur or repine.
These signs, when they occur, do indicate
The tabernacle of the Holy Spirit:
For all these signs cannot be thus conjoin'd
Except there, where the Lord is pleased to dwell.
But all these signs in thee exist together,
As in a casket set before our eyes.
Therefore thou art the temple of God's Spirit;
For in thy lovely heart He plainly dwells:
He teaches thee to live unto salvation;
And thou His light not darken'd in the vessel
Of thy heart keeping, helpest also others:
Like as the sun is imaged in a mirror,
So in thy soul we see the Holy Ghost
Reflected: there it pleases Him to dwell.
Thou art God's temple; and God dwelling in thee
Is ever adding in thee grace to grace.
Illustrious daughter of a noble tsar,
Of many realms and princedoms Possoudar,
Orthodox and religious Great Tsarevna,
From *wisdom* named *Sophia* Alexievna,
By the Most Holy Trinity beloved,
With all its holy gifts richly endow'd,
According to thy *name* thy life thou leadest;
Wise are thy thoughts and words, wise are thy deeds!
It meets *Sophia* ever to live *wisely*,
That with the *name* the *thing named* may agree.
Of all the wise and good thou art the love,
And their support is in thy grace and favour:
Thou art made *wise* by God with His own *wisdom*,
Teaching what human wisdom far transcends:
For high as heaven is above earth removed,
And beyond earth more splendidly adorn'd,
Even by so much does wisdom heaven-derived
All earthly human wisdom far surpass.
By this thou strivest to direct the realm,
With this thou seekest to enlighten Russia:
As blessed Olga lighten'd it with *faith*,
And is rewarded now in heaven for ever,
So thou too dost desire to show to Russia

The light of *science*, like reward to gain,
Knowing that without food man cannot live,
Nor water flow except there be a spring,
Nor without eyes is it possible to see,
Nor without breath for any one to live.
So to be wise without instruction,
And without diligent study, is not possible:
They who have not instruction walk in darkness;
May God by thee establish her among us!
That here in Russia *wisdom* may shine forth,
Thy *name* in all the world to glorify.
Thou seekest our reproach to take away,
That Russia knows not how to study sciences.
But when through thee she shall be furnish'd with them
Then all the world shall note with admiration
That *thou* first here wast manifested *wise*,
That through *thee wisdom* everywhere was loved,
And that from *thee its* light began to glow
In Moscow, through the clouds of ignorance.
And so for ever shall thy glory shine;
Thy name of *Wise* shall with thy work be join'd:
Because the Lord himself has chosen thee,
And given into thy hand the regency:
By whom being taught thou governest the state,
And from all evils, which might else assail it,
Keepest it as the apple of thine eye.
God is an eye to thee; and by His grace
The empire thou dost admirably govern.
O may His goodness multiply thy years,
That thou with *wisdom* of the sciences
Mayest enlighten us and all the Russians!
Thy *name* in all the world shall then be glorious,
Above all other virtues, and for ever.
So now no more shall strangers sneer at us.
There have been many before thee in Russia,
Grand Princes and Princesses, noble Tsars,
Founders of churches and of monasteries,
Who hence have gotten to themselves renown.
But to no one of them has God yet given
Wisdom among the Russians to diffuse.
Though some for this have labour'd with much zeal,
Yet the effect they never could attain.
As once King David preparation made,
Abundant, yet did not the Temple build—
God was not pleased that he himself should build it;
But it was left for Solomon, his son,
That he, as *wise*, might build to God that temple,
And the house of *wisdom* in it, as was fit—
So thy dear brother, the tsar *Theodore*,

Lover of *wisdom*, and Great Hossoudar,
Collected, as it were, gold and materials,
And for the Academy prepared a charter:
But yet God granted not to him the glory
Of founding it in deed, but left for thee
That good beginning later to complete.
For this the name *Wisdom* was given to thee
(For by the Greeks *wisdom* is named *sophia*),
That what had been for science's sake begun
Thou, as *Sophia*, *wisely* shouldst complete:
That thou for this good work may'st glory gain
In all the world, and live in heaven for ever.
That this be so I heartily desire,
That this *will* be so I most firmly trust,
Because thou lovest God with all thy soul,
With all thy mind too, and with all thy strength;
Loving thy neighbour also as thyself:
Therefore thou hast attain'd to genuine wisdom,
Enabling thee to judge the people of God,
And justice from injustice to discern.
Love attracts love from God, when He is loved;
And this He shows in thee abundantly.
Thou too the *fear* of God retainest ever;
With all thy soul thou dost obey and fear Him.
He does the will of them that fear Him truly;
Therefore He does not disregard thy prayer.
O thou most *wise Sophia* Alexievna,
Beloved of God, pious, and great Tsarevna,
For whatsoever work thou prayest to Him
May'st thou with speed fulfil it to His glory!
This wishing over to thee, *wise Sophia*,
I now present to thee the charter framed
For the Academy by thy dear brother,
And clearly written out by his command;
To thee, *wise* sister of the Hossoudar
God-granted, and thence named *Theodore*.
But thou, O Christ, sole fountain of all wisdom,
Deign of thy gracious providence for Russia,
Through her who loves Thee, and is loved of Thee,
Through the Tsarevna gifted with thy *wisdom*,
Whose zeal is ever how to glorify Thee,
Deign to bestow on us the sciences,
And by this grant for ever to confirm them;
That through her *wisdom* they may be establish'd,
And that, while Thou art glorified, her name
May by all mouths deservedly be praised:
Her name; the name too of that mystic Daughter,
Elected specially of Thee the King,
And for thy glory and thy praise created.

Grant then to her who for this shows her zeal,
To her who is of piety the guardian,
To the religious and most wise Tsarevna,
The Regent Sophia Alexievna,
That the work now begun she may complete,
Not as before to suffer interruption
Or failure, but to stand and last for ever.
Turn to her, Christ, all hearts, and strengthen her,
From every adverse chance and change defend her;
Let him be put to shame who is against her;
Let all, beholding visibly thy help,
Honour in her thine own elected servant:
Grant her yet many years in health to live,
To glorify thy name where'er the sun
Darteth his rays, or ocean rolls his waves;
And after many years to live in heaven,
Rejoicing there thy wisdom to behold,
And wise, in wisdom to be bless'd for ever!
This I desire for thee, illustrious Lady,
While to thy feet my head I humbly bow,
Hoping through thy grace still to be preserved;
Your beadsman unto death, and true wellwisher,
The unworthy monk the sinful Sylvester Medveydeff,
with my own hand.

And attached there follows the *Grant* or *Charter of Privileges* for the Academy, written in 1682 (when the institution of it was contemplated), by order of the tsar Theodore by his former preceptor Simeon of Polotsk (of whom Sylvester Medveydeff was a disciple and imitator).

It was unlucky for this nightingale that his talent for adulation should have been first enlisted in the service of Sophia. If he had not already compromised himself in her service, he would no doubt have been equally ready and equally successful in playing upon the name of *Peter* as upon that of *Sophia*; and we might have seen it demonstrated in similar doggerel verses that the soul of the tsar was the tabernacle of *faith*; and that he (and not the Pope of Rome) was the true rock (πέτρος, ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας) on which the Church was built; and from which the *faith*, which had never yet perfectly enlightened Russia, was to shine forth by his institution of a most holy spiritual Kollegium or Governing Synod, based upon the *rock* of his own *faith* and *supremacy*. But Sylvester, having been discovered to be implicated in the designs of Shaklovitoy and of the tsarevna Sophia, was tortured and beheaded.

Shaklovitoy and Medveydeff had been podiaks together in the prikaz of secret service, the chief instrument of the tsar's tyranny in the persecution of Nicon. Afterwards, when they were joined together in their tragical ends, the one of the two friends, as commander of the streltsi, Shaklovitoy, may be taken to represent the unscrupulous violence, the other, as a not unlearned monk, the religious hypocrisy of the age of the tsar Alexis.

APPENDIX XXIX. *Of the German suburb* (*sloboda*), *called Koukou. In connection with p.* 965; *and with vol. ii.* '*Travels of Macarius*,' *&c. p.* 130; *and vol. iii. p.* 165.

On the right bank of the Yaouza, in old time, as far back as the reign of John IV. the Terrible, there was a suburb in which the foreigners of different creeds and nations—all called collectively *Niemtsi*—lived. It was destroyed during the troubles at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but it was rebuilt in the time of Alexis Michaelovich.

Into this separate suburb, called the *Niemetskaia sloboda*, or town of *Koukou* (from a small stream running there into the Yaouza), were collected, by the tsar Alexis and the patriarch Nicon, all the Scotch, Dutch, English, French, and other foreigners, besides the Germans (to whom the name of *Niemtsi* properly belonged), who had before been scattered all about Moscow. Sites were granted them, which were soon covered with houses and gardens: there were two Lutheran kirks, and one Reformed; only the Catholics were not allowed to have one: and the whole made a separate town, quite distinct in its outward appearance, and still more in the manners and customs of its inhabitants, from the Muscovite city.

APPENDIX XXX. *In connection with p.* 970-975 *and* 1001. (*From Coxe's* '*Travels in Poland and Russia*,' *&c. London*, 1792, 8*vo*, *vol. ii. p.* 158.)

'Lefort,' says a writer who was in Livonia (in A.D. 1697) when the tsar and his suite passed through that country in his first journey to Holland, 'is a man of a good understanding; very personable, engaging, and entertaining; a true Swiss for probity and bravery, *but chiefly for drinking*. Open tables are kept everywhere, with trumpets and music, attended with feasting and excessive drinking, as if his tsarish majesty had been another Bacchus. I have not yet seen such hard drinkers: it is not possible to express it; and they boast of it as a mighty qualification' (*Account of Livonia*, p. 293).

APPENDIX XXXI. *In connection with the year* 1697, *and with the end of the patriarchate, on the death of Adrian, in* A.D. 1700; *p.* 1001, 1027.

In vol. v. of the *Acts of the Archæol. Expedit.* p. 477, A.D. 1676-1700, No. 263, there is a *List*, of the date of March A.D. 1697, *of Papers which were loose in the Patriarchal Rozriad, but now have been gummed together in Rolls* (*stolbtsi*) *from* 7161 *to* 7187 (A.D. 1652-1679) *thus*:

Roll I.

1. Estates transferred, and house-money used for his monasteries by Nicon 7161-7167 (A.D. 1652-1658); and

2. Copies of *letters of Nicon*, to the patriarch of *Constantinople* [Antioch], announcing the taking of Vilna (in A.D. 1655), to the voivodes Stephen and Constantine of *Bulgaria* and Moutian (Moldo-Vlachia, *i.e.* Wallachia), to Stephen *archbishop* of Oungro-Vlachia (Moldavia), and to Paisius metropolitan of Gaza.

3. In 7166 (A.D. 1658) the affair of Nicon leaving his chair, and *depositions*, countersigned by Al. Douroff.[38]

[38] This is now separated, and makes Roll ii. of *twelve*, instead of *five* Rolls of the affair of Nicon.

4. In 7166 and 7167 (Sept. 1657 to Sept. 1659), *four* letters (or official written communications, *otpiski*) of Nicon to the tsar.[29]

5. A letter (or written paper) of Nicon, respecting the election (of another in his own stead) to the patriarchate (24th Feb. A.D. 1660); and a deposition (*skazka*) of Matthew Poushkin, about (his mission to) Nicon (6th March).

6. Translation of a Greek writing, *countersigned by M. Douroff.*

7, 8. Two translations of Greek writings, about Nicon, and under them certain heads or articles (the extracts? '*statia*').

[9. Here follows an important opinion, in the handwriting of Epiphanius Slavenetsky, which ought to have been mentioned separately, but is only alluded to in conjunction with other later 'statements' of Epiphanius, as if this had been gummed together with them, which it was not.]

10. In 7168 (A.D. 1660), synod of Russian bishops about the departure, &c., of Nicon, and the appointment of another. At the *junctions* there is the signature of Pitirim, *metropolitan of Novgorod* (which he became only in A.D. 1664. Also it is to be noted that the above entry covers three things: *first*, a *synodal minute* of 17th Feb.; *secondly*, *extracts from the canons*; *thirdly*, another synodal minute and resolution of 27th Feb. after hearing the extracts read).

11. Of the same year: *statements*[31] *of Epiphanius*, who lived in the Choudoff; and *extracts from the canons*, in *articles or heads*, in his handwriting, about Nicon.

12. In 7168 (A.D. 1660), Synodal Act of Russian and Greek bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries (*elasti*), subscribed by them, for electing another patriarch.[32]

Roll II.

1. A.M. 7171 (A.D. 1662-1663). *Synodal Act of the metropolitan of Gaza, Paisius, with the metropolitan of Rezan, Hilarion, [after having] heard the Synodal Act of* 7168 (of A.D. 1660) *about Nicon* (upholding, no doubt, that act, so far as it went, but determining that much more remained yet to be done).

2. A.M. 7171 (A.D. 1663). *Questions put to Paisius of Gaza about the written cahiers*[33] *which he gave in about the patriarch Nicon.*

[29] These four letters now begin a separate roll, Roll iii.; and note that the letter which stands first is really later than the other three, having been written towards the end of Oct. in A.D. 1661, before the death of Morozoff.

[30] These now begin Roll iv.

[31] '*Skazki*,' three in number, the first having appended the translation of *one* canon; but probably that much longer opinion of Epiphanius left unnoticed above, and not gummed to these three *skazki*, is meant to be included with them here; and the 'extracts from the canons, in heads,' mentioned here *must be* those really making the body of the preceding entry, which we have marked No. 10.

[32] Here Roll iv. of the present rolls ends. The two documents which stand first in Roll ii. of A.D. 1697 are no longer preserved in the twelve rolls now in the Synodal Library.

[33] His answers, no doubt, to the XXX. questions of the boyar Simeon Streshneff, which through Streshneff were circulated among the boyars of the council and became the occasion of Ligarides being introduced personally into the council chamber, and consulted by the boyars and the tsar, in A.D. 1663. Also note that these *questions*, &c. (No. 2), are probably *earlier* in point of time than

3. A.M. 7173 (A.D. 1665). Original letter of Nicon,[34] about the appointment of another patriarch.

[4. Here certain letters of the tsar, consulting the absent bishops on this question, Whether the great *schima* incapacitates an hieromonach from becoming a bishop? ought to have been mentioned, and the answers of the bishops. To get Nicon to take the great schima, if only that would have incapacitated him from acting as a bishop, would have been a *mezzo termine* between the extreme course suggested by Ligarides and the boyars and the allowance of his own demand of an honourable retirement from the chair.]

5. A.M. 7173 (Dec. A.D. 1664). Affair of Nicon's coming to Moscow to the cathedral, and deposition of the metropolitan Jonah, and copies of the answers made in the examination of other officials,[35] &c.

6. A.M. 7173 (A.D. 1665). Synodal Act[36] of the Russian and Greek bishops against Jonah, and subjoined to it the *answers* of other bishops who were not at Moscow.

7. A.M. 7174 (A.D. 1666). Synodal exposition[37] of the Russian bishops, in xxxiv. heads (with reference to his proposals of A.D. 1665), prescribing how Nicon was to live in the monastery of Voskresensk, &c.

8. Two copies of letters[38] sent to Joseph, archbishop of Astrachan, from the Russian bishops at Moscow.

9. A.M. 7174 (A.D. 1666). Statements (*skazki*) with confession of the Russian bishops and other *chasts* subscribed by them, confessing the œcumenical patriarchs to be orthodox; and about the synod of A.M. 7162 (A.D. 1654.

10. A.M. 7175 (A.D. 1666). Of meetings of the œcumenical patriarchs, and letters and addresses to them.

11. In the same year (Nov. A.D. 1666) there were sent[39] from the patri-

the *Synodal Act*, &c. (marked by us No. 1), with which Roll ii. of A.D. 1697 began, and were gummed on to it as having relation to its origin. See vol. iii. p. 174 and 175.

[34] These proposals of Nicon of Jan. A.D. 1665 make Roll viii. of the present twelve rolls.

[35] This, and the next head, marked by us No. 6, seem to be superfluous either here or in Roll iv., where they occur over again. Probably there was only some reference marked here on Roll ii. to Roll iv. of A.D. 1697; the affairs of Jonah and Ziuzin, and the details even of Nicon's coming, and the depositions about it being subjoined as separable appendices in Rolls iv. and v., while the *subject* of the first part of Roll ii. consisted of these two elements: 1. the new ground and course of action suggested by Paisius Ligarides, and 2. Nicon's proposals for an amicable arrangement, both being before the tsar conjointly for some time.

[36] Seemingly superfluous here, as it occurs in Rolls iv. and v. of A.D. 1697, which could be referred to.

[37] This consideration of Nicon's proposals, or draft of decision to be made upon them, makes the greater part of Roll vi. of the present twelve rolls; but it is preceded by a consultation of the bishops in Dec. A.D. 1664 on this question, Whether the greater schima incapacitates a monk from acting as a bishop? of which nothing is said in the account of A.D. 1697.

[38] These letters (about the coming of the two Eastern patriarchs) begin Roll vii. of the present rolls, and are followed in it as here: the roll ends with the meetings of the patriarchs. One of the two is only a draft, slightly altered in the other, which was actually sent.

[39] This now begins Roll xi., which ends at the same point with Roll ii. of A.D. 1697, with the departure of the two patriarchs.

archs and from all the synod to Voskresensk the archbishop Arsenius *with archimandrites* to summon Nicon; and from Arsenius there are two *reports*, one the original, the other a copy.

12. Copy of two official written papers (*i.e.* summonses, *otpiski*) to Nicon (summoning him) to come to Moscow.

13. Copy of (extracts from) the canons set forth about Nicon.

14. Discourse or observations on the same heads about the accusation against the patriarch.

15. Two copies from letters of the patriarchs Paisius and Macarius to the patriarch of Constantinople and the patriarch of Jerusalem.

16. Copy of the letter of institution given to the patriarch (of Moscow) Joasaph II.

17. A.M. 7176 (A.D. 1668). Of the departure of the two patriarchs [really only of the patriarch of Antioch] to their own countries.

Roll. III.

1. A.M. 7175 (A.D. 1667). Affair[40] of the Jews Michael and Damian.

2. A.M. 7175 (A.D. 1667). Affair of Thedka Artzibatieff.

3. Letters sent to the Krestnoy, Iverskoy, and Voskresensky monasteries.

4. Letters of Joseph, archimandrite of the Pechersky monastery of Nijny-Novgorod (Nij-gorod) from the Therapontoff monastery.

5. A.M. 7184 (A.D. 1676). From (or in conformity with) oukazes of the œcumenical patriarchs, an order to transport Nicon to the Kyrilloff monastery: sending (as the bearer of this order and commissioner) of Paul, archimandrite of the Choudoff, and interrogatory.

6. Inventory of the hegoumen Athanasius of the Therapontoff monastery.

7. A writing (*otpiska*) of Nicon from the Kyrilloff monastery; and petitions from the authorities (lit. the *elasts*) of the Kyrilloff, and from the hegoumen of the Therapontoff.

Roll. IV.

1. Of the coming of Nicon (in Dec. A.D. 1664) to Moscow.[41]

2. Letter that he gave in the cathedral.

3. *Petition* that he gave also in the cathedral.

4. Minutes of the sending to the cathedral of Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz, the boyars the princes Nikita Odoefsky and Youry Dolgorouky; and sentence (*skazka*) that he was to return to the monastery of Voskresensk.

5. Report of the prince Dmitri Dolgorouky.

6. Depositions of the metropolitan Jonah, of the protopope Michael, of the black deacon of the metropolitan Jonah, &c.; of the subdeacon Theodore Nikitin, and the singer-diak Theodore Constantinoff; and another deposition of the protopope Michael; also depositions of the Streltsi.

7. Mission of Paul (the metropolitan of Kroutitz) and Joachim (archimandrite of the Choudoff), and (the okolnik Rodion) Streshneff, and

[40] This now begins Roll xii.

[41] Here begins Roll ix. of the present twelve.

(the secretary of the council) Almiaz Ivanoff: their reports: letter of the tsar on receipt of these reports: minute and report how they were sent, &c. (and what they did, and all that passed till their return).

8. Cover[42] (wrapper envelope) with the signature of the patriarch Nicon and his seal.

9, 10. Letter of (the boyar Nikita) Ziuzin, and copy made from the same by the diak of the prikaz of secret affairs Theodore Michaeloff.

11. Letter of Nicon sent by *the same* archimandrite (as brought the above, and the staff, that is, Gerasimus, archimandrite of the monastery at Voskresensk).

12. Statement (*skazka*) of Ziuzin about his letter: statements of the protodeacon Nikita, and of the corrector of the press Alexander; of Athanasius Laurent, Ordin-Nashchokin; of Ziuzin, when examined with torture before the tsar: statement and writing of Ziuzin, which the doumni dvorianin Pronchishcheff took from him: another statement of Nashchokin.

13. Letters of the tsar to the absent *vlasts* (*i.e.* bishops) of the coming of the patriarch Nicon to Moscow: also about the metropolitan Jonah.

14. Statement of Ziuzin under torture: sentence of Ziuzin: minute of this to the Kazan-dvoretz: statement and writing of Ziuzin about his dvor; and minute to the pomiestni-prikaz.

15. Copy of the reply of Pitirim (metropolitan of Novgorod) to the tsar's letter (mentioned above under No. 13); and copy of the reply of Simon, archbishop of Vologda.

Roll V.

1. Summary[43] (*perechneva*) from the statements of the bishops, &c., about the departure of Nicon from the chair and his abdication with an oath in 7166 (A.D. 1658).

2. Summary of the affair of Ziuzin.

Other rolls not relating to the affair of Nicon, the contents of which were gummed together at the same time, in A.D. 1697, *and which are numbered in the same list consecutively with the five preceding.*

Roll vi. A.M. 7177 (A.D. 1668-1669). Affair of the bishop Methodius, and his examination.

Roll vii. Report from Ivan Mensherinoff; and Vladimir Volkonsky and Almiaz Ivanoff to succeed him.

Roll viii. consists of documents relating to the *Raskol*.

Roll ix. consists of documents relating to the *Raskol*.

Roll x. The Solovetsky petition of the archimandrite Bartholomew and the kellar Azarias. See vol. ii. App. iv. p. 449-459, and vol. v. App. x. p. 45-49.

Roll xi. consists of documents relating to the *Raskol*.

Roll xii. consists of documents relating to the *Raskol*.

Roll xiii. Information of the pope Nikita Poustosviat against Stephen, archbishop of Souzdal, and the same archbishop Stephen's petition, of the

[42] Here begins Roll x. of the present rolls.

[43] Seemingly the same with Roll v. of the present twelve.

years 7167 and 7168 (A.D. 1658-59 and 1659-60). See vol. iv. p. 284 (where, however, the name '*Joseph*' is incorrectly inserted instead of *Stephen*).

Roll xiv. 1. *Copy* of letters of the tsar to the patriarch of Constantinople, Parthenius, written to bring at least two of the four œcumenical patriarchs to Moscow.

2. A.M. 7175 (May A.D. 1667). Manifesto by the patriarchs (Paisius and Macarius) of the appointment by them of Joasaph II. to be patriarch of Moscow. See vol. iii. p. 468-475.

3. A.M. 7175 (A.D. 1667). Another manifesto of the patriarchs, respecting the see of Bielgorod.

4. A.M. 7174 (A.D. 1666). Synodal exposition of the Russian bishops, respecting all good order in the Church, and respecting *ranks* (or orders of proceeding).

5. A.M. 7177 (A.D. 1668-69). Constitution of the synod of the œcumenical patriarchs at Moscow, respecting church regulations (or orders, *chcni*), *in twelve chapters*. See vol. iii. p. 481-518.

6. A.M. 7172 (A.D. 1663-64). Simeon, archbishop of Siberia, leaves his chair: his examination; and *reports* (*otpiski*) of the bishops about it to the tsar; and of appointing a new archbishop to his see.

7. A.M. 7174 (A.D. 1665-66). Letter of the tsar to Alexander bishop of Viatka; and mission to him of the archimandrite of the Novospass.

8. A.M. 7172 (A.D. 1663-64). Affair of the pope Kozmas of the Preobrajensky sobor, and of the diachok Saba.

9. A.M. 7183, 7184 (A.D. 1674-75 and 1675-76). Affair of the tsar's confessor Andrew (Sabinoff).

Roll xv. Reports (*otpiski*) of the voivode of Kieff, Peter Sheremetieff, to the tsar.

Roll xvi. Affair of Agathangelus, the Greek deacon of Paisius Ligarides.

Roll xvii. Translations of letters (*'listi,' folia, i.e.* not *rolls*, *svitki*, or *stolbtsi*) from the œcumenical patriarchs, and from the Kozak towns.

Roll xviii. contains documents relating to the Raskolniks.

Roll xix. contains the affair of Nikita Poustosviat.

Roll xx. Inquest made by the bishop Alexander of Viatka and the diak Parthenius Ivanoff, respecting Stephen archbishop of Souzdal, 7168 (A.D. 1659-60).

Rolls xxi. and xxii. 1. Affair of Joseph, archbishop of Kolomna, 7184 (A.D. 1675-76).

2. Fifty-five cahiers about the Raskolniks.

3. Constitution of the patriarch Joasaph II. about the estates of the monastery of Voskresensk.

The composition and order (not always strictly chronological) in which the documents relating to the affair of Nicon were first gummed together into *five* rolls in A.D. 1697 is simple, and not without purpose, though in the *list of the contents* of the five rolls of A.D. 1697 there are some omissions, and other traces of haste and inaccuracy.

Roll i. contains documents from the elevation of Nicon to the chair

in A.D. 1652 to the synodical declaration that he had vacated it made on the 14th August A.D. 1660.

Roll ii. continues, from the first employment of Paisius Ligarides to conduct the affair to the final degradation of Nicon by the two patriarchs and the mixed synod of Dec. A.D. 1666.

Roll iii. gives other later documents, from the end of A.D. 1666 to A.D. 1676.

Roll iv., as an appendix, returns to the details of Nicon's coming to Moscow in Dec. A.D. 1661, and to the two affairs of the boyar Ziuzin and the metropolitan Jonah, who were inculpated by what they did, the one before, the other after Nicon's return.

Roll v., also an appendix, is a *summary* of the depositions taken after Nicon had returned, and had been sent back to Voskresensk; and a summary of the affair of the boyar Nikita Alex. Ziuzin.

But the rolls as now preserved in the Synodal (formerly the Patriarchal) Library at Moscow, and copied thence for the late Mr. A. N. Mouravieff, and again subsequently for the present writer, are not simply the five rolls of A.D. 1697. That those five rolls should have become twelve, if that were all, would not surprise any one who had ever seen such *unmounted* rolls, and knew the inconvenience of unrolling and rolling them up again. But besides having been subdivided, the order also not indeed of the documents as gummed together, but of the original five rolls themselves, as now subdivided into twelve, has been changed. And with regard to particular documents, while some which ought to have been named have been either left unnoticed or only obscurely alluded to, and not in their exact place, in the list of contents of A.D. 1697, two documents of much importance, as relating to the turn first given to the affair of Nicon by Paisius Ligarides, which are named in A.D. 1697 as then heading Roll ii., have disappeared altogether from the rolls as at present subdivided.

To the copy made from the present twelve rolls for ourselves, the transcriber has prefixed his own heading, thus:

'Accurate and full copy from MSS. of the 17th century containing the affair of the judgment and deposition of the patriarch Nicon. This affair consists of XII. *rolls*, and one separate tetrad.'

In our own transcript from these twelve rolls the order and contents are described by the copyist nearly, but not exactly, as in the copy made before for M. Mouravieff, from whose MS. collections we translated in A.D. 1861. Any difference in referring the same document to different rolls, or placing it in a different order, must be a mere inaccuracy of the copyist. But the consecutive numbering of lesser documents belonging to one and the same roll, or to one and the same subject, is variable and immaterial, there having been no such numberings made on the documents themselves in A.D. 1697.

Roll i. of A.D. 1697 is subdivided now into Rolls i. ii. iii. and iv. Of these the contents are numbered by ourselves for convenience, thus:

Roll I.

1. Of estates transferred by Nicon for his monasteries, and of monies taken for them from the patriarchal kazenni-prikaz, or treasury, or from

the patriarch's own dvortsovi-prikaz, in 7161 (A.D. 1652-1653) to 7166 (each year separately). In 1767 (*i.e.* after Nicon's withdrawal, 10th July A.D. 1658), *after the making of an inventory*, there was taken *to* the *prikaz of secret service* a sum of 2000 rubles, and the boyar the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy was ordered to make out a minute that these 2000 rubles were sent (*from the prikaz of secret service*) to the patriarch Nicon. For part of this document relating to transfers of estates and to the monies taken, see our vol. iii. p. 511-515.

2. Eight *copies* of letters of Nicon, viz.: *a.* To the patriarch Macarius of Antioch, when on his way to Novgorod in A.D. 1655, on the receipt of the tsar's letter of 30th July, dated from the *House* of our Lady at Moscow, 10th Aug. A.D. 1655; *b.* The humble Nicon, archbishop of Moscow, and patriarch of all Great, *Little*, and White Russia, &c., to our *son*, &c., the most reverend Sylvester Kossov, archbishop and metropolitan of Kieff *and Galich*, and *exarch* of the most holy chair of Constantinople, dated (*in Mouravieff's copy*) 10th May A.D. 1657; *c.* N. 'Great Hospodin *and* Great *Hossoudar*,' to Stephen, voivode of Moldavia, dated and sent together with the four next following on the 1st Dec. A.D. 1657. In this letter Nicon mentions having heard of Paisius Ligarides, then in Wallachia (*Moutianskaia zemlia*), and that he wishes to come to Moscow, and he asks the voivode to give him every facility; *d.* To Constantine, voivode of Wallachia (with similar mention of Ligarides, and similar request); *e.* To Gideon, archbishop of Moldavia and *metropolitan of Souchava* (with the like about Ligarides); *f.* To Stephen, archbishop and metropolitan of all *Ungro-Vlachia*, and *exarch of all the Vlachins*; *g.* To Paisius Ligarides; *h.* To Stephen, voivode of Moldavia, but of earlier date than the one of 1st Dec. A.D. 1657, which is made to stand before it, for it is dated 3d May A.D. 1657.

Roll II.

1. Seventy depositions taken by order of the tsar in Feb. A.D. 1660, to show that Nicon had abdicated the patriarchate on the 10th of July A.D. 1658. See our vol. iv. p. 191-209, where they are described by Mouravieff or his copyist as taken from *Part* ii. of *Roll* i., the present Roll ii. being really only the second subdivision of the original Roll i.

But inconsistently with this, at p. 210 the *first resolution of the synod* is given as if 'from Roll ii. of the synodal archives,' whereas really it belongs, like the depositions themselves, either to the original Roll i. or to the present Roll ii.

Both this, and other matters which follow it, viz. the first *comparison of depositions*, &c. (vol. iv. p. 210), the *first resolution of the synod* (ib. p. 215), a seventy-first *deposition* taken later in March (ib. p. 216), a *second comparison and classification of the depositions and re-examination of deponents* (ib. p. 218), and a *synodal minute and report* with the tsar's *order* upon it *to make extracts from the canons*, are all coupled in the original Roll i. of A.D. 1697 with the *depositions*, and are in like manner appended to them in the present Roll ii.

Roll III.

1. Four letters of Nicon to the tsar, no doubt the same as are thus mentioned in this place in Roll i. of A.D. 1697, viz.: *a.* Written in answer

to an application for his forgiveness for the boyar Morozoff, then dying, and so shortly before 1st Nov. A.D. 1661, printed in our vol. iv. p. 319-321; *b.* The letter of 12th July A.D. 1658, ib. p. 146; *c.* That of a date after 25th July A.D. 1658, ib. p. 149-156; *d.* That written on the 29th or 30th of March, in Holy Week of A.D. 1659, ib. p. 164.

2. Nicon's written statement of the way in which another patriarch may be appointed, given to the stolnik Matthew Poushkin, 24th Feb. A.D. 1660, ib. p. 237, where it is described from Mouravieff's MS. collections as No. 37 of Roll ii. (whereas it really belongs to Roll i. of the five rolls of A.D. 1697, but to Roll iii. of the present twelve rolls); and report or deposition of the stolnik Matthew Poushkin, made 6th March A.D. 1660, ib. p. 235.

3. Translation from a Greek writing addressed to the tsar and the synod (showing that the honourable retirement of a patriarch, such as is common at Constantinople, is not to be allowed in Muscovy, and worded as if Nicon was already by some synodal resolution held to be 'cut off from his priesthood'), ib. p. 260-265, where it is described as No. 7 of Roll iii.

Roll IV.

1. Translation of a letter written by the Greek bishops then at Moscow to the tsar, in favour of the creation of a new patriarch; and that the choice from the three names first selected as eligible should be made by the tsar himself, not by lot, ib. p. 251.

2. Translation of another Greek letter written to the tsar by Cyril, ex-archbishop of Andros, and dated 14th May A.D. 1660, of Nicon being like Haman; and that the tsar is not bound by his former acts, or by his promises to Nicon, but may appoint another patriarch, ib. p. 254.

3. An opinion upon four questions proposed to the writer by the tsar, in the handwriting of Epiphanius Slavenetsky. Whoever made the list of the contents of the rolls as gummed together in A.D. 1697, he has shown his haste and inaccuracy by this among other signs, that he has taken no distinct notice of this opinion, on which Mouravieff has justly noted that 'this is an act of much importance in the process of Nicon.' See our vol. iv. p. 239-251.

4. A *synodal minute* serving as preamble, and recapitulating what had preceded on the 17th Feb. A.D. 1660, followed by *extracts from the canons*, made in pursuance of an order of the tsar then given, and by a *resolution of the synod* passed on the 27th Feb., after hearing the same *extracts* read, ib. p. 222-235.

5. A memorial addressed by Epiphanius Slavenetsky to the tsar, after being ordered to draw up a synodal act for the complete degradation of Nicon, as well as for the appointment of a successor (given as No. 7 of Roll iv. at p. 257 of our vol. iv.); and two other short statements of the same Epiphanius on the same subject, dated the one 26th May (ib. p. 258, 'No. 5 of Roll iv.'), and the other 15th June (ib. p. 259, 'No. 6 of Roll iv.').

6. The synodal act, as finally drawn by Epiphanius Slavenetsky only for the appointment of a new patriarch, with the subscriptions to it, 14th Aug. A.D. 1660, ib. p. 269-283, where it is given as 'No. 9 from Roll iv.;'

the translation of canon xvi. of the council called the *First and Second*, appended by him to his undated letter to the tsar, and given at p. 258, being reckoned separately as 'No. 8.'

Roll V.

This seems to be identical with the roll which bears the same number v., but is the last of all in the list of A.D. 1697; and which is described as a *summary* of the depositions taken about the return of Nicon to Moscow in Dec. A.D. 1664; not those taken immediately on the same day, 18th Dec., but those taken later by Paul, metropolitan of Kroutitz, and others, at the tsar's command, on the 22d Jan. A.D. 1665; when the metropolitan Jonah was censured and suspended, but was offered some mitigation of his punishment if he would say that he did not know what he was doing when he took Nicon's blessing; and of this accordingly he made oath in the cathedral, and gave besides a written statement. The statements or depositions of that date contained in Roll v. (the beginning of which, with the first part of the metropolitan Jonah's statement is lost) are forty-nine in number. They have been printed above in vol. v., in Appendix xv. p. 156-166, in connection with p. 543 of the text of vol. iv.

Attached to these forty-nine statements or depositions also: *a.* A synodal act of 27th Jan. A.D. 1665 relieving Jonah from his suspension, but not restoring him altogether to his former position, printed as No. 50 of Roll v. in vol. iv. p. 573; *b.* Another earlier synodal act which had followed upon the sentence of 22d Dec. A.D. 1664, and had offered some mitigation of its severity, 'No. 51 of Roll v.,' ib. p. 562; *c.* Another (perhaps of the same date with *b*) resolving the question whether the tsar can with a good conscience take a blessing from Jonah, 'No. 52 of Roll v.,' ib. p. 564; *d.* Synodical re-examination of Jonah, and his renewed compurgation of himself, 10th Feb. A.D. 1666, 'No. 53 of Roll v.,' ib. p. 577; *e.* Complete rehabilitation of Jonah, only not making him again *guardian* of the patriarchal chair, same date, 'No. 54 of Roll v.,' ib. p. 578; *f.* Similar restoration of the protopope and the klirichars of the cathedral, of the same date, in honour of the names-day of the tsarevna Eudocia, 'No. 55 of Roll v.,' ib. p. 578; *g.* Answer of Joseph, archbishop of Astrachan, to a letter from the tsar asking for his opinion respecting the conduct of the metropolitan Jonah on the 18th Dec. A.D. 1664,—this answer is dated 17th May A.D. 1665,—'No. 56 of Roll v.,' ib. p. 575.

Roll VI.

After that dislocation of the order of the rolls of A.D. 1697 which has been caused by bringing up the fifth and last of the five rolls of A.D. 1697 to stand as Roll v. of the present twelve rolls, we now revert to Roll ii. of A.D. 1697, but not to its beginning.

For its *first two documents*, belonging to the summer of A.D. 1663, and relating to the action and advice of Paisius Ligarides, are no longer to be found in any of the twelve existing rolls.

Its *third* document, Nicon's written proposals of 14th Jan. A.D. 1665, is still preserved, but detached and displaced, so as to make Roll. viii. of the present twelve rolls. And thus in the arrangement of the present twelve rolls the draft of a synodal answer to Nicon's proposals is given

in Roll vi., while the proposals themselves follow only later as Roll viii. Mr. Mouravieff in his MS. collections, to correct this inconvenience, inserted Roll viii. immediately after Roll v., before the present Roll vi. It is printed in our vol. iv. p. 587-599, as 'Roll viii.'

Then follows *fourthly* in the list of the contents of Roll ii. of A.D. 1697 an account or *minute* of the coming of Nicon to Moscow 18th Dec. A.D. 1664, and *depositions* taken about it (those taken on the same day). This minute and these depositions are no longer discoverable in the present rolls; and they seem, indeed, to be superfluous in the list of A.D. 1697, because they occur over again at the beginning of its Roll iv. On the other hand, there are documents relating to another matter which really belonged to this place in Roll ii. of A.D. 1697, though they are unmentioned in the list of its contents, and which make the beginning of the present Roll vi. These are five letters from the tsar to consult absent bishops on the question, whether the greater schima incapacitates an hieromonach from becoming a bishop, and two answers to the same letters, with an appendix to the first of the two, which is from Pitirim, metropolitan of Novgorod. These are printed in our vol. iv., viz.: 'Roll vi. No. 1,' To Hilarion, archbishop of Riazan, 7th Dec. A.D. 1664 (and in like form to Novgorod, Tver, Smolensk, and Kazan), at p. 509; 'No. 2,' Answer of Pitirim, metropolitan of Novgorod, 11th Dec., ib. p. 510; 'No. 3,' Appendix to this answer, ib. p. 511; 'No. 4,' Answer of the metropolitan of Kazan, Laurentius, 28th Dec., ib. p. 512; 'No. 6,' Answer of Joasaph, archbishop of Tver, ib. p. 513; 'No. 7,' Answer of the archbishop of Riazan, Hilarion, 14th Dec., ib. p. 513. However, what we have thus marked No. 2 and No. 3, as standing second and third in the present Roll vi., are marked in our Russian transcript No. 9 and No. 10, as if there had been seven other numbers before our No. 1, or *at the least three*, if all the tsar's five letters were reckoned separately.

8. Then there follows the draft made in Feb. A.D. 1666 for synodal determinations on Nicon's proposals of 14th Jan. A.D. 1665. This document may have been the *fifth* in Roll ii. of A.D. 1697, if the *minute* and *depositions* named *fourth* in it (instead of the tsar's letters about the great schima) and the act against Jonah named *sixth* are inaccurately added. In our vol iv., p. 624-651, it stands as 'No. 8 of Roll vi.'

Roll VII.

The contents of this roll are: 1. Two letters to the archbishop Joseph, directing him how to receive the two Eastern patriarchs on their arrival at Astrachan. The 'two letters' seem to be a draft for the letter, and the letter as actually sent from the synod at Moscow, 11th March A.D. 1666. See vol. iii. p. 402, and vol. iv. p. 608.

2. Mutual examination of the bishops, &c., in the synod at Moscow, 16th Feb A.D. 1666; and declaration of the orthodoxy of the Greek patriarchs, of the Greek MS. and printed books, and of the church books as corrected by Nicon's synod of A.D. 1654 (with an appendix of 17th May). See vol. iv. p. 604-608 (where it is called No. 3 of Roll vii., the 'two letters' above being counted separately).

3. Meetings of the two Eastern patriarchs, and addresses made to

them in A.D. 1666, viz.: *a.* A *letter* and greeting from the tsar and the synod 29th Oct. (see vol. iii. p. 406); *b. Minute and ukaz* sending letters 23d Sept., and *report* of having met the patriarchs 11th Oct. (ib. p. 403-405); *c. Two letters* from the synod to the two patriarchs, dated 18th Sept. (ib. p. 405); *d. Greeting* in the name of the tsar and the synod, 29th Oct. (ib. p. 406); *e.* Another *address* from the synod, 2d Nov. (ib. p. 408: and there is a note on our MS. copy that 'this is the *tenth* of the gummed-on pieces of Roll vii.'); *f. Address* spoken at the *Lobnoe Miesto*, 2d Nov. (ib. p. 409); and an appendix of *troparia* to be sung at meeting and conducting the patriarchs to the cathedral (ib. p. 410).

These three parts, as we have here divided them, of Roll vii., are parts or subjects 8, 9, and 10, as we may count them for convenience, of Roll ii. of A.D. 1697.

Roll VIII.

This consists, as has been said above, of Nicon's proposals of 14th Jan. A.D. 1665, which make the third part or subject of Roll ii. of A.D. 1697, thrown down to this place, so as to come *after* the synodal consideration of them. Vol. iv. p. 587-599.

Roll IX.

In this we have another dislocation of the order of the rolls of A.D. 1697. Instead of going on with the contents of Roll ii., we have Roll iv. of A.D. 1697 divided into Rolls ix. and x. of the present twelve rolls. Roll ix. contains the following subjects:

1. Of the coming of Nicon to Moscow, 18th Dec. A.D. 1664; five documents: No. 1, vol. iv. p. 536; No. 2, p. 537; No. 3, p. 539; No. 4, p. 541; No. 5, p. 542.

2. Depositions of Jonah, &c., taken the same day; six parts: No. 6, vol. iv. p. 542; No. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, p. 543; and vol. v. Appendix xv. p. 152-156.

3. Mission of the metropolitan Paul, &c., to recover from Nicon the staff, and to ask to what communication he had alluded when he said that he had not come of himself; *four* documents: No. 12, vol. iv. p. 544; No. 13, p. 545; No. 14, p. 546; No. 15, p. 547.

4. Nicon's wrap or envelope or roll (*stolbetz*), in which he sent to the tsar by the archimandrite of Voskresensk, Gerasimus, the copies of two letters from the boyar Nikita Ziuzin, and the original of a third. He sent also at the same time the staff of St. Peter the first metropolitan of Moscow, which he had carried away with him. This envelope is marked No. 16.

These four subjects, with their lesser subdivisions, are the first four of Roll iv. of A.D. 1697.

Roll X.

1. Original letter of the boyar Nikita Ziuzin (the last of three), written by him to bring the patriarch Nicon to Moscow, and a legible copy made from the same. These two documents are Nos. 17 and 18 of a list of the contents of Rolls ix. and x. prefixed to the actual contents of those rolls in the MS. collections of Mr. Mouravieff. The letter of Ziuzin is printed in our vol. iv. p. 526-535. It is followed in the list just mentioned by the heading of another document, marked No. 19, thus: '*Letter of Nicon sent by*

the same archimandrite,' that is, by Gerasimus, who brought to the tsar the staff, and the copies of Ziuzin's first two letters and the original of the third in that envelope which is marked No. 16, and which ends Roll ix. But this letter of Nicon is not contained in Roll x.: only in numbering the documents the transcriber, or some earlier hand perhaps, if there are now numbers on the documents themselves, passes from No. 18 to No. 20: so that Nicon's own letter sent by Gerasimus seems to be in some way or other alluded to as existing, though probably neither it nor the copies of Ziuzin's first two letters ever came into the patriarchal rozriad at all, but remained with the tsar. See our vol. iv. p. 553.

2. Depositions about the affair of Ziuzin, seven documents, marked No. 20 to 26 inclusive, vol. iv. p. 555; and vol. v. Appendix xvi. p. 166.

3. Two letters from the tsar about the metropolitan Jonah; one of 23d Dec. (and similar letters were sent by the synod of the clergy) to the absent bishops, asking what they thought of the conduct of Jonah in taking Nicon's blessing on the 18th; the other also a circular, sent to eight absent bishops, 20th March A.D. 1665 to 29th April, informing them of what had been done. These are printed as 'No. 27' and 'No. 28 of Roll ix.' ('of the *list* of the contents of Rolls ix. and x. together, prefixed to Roll ix.,' it should have been) in vol. iv., at p. 564 and p. 574 respectively.

The answer of Joseph, archbishop of Astrachan, to No. 28, has been given already as No. 56 of Roll v.: another instance of the disorder introduced by the present arrangement of the rolls.

4. The affair of Ziuzin, five documents: given as No. 29 to No. 33 inclusive, in vol. iv. p. 557.

5. Two answers to the tsar's letter of 25th Dec. A.D. 1664 (No. 27 above), the one from the metropolitan of Novgorod, Pitirim (6th and 18th Jan. A.D. 1665), the other from the archbishop Simon of Vologda. These are Nos. 34 and 35, and are printed in vol. iv. at p. 569 and p. 572 respectively. What *followed* has been given before in Roll v. No. 50, for which see also vol. iv. p. 572.

These five heads or subjects are the last five of Roll iv. of A.D. 1697.

Roll XI.

In this roll we return to Roll ii. of A.D. 1697, to the point where Roll vii. ended, viz. the meetings of the two Eastern patriarchs, and addresses of welcome made to them, which we called the *tenth* part or subject of Roll ii. of A.D. 1697. Six more heads remain, which compose the present Roll xi., viz.:

1. Summonses sent to Nicon, &c.; five documents: printed in vol. iii. p. 412, p. 413, p. 413, p. 414, and p. 415 respectively. But they are at p. 412, either by a misprint or by some other inadvertence, described as belonging to Roll vii. And see vol. v. p. 867-872.

2. Extracts from the canons; printed in our vol. iv. p. 609-612, as No. 6 of Roll xi.

3. Dissertation written for the tsar on the above extracts, with appendices; ib. p. 612-623, as No. 7 of Roll xi.

4. Two letters from the patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch, for themselves and the tsar, to the patriarch of Jerusalem

Nectarius, and to the patriarch of Constantinople, informing them of what had been done by them at Moscow in Dec. A.D. 1666; printed in vol. iii. p. 456-459, and p. 459-463.

5. Letter of institution which the two Eastern patriarchs gave in May A.D. 1667 to the new patriarch of Moscow Joasaph II. (and in which they name Paisius Ligarides of Gaza as one of those bishops with whose consent and concurrence they had acted); printed in vol. iii. p. 468-475.

6. Departure of the two Eastern patriarchs [of the patriarch Macarius only—there is nothing about Paisius of Alexandria] from Moscow, &c. in July A.D. 1668; three documents; the third being a letter of acknowledgment from the patriarch Macarius, dated 9th Sept. A.D. 1668; printed in vol. iii. p. 539.

Roll XII.

This roll is Roll iii. of A.D. 1697.

1. Affair of the Jews Michael and Damian, against whom Nicon gave a written information in the stolovaia, Dec. A.D. 1666, to the Eastern patriarchs, and who were examined and justified by the patriarchs 23d April A.D. 1667: also the affair of Artsibatieff; two documents; to be printed in vol. vii.

2. Letter from the tsar to Philotheus, archimandrite of the Iverskoy monastery, 6th Dec. A.D. 1666, to cease to obey Nicon; printed in vol. iii. p. 450.

3. Six letters, ordering that Nicon is no more to be obeyed in his three monasteries, and seeking evidence of any undue severities exercised by him; to be printed in vol. vii.

4. Letter from the metropolitan Paul of Kroutitz of 9th Dec. A.D. 1666 to Philaret, archimandrite of the Rojdestvennoy, and the diak Koshchireff, to make inquest about undue severities of Nicon in his three monasteries, by order of the tsar; printed in vol. iii. p. 451.

5. Two letters from the tsar 12th Dec. to Theophanes, archimandrite of the Krestnoy, &c.; ib. p. 451.

6. Instruction to the monk Barlaam and the podiak Fedoroff, 12th Dec., sending them to the Krestnoy, to make an inventory, &c., and to order the monks not to live in community, and not to obey Nicon, and to give information of any cruelties exercised by him; ib. p. 452.

7. Letter from the metropolitan Paul of Kroutitz to Voskresensk, to the diak Kashcheyeff, to change the commissioners there, 11th Dec. A.D. 1666; ib. p. 453.

8. *a.* Instruction to Joseph, archimandrite of the Pechersky at Nijny, 13th Dec. A.D. 1666, to go with Nicon to the Therapontoff, printed in vol. iii. p. 454; *b.* Instruction to the same, 14th Dec., for the journey, ib.; *c.* Acceptance given by Joseph for the above, 15th Dec., ib.; *d*, *e.* Reports of the same Joseph, 21st and 27th Dec., ib. p. 455.

9. From the tsar to Kolomna, about Artsibatieff, 7170 [7175], 21st Dec.

10. Deposition of Ivan Basilieff, who had been sent in this year (after the 1st Sept. A.D. 1666) by Nicon to take fish, 28th Dec.

11. Petition from the Therapontoff community to the tsar, 21st Dec.

12. Report of the archimandrite Joseph to the patriarchs and all the synod from the Therapontoff; printed in vol. iii. p. 455.

13. Report of Barlaam, kellar of the Novospass, &c., to the tsar.

14. Report of Nikita Koutouzoff, of having sent off Thedka Artsibatieff with his family, 4th Jan. 1667, in pursuance of the tsar's letter of the 31st December.

15. The patriarch Joasaph II. to the kellar of the Troitsa, Leontius Zernoff, 28th Feb., by order of the tsar, to send Joseph, late archimandrite of the Novospass, to the Therapontoff, to take the place of Joseph, archimandrite of the Pechersky of Nijny; printed in vol. iii. p. 475.

16. Notification of the same order of 28th Feb. to Joseph, archimandrite of the Pechersky at Nijny, 30th March; ib. p. 475.

17. In March A.D. 1667, by oukaz of the tsar and prikaz of the patriarch Joasaph II., the late archimandrite of the Novospass, Joseph, is ordered to go to take charge of Nicon at the Therapontoff; ib. p. 475.

18. In A.D. 1668, 9th April, the œcumenical patriarchs and the patriarch Joasaph II., &c. &c., and all the synod then at Moscow, for certain reasons made order to remove Nicon to the Kyrilloff, and to change the archimandrite and others about him, &c.:

19. And A.D. 1676, 16th May, the patriarch Joachim wrote to the archimandrite of the Spassky, Paul, to go to the Therapontoff (reciting the above order of A.D. 1668), and to place there as pristav Ododouroff, instead of Shaisoupoff, and to do all according to certain articles of the instruction given to him.

20 to 31. And twelve other documents, connected with the above renewal of persecution against Nicon by Joachim in A.D. 1676.

Tetrad.

1. Act xiv. Of the deposition of Nicon, how he was summoned 28th Nov. A.D. 1666, and a general recapitulation, introducing the Act; printed in vol. iii. p. 437-449.

2. Act xv. Of the election of a new patriarch of Moscow, Joasaph II., 30th Jan. A.D. 1667. 'And on the morrow, 31st Jan., all being assembled in the stolovaia,' &c., to 'extirpation of new schisms;' ib. p. 449-450.

APPENDIX XXXII. *In connection with the years* 1697 *and* 1721; *p.* 1027.

Papers relating to the affair of the patriarch Nicon, which at the end of the seventeenth century were in *the prikaz of secret affairs* at Moscow, and which, together with others, were catalogued when transported to the Foreign Office at Petersburg towards the end of the reign of Peter the Great. Extracted from the original *List*, &c., as published in vol. ii. of the Memoirs of the Russian Archæological Society, S.P.B. 1861, p. 18.

1. A.M. 7163 (A.D. 1654). Letter from the boyar Michael Petr. Pronsky to (the tsarevich and the patriarch Nicon at) the Koliazin monastery, about the plague. (See[1] our vol. iv. p. 97, and vol. vii.)

[1] These references are subjoined in many cases only to indicate that part of the history of Nicon to which the documents belong, or to which they may possibly belong. Some of them have been printed in Roumiantseff's Collection of State Papers (*Hossoudarstvennaia Grammata*), and some others in vol. ii. of the Memoirs of the Archæological Society above referred to; but the translator has not been able to examine the original documents themselves, some of which perhaps no longer exist.

2. A.M. 7178 (*dated* 1st Nov. A.D. 1669). Letter (*sent* 1st Feb. A.D. 1670) to the tsar Alexis from the patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheus, after he had heard of the death of the tsaritsa; and of absolving Paisius Ligarides; and of alms. (This is printed in our vol. iii. at p. 550.)

3. A.M. 7070 (A.D. 1561-1562). A letter sent in A.M. 7069 (A.D. 1560-1561) from the patriarch of Constantinople to John IV. Basilievich, about the title of *Tsar*, brought by Josaphat, metropolitan of *Evgripus*.

These three are in a box of limewood, with annotations in the handwriting of the tsar Alexis.

4. A.M. 7150 and 7160 (A.D. 1642 and 1652). Papers relating to the election, &c., of the patriarch Joseph, and to the election, &c., of the patriarch Nicon. (See our vol. i. p. 13, 21, 104, 222, 582; vol. ii. p. 110, 169; vol. iii. p. 382; vol. iv. p. 10; and vol. vii.)

5. A.M. 7163 to 7165 (A.D. 1654 to 1657). Extracts copied from letters or reports (*otpiski*) written by the patriarch Nicon to the tsar during his campaigns. (See our vol. vii.)

6. A.M. 7168 (A.D. 1660). A roll (*stolb*) containing: *a.* Extracts from depositions as to the fact of Nicon's having renounced the patriarchate (see our vol. iv. p. 191); *b.* Extracts from the canons of the holy fathers, with the gloss (see our vol. iv. p. 224); *c.* Translations of Greek letters (see our vol. iv. p. 243, 251, 254, 260); and *d.* Letters (*otpiski*) from Nicon to the tsar on various matters, of the years 7164, 7166, 7167, 7168, and 7170 (A.D. 1655-1656, 1657-1660, and 1661-1662 (see our vol. iv. p. 146, 149, 164, 306, 307, 319, 390, 397).

7. List or register (*spisok*) with cahiers (*tetradi*) about Nicon's leaving the chair in A.M. 7166 (A.D. 1658. Perhaps the writings of Epiphanius Slavenetsky and Ignatius of Polotsk, printed in our vol. iv. p. 239, 245, 257, 265?).

8. *a.* A tetrad of the same; and *b. Statias* (minutes and resolutions) of the synod; and *c.* Of writing out from all the prikazes matter of accusation against him;[2] *d. Draft* of letters to the patriarch of Constantinople, requesting him to come to Moscow to regulate ecclesiastical matters, and to make a new patriarch.

9. Extracts on a sheet of paper from the canons, as to the number of bishops required to judge a bishop, a priest, and a deacon. (Compare our vol. iii. p. 181, 433, 447.)

10. A roll (*stolb*) of A.M. 7171, 7172, 7173, 7174, 7175 (A.D. 1662-1667), containing: *a.* Letters from the tsar to the œcumenical patriarchs, sent by the hierodiakon Meletius (see our vol. iii. p. 75, 82); and the minutes of their being sent; and *b.* Letters to the same Meletius, and reports and answers (*otpiski*) from him, and from Porphyry Olovenikoff diak of the prikaz of secret affairs, to the tsar; and *c.* List of letters brought by him, Meletius, from the œcumenical patriarchs; also *d.* Statias (minutes and instructions, &c.) to the stolnik prince Peter Sim. Prozorofsky and Peter Sabb. Khitroff, how they were sent to meet the œcumenical patriarchs (see our vol. iii. p. 114).

11. A packet (or tied bundle, *sviazka*) containing: *a.* Five leaves (folia) which Nicon wrote in A.M. 7174 (Dec. A.D. 1665) to the œcumenical

[2] Compare what is printed in our vol. iv. p. 422.

patriarchs,[3] in Greek, on Alexandrian sheets or leaves subscribed with his hand; and *b.* in 4to, in tetrads, translations from the same (printed from the *Russ* in our vol. iii. p. 381-400).

12. Translation from a Greek letter of Nicon to Dionysius patriarch of Constantinople. (The same as under No. 11.)

13. A roll (*stolb*) of A.M. 7174, 7175 (A.D. 1665, 1666), containing: *a.* Letters from the tsar to the hetman Ivan Briuchovetsky, to arrest in the Kozak towns and send to Moscow Theodotus, the nephew of the patriarch Nicon, and answers from the hetman; *b.* Examination of Theodotus; and *c.* Nicon's letters, as translated by the Greek Demetrius Matveyeff; and *d.* Examination of the same Demetrius; and *e.* Acts of the inquest respecting his suicide (see our vol. iii. p. 193, 379, 446; and vol. iv. p. 659; and Shusherin's account, in vol. vii.).

14. Three letters on Alexandrian leaves, with initials and capitals in gold, viz.: *a.* Under the tsar's hand, to *Parthenius*[4] patriarch of Constantinople, respecting the mission of Joannicius archimandrite of the Holy Mountain and Sabba kellar of the Choudoff, to speak about matters concerning the late patriarch Nicon; *b.* Under the great seal, to the same patriarch Parthenius, *requesting him to come to Moscow* to regulate the affairs of the Church, A.M. 7174 (A.D. 1666); *c.* Without seal or subscription, to the patriarch of Jerusalem (see our vol. iii. p. 91, 359, 362, 456, 459).

15. A small packet rolled up (*svertochek*) consisting of rolls (*stolbtsi*), with copies of letters from the tsar to the œcumenical patriarchs, A.M. 7175 (A.D. 1666).

16. Leaves gummed together, consisting of questions to the patriarch Dionysius about Nicon, and his replies. (See our vol. iii. p. 89, 360, 369.)

17. *a.* Translation from a Greek letter of the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius, (and) from, *b.* statias of his archdeacon Dositheus, A.M. 7173 (A.D. 1664-1665) about exarchs, that Jews come as if from the patriarchs; and about translators, with a caution to test them by causing translations to be made twice, by different translators. (This seems to be the letter sent separately by Nectarius in A.D. 1664; but if so, it seems here out of place. See our vol. iii. p. 349, 356, 363, 379; and vol. v. Appendix xiv. p. 143.)

18. A bundle containing: *a.* Translations in cahiers (*tetradi*) from letters sent to the tsar from the patriarch of Constantinople Dionysius, and from the hierodiakon Meletius, and from others, respecting various matters; also *b.* Translations from letters of absolution of the same patriarch for the boyar Elia Dan. Miloslafsky (who died in A.D. 1668), and for all the tsar's synclete, and all the sacred order.

[3] This is not the only place where Nicon is made to write to the patriarchs in the *plural*: but he wrote only once, and only one letter, which was addressed to Dionysius, patriarch of Constantinople. See what Paisius Ligarides writes in our vol. iii. p. 173; and the patriarchs Paisius and Macarius, ib. p. 193 and 446; and Solovieff, in our vol. iv. p. 659; but compare p. 158 of vol. iii.

[4] Parthenius became patriarch before the end of A.D. 1665; and the ex-patriarch Dionysius, to whom in part Sabba was sent, was now metropolitan of Thessalonica. See our vol. iii. p. 91, 359; and vol. v. Appendix xvii. p. 178.

19. A roll (*stolb*) of A.M. 7171, 7172, 7173, and 7174 (A.D. 1662-1666), the contents of which relate to the patriarch Nicon; *a*. Of disagreement respecting the church-singing; and *b*. Of other ecclesiastical matters which occurred during the patriarchate of Nicon. There are also, *c*. The letters sent to the œcumenical patriarchs by Meletius;[5] and *d*. Letters (*otpiski*) from Nicon to the tsar; and *e*. Letters of the œcumenical patriarchs; and *f*. Papers relating to their coming to Moscow (see our vol. iii. p. 82, 84, 317-349, and 370-379).

20. A small bag containing four letters sent from the tsar to the metropolitans Pitirim of Novgorod and Paul of Kroutitz, to Hilarion archbishop of Riazan, and to Joachim archimandrite of the Choudoff, informing them that the œcumenical patriarchs (Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch) are coming from Astrachan to Moscow.

21. A roll (*stolb*) of A.M. 7175 and 7176 (A.D. 1666-1668): *a*. Of the coming of the œcumenical patriarchs to Moscow; and *b*. Synodal exposition (*izhojenie*) about Nicon (see our vol. iii. p. 443).

22. Minutes (*zapiski*), in rolls, of the coming of the patriarchs to the tsar, into the stolovaia palata, in A.M. 7175 (Dec. A.D. 1666. Herein may be included the minutes of all that took place in the different sessions held against Nicon, or in No. 25. See our vol. iii. p. 168-199, and p. 437).

23. Two cahiers (*tetradi*) containing speeches made by the tsar to the patriarchs, *a*. on their arrival 4th Nov. in A.M. 7175 (A.D. 1666); and *b*. at their dismissal, 5th June A.M. 7176 (A.D. 1668. See our vol. iii. p. 124, 539).

24. A packet containing twenty-two leaves of Greek writing, and on the other side the detailed report and list (*statyni spisok*) of the Greek Meletius, as given in by him on the 17th Jan. A.M. 7175 (A.D. 1667).

25. A packet containing, in rolls (*stolbtsi*), *a*. *Notices* (or *minutes*, *zapiski*) *about Nicon*;[6] and *b*, *c*. Speeches of the tsar to the patriarchs (among these a letter in the tsar's handwriting) on their arrival, and at their dismissal.

26. A small roll (*stolpik*) containing, *a*. the dismissal from Moscow of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch; and *b*. a letter from the tsar to the sultan, to obtain *that they should be in their chairs*, as before. (See our vol. iii. p. 539, 478, 558; vol. v. p. 782; and the letter of the patriarch of Alexandria to the tsar Theodore, in vol. vii.)

27. Detailed report in four cahiers (*tetradi*) of the stolnik prince Peter Iv. Prozorofsky and the diak Ivan Davidoff, of their having escorted the patriarch of Antioch, Macarius, to Astrachan. (See our vol. iii. p. 540.)

28. Translations, *a*. of a Greek letter written to the tsar by the patriarch Macarius of Antioch in A.M. 7177 (A.D. 1668-1669), and sent by Ivan Obraztsoff, thanking him for having sent him news of a victory; also *b*. of letters of the patriarch Paisius of Alexandria, from Kieff, recommend-

[5] Seemingly, when he was sent the second time, in the autumn of A.D. 1664.

[6] Are these the minutes of what took place in the sessions of the synod in Dec. A.D. 1666, and the source of Solovieff's account printed in our vol. iii. p. 416-437?

ing to the tsar's favour the bearer of them, Conon, who had been sent with the patriarch as interpreter.

29. Copy of a letter written by the patriarch Nicon in A.M. 7176 (A.D. 1667-1668) to the tsar (and to all the tsar's family), with blessing and pardon, on the request and prayer of the tsar, made to him, in pursuance of the tsar's order, by Stephen Naoumoff. (See our vol. vii.)

30. A roll (*stolp*) of A.M. 7177 (A.D. 1668-1669), containing various reports (*otpiski*) and letters about Nicon, when he was in the Therapontoff monastery. (See our vol. vii.)

31. A roll of A.M. 7177 (A.D. 1668-1669), showing what quantities of bread and of other provisions of all kinds had been given to Nicon from the monasteries; and extracts about that on (separate) leaves. (See our vol. vii.)

32. A roll of A.M. 7179, 7180, 7181, 7182, and 7183 (A.D. 1670 to 1675): *a.* Minutes of sendings of letters from the tsar to the Therapontoff monastery, to the pristav the prince Samuel Shaisoupoff; and *b.* Minutes and instructions to the stolnik and polkovnik Larion Lopouchin, and to his brother Kouzma, and to the podiak Artemius Stepanoff, of their being sent to Nicon; and *c.* Letters or answers and reports (*otpiski*) to the tsar from Nicon, and from Shaisoupoff; and *d.* Reports of the arrivals of the same messengers, and of inquests about Nicon, and about (the former pristav) Naoumoff. (See our vol. vii.)

33. A packet containing three cahiers (*tetradi*) written in upright letters, of the sending to Nicon to Voskresensk of Joachim the archimandrite of the Choudoff and the secretary of the council Dementius Bashmakoff (14th Jan. A.D. 1665. Printed in our vol. iv. p. 587-599).

34. A packet of four cahiers (*tetradi*) containing, *a.* Copies (*spiskou*) of letters or reports (*otpiski*); and *b.* Twelve cahiers, in upright letters, about the commandments (or constitutions of the Church, *zapoviedam*), extracted from different books, and sent by Nicon to the tsar; also *c.* the letter of Nicon to Paisius of Gaza. (This should be either Nicon's proposals for his own retirement, or his paper on the question sent to him about the communion of malefactors. His letter to P. Ligarides of A.D. 1662 seems here out of place; but since Nicon at this time, Jan. A.D. 1665, wrote an information against Ligarides, Nicon's earlier letter written to Ligarides on his first coming to Moscow in A.D. 1662, when Nicon as yet knew nothing against him, may have been used now against Nicon, as if his present accusations were made only in the hope of damaging an adversary. See our vol. i. p. 591; vol. iii p. 51, 81, 94, 95, 99, 391; and vol. iv. p. 238; and vol v. Appendix xv. and xvi. p. 152, 166.)

35. A cahier (*tetrad*) containing, *a.* Translations from the letters of the tsar to the patriarchs; also *b.* Of the coming of Nicon to Moscow before Christmas in A.M. 7173 (A.D. 1664); and *c.* Of his taking away the staff (of St. Peter, the first metropolitan who sat at Moscow. See our vol. iii. p. 372-379).

36. Three packets containing, *a.* rolls (*stolbtsi*) and leaves of Greek writing (with *b.* translations of the same) from the œcumenical patriarchs *and metropolitans and archimandrites* about Nicon (seemingly the patriarchal *tomes*, or *tome*, which was brought to Moscow in *duplicate* in A.D.

1664, and the separate letter of Nectarius. (The Russian translation of the *tome* was made from a Latin translation of P. Ligarides. See our vol. iii. p. 82, 317-349.)

37. A small roll (*stolpik*) containing *statias* written to the tsar by P. Ligarides against Nicon, about his fault in leaving his chair.

38. A book of 127 cahiers, in upright letters, against the questions of Streshneff to Paisius of Gaza and the answers of Paisius to the same, being the objections or refutations of the most holy patriarch Nicon written against those questions and answers. (Printed in full in our vol. i. *Replies*, &c.)

39. Letter (*otpiska*) in cahiers, addressed to the boyar Simeon Luc. Streshneff by Paisius of Gaza, and answers to his, the boyar's, questions about the innovations of Nicon late patriarch of Moscow, A.M. 7171 (A.D. 1662-1663. For a summary of this see our vol. i. *Contents*, p. xxvii. to xxxix.).

40. A book in cahiers containing a letter (*otpiskon*) addressed to Simeon Streshneff by Paisius of Gaza, and answers to thirty questions about the innovations of Nicon patriarch of Moscow, A.M. 7171 (A.D. 1662-1663. Same as No. 39).

41. Eight cahiers (*tetradi*) containing a copy of the petition of Paisius, metropolitan of Gaza, for the election of another patriarch of Moscow. (Printed in our vol. iii. p. 314-317.)

42. Two cahiers (*tetradi*) containing questions addressed by the most holy Joasaph II. patriarch of Moscow to the œcumenical patriarchs, and their replies, about certain ecclesiastical matters, and about the patriarchal estates. (See our vol. iii. p. 285, 288, 479-518.)

43. A cahier (*tetrad*) containing questions addressed to Balsamon patriarch of Antioch, and his answer to them, explaining why the patriarch of Alexandria wears on his head a gold crown or fillet (λῶρον. See our vol. iii. p. 144).

44. Seven cahiers, bound, containing the roll (or copy from the roll?) of some necessary questions on ecclesiastical matters, to which answers are made from the *four* œcumenical patriarchs. (Perhaps the word *four* is inaccurate; else this should be a copy of the *tome* of A.D. 1663-1664. See our vol. iii. p. 285, 288, and p. 479-518.)

45. A small roll (*stolpik*) containing extracts from Nicon's letters to the tsar about his necessities, and about metropolitical and ecclesiastical matters, in A.M. 7181, 7182, and 7183 (A.D. 1672-1675. See our vol. vii.).

46. A small bundle containing tetrads, some in folio and some (like all the other cahiers mentioned above) in quarto, translated from the Greek, being questions addressed to the patriarchs and answers from them about robbers, and of clerks trafficking in markets. (See our vol. iii. p. 94, 489, 491; and vol. iv. p. 581.)

47. A bundle or packet containing ten letters from Nicon to the boyar Nikita Al. Ziuzin (Dec. A.D. 1664. See our vol. iv. p. 180, 182, 293, 302, 312, 314, 466).

48. A roll in *stolbtsi* (made of other lesser rolls) containing, *a.* a letter (*otpiska*) of Nicon; and *b.* the examinations of the deacon Theodosius, and of the tailor Timoshka, and of Mishka Pachomieff, in A.M. 7169 (A.D. 1660-

1661); and *c.* of the sending of him, Timoshka, to Siberia. (See our vol. iv. p. 288-293; and vol. v. Appendix vii. p. 11.)

49. Affair of information and of inquest: *a.* Against Nicon, from certain Jews, viz. his sin-boyar the Jew Michael, and the nashivoshnik Dementi Levitkin, for many wrongs done to them; and *b.* against the same Jews (from Nicon) for still Judaizing, A.M. 7175 (A.D. 1666. See our vol. vii.).

50. An inventory, in rolls (*stolbtsi*), of what had belonged to Nicon and was left by him at Voskresensk. (See our vol. vii.)

51. A roll containing petitions of Nicon about the estates of his Iverskoy monastery; and copies from letters (or charters), and from the books of transfers (*otkaznich knig*), A.M. 7173 (A.D. 1664-1665. See our vol. iv. p. 294, 306, 307).

52. A roll containing, *a.* Petitions of Ivan Sitin against Nicon's peasants of Voskresensk; and *b.* Letters of Nicon about the same (*otpiski*); and *c.* Inquests (*siski*), A.M. 7169, 7170, and 7171 (A.D. 1660-1663. See our vol. iv. p. 389-445, and 468-492; and vol. v. Appendix ix. p. 18-24).

53. In rolls, minutes of sendings of letters to Kazan, and oukazes to give cloth and imperial allowance in money to the strapchi Ivan Obraztsoff, sent with letters to Macarius patriarch of Antioch in A.M. 7176 (A.D. 1668. See our vol. iii. p. 539, 540).

54. In a roll (*stolbchik*), copy of cahiers translated from (those extracts from) canons of the holy fathers which were brought to Moscow from the œcumenical patriarchs in A.M. 7172 (A.D. 1664. This should be either the patriarchal *tome* itself of A.D. 1663-1664, or something supplementary sent together with it. See our vol. v. p. 713).

The above list shows that the papers catalogued had been arranged and kept with some sort of order, though occasionally documents of different dates may have been mixed together in a way not easy now to explain, and the list was made out as the different packets came to hand, which caused several dislocations of their proper order: and in one instance a number of packets were catalogued so as to reverse their proper order, the latest of this group being entered first and the earliest last.

Nos 1, 2, and 3, of A.D. 1654, 1670, and 1561, were thrown together into the same small box manifestly by mere accident. They are three isolated documents, unconnected with one another and with those that follow.

Nos. 4 and 5 belong to dates before Nicon left the chair in A.D. 1658.

Nos. 6 and 7 are connected with the tsar's synod of A.D. 1660. No. 6 contains also letters from Nicon to the tsar of dates extending from A.D. 1655 to A.D. 1662.

Nos. 39, 40, and 38 are two copies of Paisius Ligarides' *Answers* to the thirty questions of Streshneff of A.D. 1662, and Nicon's *Replies* of A.D. 1663.

No. 41 is Paisius Ligarides' petition to the tsar to make a new patriarch, A.D. 1663.

No. 37 is also by P. Ligarides, and of the same date, A.D. 1663.

Nos. 48, 52, and 51 of the affair of Theodosius, A.D. 1660, and Nicon's petitions in behalf of his monasteries, A.D. 1660-1663 and 1664, should come in, in point of time, here; but being quite separable, they might be

left to come by themselves afterwards, like the ten letters to Ziuzin of different dates which make No. 47, and are joined with these; and Nos. 49 and 50, though of much later dates, being equally separable, are also joined with them.

Nos. 8, 9, and 10 seem to belong to the latter half of the same year, 1663, from the synod presided over by P. Ligarides to the first mission of Meletius with questions to the four patriarchs.

No. 36 seems to contain the patriarchal *tomes*,[1] or answers as if to twenty-five questions, and perhaps also the separate letter of Nectarius, brought to Moscow in May A.D. 1664.

No. 54 seems to be either the patriarchal Tome of A.D. 1663-1664, or something supplementary sent with it.

Nos. 17 and 18 *seem* to be the separate letter of Nectarius of A.D. 1664, and other documents connected with the first or second mission of Meletius, but they are placed as if they belonged rather to A.D. 1666.

No. 35. Of Nicon's return to Moscow, 18th Dec. A.D. 1664, and the letters written afterwards to the patriarchs for the tsar by P. Ligarides, relating this occurrence.

No. 47. Ten letters of Nicon to Ziuzin, seized after 18th Dec. A.D. 1664, but unconnected with the sequence of events.

Nos. 33 and 34. Two missions (in Jan. A.D. 1665) to Nicon to Voskresensk, in consequence of which he sent to the tsar proposals for his own voluntary retirement, and a paper on the confession and communion of malefactors condemned to death.

Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16. Letter of Nicon to the patriarch Dionysius of Constantinople, Dec. A.D. 1665, and other later occurrences and documents connected with it (and *possibly* Nos. 17 and 18 may not be out of place, though No. 17 certainly seems to be the letter written by Nectarius in A.D. 1664).

Nos. 19, 20, 21, and 22 relate to the coming of the two Eastern patriarchs to Moscow in A.D. 1666; and perhaps No. 22 may include the minutes of what was done in the synod till the condemnation and degradation of Nicon on the 12th of December.

Nos. 42, 43, 44, 46, and 49 relate seemingly to questions proposed to the patriarchs and the synod after the degradation of Nicon and the election of a new patriarch, Joasaph II., though No. 43 may perhaps belong to an earlier date).

Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28 relate to the departure of the two Eastern patriarchs from Moscow A.D. 1668.

No. 53, in point of time, follows No. 28, and has the same subject.

No. 50 is an inventory of things left by Nicon at Voskresensk, when he went to Moscow in Dec. A.D. 1666.

Nos. 29, 30, 31, 32, and 45 belong to the history of Nicon when he was a prisoner, between the 12th Dec. A.D. 1666 and the death of the tsar Alexis in A.D. 1676.

[1] The patriarchal *tomes*, brought to Moscow in A.D. 1664, seem to have been translated into Latin by P. Ligarides, and from his Latin into Russ, only in A.D. 1666. See our vol. iii. p. 155.

T2,987

DATE DUE

BX 597 .N5 P3 1970 v.5
Palmer, William, 1811-1879.
The patriarch and the tsar

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY
3 0645 1000 7042 0